A reprint from the
Occupational Outlook Quarterly
September 1964 (Vol. 8, No. 3)

An expert outlines a direct approach to motivate the disadvantaged to study and acquire skills.

POVERTY AND UNDEREDUCATION: What School and Community Can Do*

By WILLIAM C. KVARACEUS, *Director of Youth Studies*
The Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs
and
Professor of Education, Tufts University

How does it feel to be a student in school and to be poor? What does a high school youth from an unfavored socioeconomic home think and feel and hope? What can the school do to help the impoverished student?

Here are a few verbatim excerpts from taped interviews obtained recently by Wyman Holmes, a staff member of the Lincoln Filene Center, in a carefully planned tour of the rural and urban pockets of poverty from the milled-out lumber towns of Maine to the mined-out sections of Pennsylvania.

▶ Being poor is the most unfair thing in the world, and there is nothing you can do. Some people are lucky enough to get into the movies and to make a career. Some happen to get into the money. That's to their advantage. The rest of us have to string ourselves along with what we have. A lot depends upon how much pull you have; if you don't have the pull, you don't make it.

▶ It seems to me that being poor—that automatically makes you the underdog. You have to be what the majority of people in my neighborhood are: they steal, they're junkies, they even kill . . . .

▶ One family I know of, their father died and there were six in the family. The father was just a common laborer. He worked in the fertilizer plant. He died of leukemia, and now the children are getting a little aid from the State, but what aid they can get doesn't really help too much.

▶ When people have poverty problems at home, I think the school should know that you can't do with the ability you are capable of doing in school. Because when you are worried about something, you're worried about it all the time. When you come to school, your mind can't be on your work, and you end up doing wrong; and all this piles up on the person, and after a while they don't care—what comes and what don't come—it just don't happen.

▶ Quite a few people dropped out of school. I had a girl friend. She dropped out; she was very bright. I don't know why to this day she dropped out. I don't see her often now, but there is one girl who got kicked out, and she says she is not going to try anymore. Once you get out there and start making money—this is what she told me—you don't think about coming back to school. So I told her you can't make but so much money without a diploma; and they keep pounding that, every time you turn around, they're telling us that you've got to have a high school diploma to get something. So I don't know. I have told them myself that I'd stay here until I got to be 40, if they'd keep me, until I got a diploma. But she told me that she done get out and she got a job, and she's not coming back—no night school, no nothing.

▶ I never loved school too much, but it's something I know I must go through, if I am going to do anything after, you know, when I get on my own.

▶ This friend of mine dropped out last year, and he has been looking for a job. He has a job right now, but it doesn't pay too much; but it's just enough to get by on. But to me that isn't very good. I know he wishes he were back in school again. He came back once and dropped out again.

*Presented at the Governor's Conference on Poverty, Sixteenth Conference on State-Local Relations, Boston, June 30, 1964.

A reprint from the Occupational Outlook Quarterly
December 1964 (Vol. 8, No. 4)

Wider Horizons for Negro Workers

By Charlotte Richmond

Vigorous efforts are underway to help the Negro worker take his place in the mainstream of this country's life. Government, industry, and educational institutions are helping him get ready for and find better jobs. Even more importantly, he is pulling himself up by his own bootstraps in self-help programs springing up across the country. With more high level jobs within the Negro youth's reach, a great need is to convince him that he really can get the job he aims for if he prepares himself well enough.

"We're having a recruitment explosion in the Negro colleges," is the way Mrs. Marian Coombs, head of the placement office at Howard University, speaks of industry's current search for Negro graduates to fill job openings. This new experience at Howard symbolizes the headway being made in some areas in broadening employment opportunity for Negroes.

Opening the Doors

In 1961, the first major step was taken to open doors to employment for nonwhites when the President established a committee to spur fairer job opportunities for minority workers. The *President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity* (PCEEO) has set the guidelines and pace in efforts to remove bars to full use of qualified manpower. It is specifically charged by Executive orders with eliminating bias because of race, creed, color, or national origin in employment by the Federal Government, by Government contractors, and on federally assisted construction projects. But PCEEO's influence extends well beyond this limited function, through the cooperation it gets from industry and educational institutions.

Spelled out simply, this is what the Committee is doing:

It requires that every Government contract or federally assisted construction contract contain a clause in which the contractor agrees to take "affirmative action" to provide equality of opportunity in all aspects of employment, including hiring, training, promotion, and pay. To check on how well companies stick to this pledge, the Committee requires the contractors to file annual "manpower profiles" of their work force by occupation, race, and sex. Inside the Government itself, the Committee keeps a watchful eye on all the agencies to see that minority workers have equal opportunity for jobs and promotion.

The PCEEO also works with more than 250 of the country's major corporations in a cooperative program called Plans for Progress. These companies voluntarily turn in reports similar to those the Government contractors furnish. The Committee has also sparked several conferences among Negro college officials in an effort to help able Negro college students get ready for and find upper level jobs.

In July 1964, after its first 3 years on the job, the Committee issued a report to the President. It showed some heartening signs of progress, although much more needs to be done before the bars to Negro employment are whittled down satisfactorily. Among significant changes have been these, described in the July 1963 reports of 91 Plans for Progress companies:

*From a speech at Howard University, Washington, D.C., January 10, 1963.

Report on Apprentices in Atlanta Building Trades

for the

President's Committee on Equal Opportunity

Quarter Beginning July 1, 1965 and Ending September 30, 1965

cf. to Vo. c. School enrollment

TRADES	NEW APPRENTICES	NEGRO	1966
Carpenters	18	0	yes
Plumbers and Pipefitters (cf. to Tech. Sheet)	17	0	0
Roofers	0	0	yes
Sheet Metal	33	0	0
Electrical	26	0	0
Brick Mason	12	5	yes
Plasterers	0	0	yes (?)
Lathers (LG) Alex Jackson, BA	9	5	yes
Cement Masons	1	1	yes (?) Joint ?
Ironworkers	18	0	0
Painters	23	1	0
	157	12	[2 in – 1 dropped 1 dropped]

Related Training at Union hall – by Union –

1966

Printers may have some Negro members by way of Co. Consolidation – no apprentices

City Atlanta, Ga.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

TRADES	NEXT CLASS										LAST CLASS									
	Applicants			Tested			Selectees			Approximate Starting Date of Class	Applicants			Tested			Selectees			Approximate Starting Date of Class
	Total	Negro	Other 1/	Total	Negro	Other 1/	Total	Negro	Other 1/		Total	Negro	Other 1/	Total	Negro	Other 1/	Total	Negro	Other 1/	
Carpentry	55	0	0	55	0	0	55	0	0	Sept.	32	0	0	32	0	0	32	0	0	Sept.
✓ Plumbers & Pipefitters	96	2	0	96	2	0	37	0	0	"	80	0	0	80	0	0	33	0	0	"
Roofers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	"	16	12	0	16	12	0	16	12	0	"
Sheet Metal	87	0	0	87	0	0	30	0	0	"	60	0	0	60	0	0	26	0	0	"
✓ Electrical	152	1	0	111	1	0	25	0	0	"	77	0	0	77	0	0	27	0	0	"
Brick Mason	21	7	0	17	6	0	21	7	0	"	20	2	0	0	0	0	20	2	0	"

was proposed but not approved

1/ Spanish Americans, American Indians, and Orientals

✓ T29 submitted + approved by RO. 7/13/65 – Greg

$1.50 to $2.00 from helper to journeyman

Helper Roofers – 90¢/hr. Starting. Same pay raises every 6 mos as Lam

City Atlanta, Georgia

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

TRADES	NEXT CLASS										LAST CLASS									
	Applicants			Tested			Selectees			Approximate Starting Date of Class	Applicants			Tested			Selectees			Approximate Starting Date of Class
	Total	Negro	Other 1/	Total	Negro	Other 1/	Total	Negro	Other 1/		Total	Negro	Other 1/	Total	Negro	Other 1/	Total	Negro	Other 1/	
✓ Plasterers	5	3		5	3		5	3		Feb.	14	10		14	10		14	10		
✓ Lathers	4	2		4	2		4	2		"	10	5		10	5		10	5		
✓ Cement Masons	5	4		5	4		5	4		"	16	11		16	11		16	11		
Ironworkers	125	0		55	0		15	0		March	100	0		50	0		20	0		
Painters	60	1		60	1		30	0		June	50	1		50	1		30	1		
								9										27 14 41		

1/ Spanish Americans, American Indians, and Orientals

✓ T-79 Resubmitted + approved by R.O. - 7/13/61 - [illegible]

Vocational Education Service

Trade and Industrial Education Classes - Mr. R. E. Hagen, Supervisor

1964 - 1965

Location of Class	Type of Class	Occupation or Subject	No. of Classes	Accumulative Enrollment
Coke Smith	FT Tech. Prep.	Electronics	2	20
" "	" " "	Electronics Technology	3	49
" "	" " "	Industrial Electricity	1	2
" "	" " "	Data Processing	3	33
" "	FT Trade Prep.	Radio & Television Servicing	1	7
" "	" " "	Beauty Culture	1	27
" "	" " "	Industrial Sewing	1	79
" "	" " "	Dental Assistant	1	5
" "	" " "	Welding	1	43
" "	" " "	Television Theory	1	11
" "	" " "	Tech. Illustration	1	8
" "	" " "	Automotive	1	20
" "	" " "	Radio & Television Theory	1	6
" "	PT Trade Prep.	Radio Service	1	21
" "	" " "	Machine Shop	2	52
" "	" " "	Refrigeration	1	27
" "	" " "	Beauty Culture	1	29
" "	Trade Exe.(App)	Electricity	6	99
" "	" " "	Sheet Metal	4	60
" "	" " "	Sheet Metal Welding	2	18
" "	" " "	Carpentry	2	84
" "	" " "	Electronics	2	32
" "	" " "	Welding	1	16
" "	Trade Exe.	Bluepring Reading & Drafting	1	57
" "	" "	SL-I FOUNDATIONS	2	50
" "	" "	SL-II Menu Planning	1	22
" "	" "	Welding	4	67
" "	" "	"	3	68
" "	" "	Auto Mechanics	1	23
" "	" "	Basic Lithographic Camera	1	20
" "	" "	Basic Lithographic Platemaking & Stripping	1	19
" "	" " (App)	Ironworking	2	74
" "	" "	Medical Terminology	1	33
" "	" "	Elevator Construction	2	93
" "	" "	Refrigeration, Air-Conditioning & Heating	1	24
Piping Industry Program, 742 Ponce de Leon Pl., N. E.	Trade Exe,(App)	Drawing & Plan Reading	1	37
" " "	" " "	Pipe Welding	1	29
" " "	" " "	Basic Plumbing	1	28
" " "	" " "	Advanced Plumbing	1	16
" " "	" " "	Basic Steamfitting	1	25
" " "	" " "	Advanced Steamfitting	1	18
" " "	" " "	Basic Welding	1	19
" " "	" " "	Heliarc Welding	1	16

Location of Class	Type of Class	Occupation or Subject	No. of Classes	Accumulative Enrollment
Atlanta Gas Light Co., 240 Caroline St., S. E.	Trade Exe.(App)	Gasfitting	3	96
Fulton Cotton Mill	Trade Exe.	Loomfixing	1	19
" " "	" "	Supervision	3	44
" " "	" "	Textile Manu. Math & Technology	2	9
Piedmont Cotton Mill	" "	Loomfixing	1	9
Atlanta Steel Co. Conference Room	" "	Basic Arithmetic	1	18
Adm. Bldg.	" "	SL-I Foundations	2	46
157 Garnett St., S.W. Conference Room	" "	SL-III Nutrition	2	48
Adm. Bldg.	" "	SL-II Menu Planning	2	27
158½ Auburn Ave.	Trade Exe.(App)	Lathing	1	20
250 10th St.,N.E.	" " "	Painting & Decorating	4	135
60 Haynes St., NW	" " "	Plastering & Cement Masonry	1	35
Clark Howell School	Trade Exe.	School Building Main.	2	40
Russell High School	D. C. T.	Varied Occupations	1	35
College Park High	" " "	" "	1	27
Hapeville High	" " "	" "	1	27
Roosevelt High	" " "	" "	1	24
O'Keefe High	" " "	" "	1	31
Washington High	" " "	" "	1	39
L. J. Price High	Trade Exe.	SL-III Nutrition	1	24
" " " "	" "	SL-IV Food Preparation	1	19
Benteen School	" "	SL-IV Food Preparation	1	19
" "	" "	SL-IV Food Preparation	1	15
Carver Vocational	" "	Nutrition	3	41
" "	" "	Institutional Aides	2	48
" "	" "	Institutional Aides	1	24
" "	" "	Commercial Food Prep.	2	47
" "	" "	Nutrition 2PN	1	18
" "	" "	Painting & Decorating	1	11
" "	" "	Painting & Decorating	2	23
" "	PT Trade Prep.	Beauty Culture	2	32
" "	" " "	Radio & Television Servicing	1	12
" "	" " "	Auto Mechanics	2	30
" "	" " "	Machine Shop	2	24
" "	" " "	Tailoring	1	12
" "	" " "	Bricklaying	2	39
" "	FT Trade Prep.	Carpentry	1	14
" "	" " "	Auto Mechanics	1	32
" "	" " "	Tailoring	1	24
" "	" " "	Dry Cleaning	1	32
" "	" " "	Beauty Culture	1	40
" "	" " "	Machine Shop	1	30
" "	" " "	Bricklaying	1	31
" "	" " "	Radio & Television Servicing	1	21
" "	" " "	Furniture Upholstery	1	15
" "	" " "	Power Sewing	1	26
" "	" " "	Plastering	1	8
" "	" " "	Commercial Cooking	1	27
" "	" " "	Show Repair	1	19
" "	General Contunuation	Adult Academic	1	19
			139	2991

Bob Anderson — Thank you
Please return
— BH

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

Statistics Dramatize Need For Employment of Negro

By SYLVIA PORTER
New York Financial Columnist

If Negro unemployment rates could be suddenly lowered to today's unemployment rates for white workers, the nation's Gross National Product would jump an extra $5 billion in 1966.

Sylvia Porter

If Negro productivity — on education and training —could be suddenly raised to the level of whites, our GNP would soar $22 billion this year.

If both Negro unemployment and productivity could be suddenly "equalized" at the level of today's white citizens, the rise in GNP would be an astounding $27 billion—a gain of 4 per cent in our yearly output of goods and services.

These estimates, buried on page 110 of the Council of Economic Advisers' annual report to Congress, dramatize the strictly economic story of the American Negro today. They also help explain why the national antipoverty drive is so sharply focused on educating and training the Negro American.

THERE is no disputing that we are making big strides toward closing the Negro-white economic gap. Just since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, more than 300 U.S. corporations have launched new programs to recruit and train Negro workers for more and better jobs. Negro incomes and employment rates are now rising faster than those for whites. The proportion of Negro families living below the poverty line is dwindling faster than the proportion of whites.

But despite the unmistakable progress, the Negro's median family income (half above, half below) is still only a little more than half that of whites—$3,839 vs. $6,858. In the U.S. South, Negro median family income is less than $3,000 — meaning that about half of Negro families living in the South have incomes below the "poverty line." Throughout the country, 43 per cent of Negro families live below this line—vs. 17.1 per cent of white families.

DESPITE the sharp reductions in unemployment rates for whites and Negroes, the jobless rate among Negroes is 7 per cent, exactly twice the white jobless level — and one in four Negro teen-agers in the U.S. labor force is jobless, again twice the rate for white teen-agers.

Obviously, a fundamental reason for the Negro income-employment gap is the glaring education gap. Only one in four Negro men aged 25 or over has finished high school, against one-half of white men in the same age bracket. Only one in 20 adult Negroes is a college graduate — against one in 10 whites.

collar or farm jobs, double the ratio among whites.

IN THE sixth straight year of our great prosperity, the fact remains, as Vice President Hubert Humphrey puts it, that many Negroes "still experience the crisis conditions of the great Depression" and the challenge is to "transform the quality of existence for those who remain largely untouched by our American progress."

Others may properly comment on the moral and social considerations involved here. As a reporter on economics, I may properly comment on the dollars - and - cents considerations. To repeat: If Negro jobless rates and productivity could be boosted to the white level, our total output would be increased $27 BILLION a year. This is a measure of our annual loss because of inequality.—(c1966.)

Southern To Purchase Short Lines

WASHINGTON, March 1 (AP) — The Southern Railway Co. announced Tuesday it has contracted to purchase stock control of two short line railroads in South Georgia.

D. W. Brosnan, president of Southern, said the contract is subject to approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission provides for cancellation if the

Windbreaker On Building Catches Fire

A nine-story building at Broad and Luckie streets was covered on one side by flames briefly Monday afternoon, but little damage resulted.

Hundreds of spectators lined the sidewalks as four engine companies and three ladder companies of firemen battled the blaze, which was confined to a canvas windbreaker that covered one side of the building and half o fanother side.

The building, the Georgia Life Building, is undergoing renovation and is surrounded by scaffolding. Assistan Fire Chief Steve Campbell said the fire started about 1:30 p.m.

Workmen on the scaffolding fled into the building through

FRED FONVILLE
Real Estate Broker

Associated Press Wirephotos
A. J. ROBERTS
Country Storekeeper

Victims in Chinese Execution Found With Arms Bound

OXFORD, N.C. (UPI) — Authorities held two mental patients today in a bloody crime spree climaxed with the unexplained "Chinese execution" killing of two men kidnaped without apparent cause.

The bodies of Fred V. Fonville Jr., 28, a Raleigh real estate broker, and A. J. (Dink) Roberts, 60, a rural store operator, were found in a wooded area late Monday night after a search of nearly 48 hours.

Police believed them the second and third shooting victims of Joseph Eugene Spence, 26, and Glenwood O'Neal Williams, 28, who earlier were charged with slaying a taxicab driver during 11 hours of a lost weekend after they walked away from a mental hospital.

The bodies of Fonville and Roberts were found side-by-side, face down and with their arms bound behind them with their belts. Each had been shot once in the back of the head — in much the same fashion as in classic Chinese executions.

Authorities said that additional murder charges would be filed today against Spence and Williams who already were charged with slaying Durham cab driver Alston Maynard, 35, whose body was found in his bullet-riddled taxicab in Greensboro Saturday.

Franklin County authorities charged Spence and Williams Monday with armed robbery and kidnaping service station attendant Ronald Davis. Davis fled the pair in a hail of bullets.

Police also implicated the two in auto thefts in Butner, Raleigh and Burlington. Raleigh police were also investigating four reports of pistols stolen from homes and businesses near Dorothea Dix mental hospital.

Authorities said Spence and Williams used stolen cars, Maynard's taxi and the bus in 300 miles of travel. They were captured early Sunday not five miles from the hospital they left.

Sheriff J. M. Mangum said the two, who had contended they "just couldn't remember what happened," told him Monday night Fonville and Roberts were killed "near some railroad tracks but they couldn't remember where."

Durham deputies searched the county, carrying Spence and Williams along, without success Monday evening. National Guardsmen had combed the area during the day.

Durham Deputies M. W. Jones and I. W. Jacobs went to the Butner area about 20 miles northeast of Roberts' store and discovered the bodies near the site of an old concrete mixing plant.

Although both had lengthy police records, neither Spence nor Williams was considered dangerous. They would have been released in another few weeks, hospital officials said.

Pioneer Flier Dies

BRYAN, Tex., March 1 (UPI). Funeral services were scheduled Wednesday for Dr. Bert Coad, chairman of Delta Air Lines Crop Dusting Division and one of the developers of aerial crop dusting. Coad, who was born in Murphysboro, Ill., July 4, 1890,

NEWSPRINT PLANT TO BEGIN PRODUCTION

AUGUSTA, Ga., March 1 (AP)—Production will begin at Cox Newsprint in late March or early April, a company executive told a local civic club here.

T. C. Bannister Jr., executive vice president and general manager, said the $30 million plant will produce 120,000 tons of newsprint annually, with plans to increase production later to 150,000 tons a year.

The widest paper machine in the United States is being installed at the Augusta plant, Bannister said, and building space is being made available for the addition of another such machine in the future. The machine will run 2,500 feet of newsprint per minute.

Bannister said the plant will employ 150.

U.S. Unit to Buy Measles Doses For 1.5 Million

WASHINGTON, March 1 (UPI)—The U.S. Public Health Service is planning to buy 1.5 million doses of vaccine this year to protect preschool children against measles.

Surgeon General Dr. William H. Stewart said the vaccine would be offered to state and local health departments receiving grants under the National Vaccination Assistance Act.

Stewart noted that since the vaccine was licensed in 1963, measles cases have dropped from the 385,000 reported that year to 266,000 in 1965.

ACTIVE DUTY PLEAS FLOODING RECRUITERS

Armed forces recruiters here say they are being swamped by volunteers for active duty and have their quotas filled for several months in advance.

Navy Lt. Marshall Frankford says his office is turning away prospects by the hundreds. "We're only able to take a tenth of the applicants, and we're booked up through June."

Army Sgt. Roland Castro said volunteer supply exceeds demand by about 150 per cent. "We've had a great increase in inquiries from people who can't be accepted because of age or dependents," he said.

Marine Corps Gunnery Sgt. Bill Borgman said his office has experienced a similar inpouring, and that the volunteers are far above average.

Air Force M.Sgt. Leonard Couch said his office is far ahead of its February quota also, and that 10 to 15 per cent of the enlistees were not threatened by the draft.

"I would say the majority of them are patriotic and not trying to dodge their obligations," he said.

Staple Foods To Cost More, Forecast Says

WASHINGTON (UPI) —Meat and potatoes, that staple of the American diet, are going to cost the nation's housewives more in the months ahead.

The increased cost of food may be a major factor this year in lifting the consumer price index — a principal barometer of inflation — by slightly more than 2 per cent above its 1965 level.

But federal officials are warning against any "scare buying" by consumers and stockpiling of inventory by businessmen. They contend that this will only add to inflationary pressures.

Commissioner Arthur M. Ross of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts substantial price stability in 1966, even though he admits there is great uncertainty over the cost of the war in Viet Nam and public attitudes toward living costs.

The Labor Department announced Monday that the consumer price index leveled off at 111.0 per cent of average 1957-59 prices to halt a four-month rise.

Fast-climbing food prices alone accounted for half of the 1.9 per cent increase in the index last year. The outlook this year is for more of the same.

Americans are well-off enough to boost the demand for medical services, household repairs, domestic help and laundry-dry cleaning services, however. Because of this demand the price to the consumer is rising.

Navyman Dies

CHELSEA, Mass. (AP) — Victor H. Soucek, 57, retired Navy captain and former commanding officer of the Naval Reserve branch office in Boston, died Monday. Soucek, who retired six years ago after 30 years Navy service, was born in Lawton, Okla.

WASHINGTON, March 1 (AP) — The Southern Railway Co. announced Tuesday it has contracted to purchase stock control of two short line railroads in South Georgia.

D. W. Brosnan, president of Southern, said the contract is subject to approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission provides for cancellation if the ICC imposes conditions that make the acquisition economically unwise.

The short line railroads are the 68-mile Georgia Northern operating between Albany and Boston, Ga., and the 51-mile Georgia, Ashburn, Sylvester & Camilla Railway Co.

The contract calls for acquisition of Georgia Northern stock with shares of Southern common and of the GAS&C with Southern preferred.

Brosnan said more than 98 per cent of Georgia Northern and 92 per cent of GAS&C stockholders have contracted to sell their shares.

Southern said it is paying the equivalent of $400 a share for Georgia Northern stock and $98.76 a share for GAS&C stock or a total of $2.8 million in terms of Southern stock.

Butter and Eggs

NEW YORK, March 1 (AP) (USDA). Wholesale egg offerings adequate. Demand generally good Tuesday. (Wholesale selling prices based on exchange and other volume sales.) New York spot quotations follow: Standards 41½-43; checks 36-37.

Whites: Extra fancy heavy weight (47 lbs. minimum) 45½-47; fancy medium (41 lbs. average) 41-42; fancy heavy weight (47 lbs. minimum) 44-45; medium (40 lbs. average) 40-40½; smalls (36 lbs. average) 36-37.

Browns: Extra fancy heavy weight (47 lbs. minimum) 44-46; fancy medium (41 lbs. average) 39½-41; fancy heavy weight (47 lbs. minimum) 43-44½, smalls (36 lbs. average) 36-37.

NEW YORK, March 1 (AP) (USDA)—Butter offerings irregularly distributed. Demand fair to good. Wholesale prices on bulk cartons (fresh). Creamery, 93 score (AA) 66¾-67¼ cents; 92 score (A) 66¼. Cheese steady. Prices unchanged.

CHICAGO, March 1 (AP) — Chicago Mercantile Exchange—Butter firm; wholesale buying prices unchanged to ¼ higher; 93 score 99 66; 92 A 65¾; 90 B 65; 89 C 63¾; cars 90 B 65¾; 89 C 64¾.

Eggs about steady; wholesale buying prices unchanged; 70 per cent or better grade A whites 41½; mixed 41½; mediums 39; standards 38; dirties unquoted; checks 34.

ATLANTA EGG MARKET

Eggs—prices unchanged from yesterday on all sizes. Demand not aggressive but generally sufficient to maintain stocks at satisfactory levels. Large commanded the best position though feature sales of mediums stimulating movement of these. Occasionally smalls were forced for sale although overall supply was limited. Prices to retailers, consumer grades, white store door delivery, cartoned, per dozen—extra large: 52½-55 mostly 53c; large: 50½-53 mostly 51c; medium: 46-49 mostly 47-48c; small: 42-44 mostly 42c.

Poultry

GEORGIA LIVE POULTRY

Broilers and fryers: Live at farm quotations were mostly 16½. Demand was very good.

Estimated slaughter Tuesday 1,230,900 head.

Hens: Trading was active. Offerings were limited for needs.

Estimated slaughter of heavy type 11,200, light type 41,700. Heavy type at farm 19: light type mostly 7½.

NEW YORK POULTRY

NEW YORK, March 1 (AP)—(USDA)—Dressed poultry: New York, Philadelphia and Boston carlot and trucklot turkey markets, U.S. grade A, ready-to-cook, frozen; trading limited on all weights and classes. Offerings of young hens and young toms to 20 lbs. fully adequate for limited call. Trade advices indicate large volume of currently processed young hens moving to further processors for cutting of consumer size breasts. Fryer-roasters offerings light. Young toms over 20 lbs. adequate but firmly held. No sales to report. Offerings reported: Young hens 8-10 lbs. 40-42 cents, 10-16 lbs. 41-42; young toms 14-20 lbs. 37-38, 20-22 lbs. 37½-38½, 22-24 lbs. 39½-41, 24-26 lbs. 40¼-41, 26-30 lbs. 40¾-41½, 30 lbs. and up 41-42; fryer-roasters 4-8 lbs. 38½-39; young tom whites 8-14 lbs. 37½-38.

Squabs and ducklings unchanged.

Storage Egg Holdings

CHICAGO, March 1 (AP)—Cold storage shell egg holdings at four principal markets Tuesday totaled 8,100; a week ago holiday; and a year ago 7,700.

Obviously, a fundamental reason for the Negro income-employment gap is the glaring education gap. Only one in four Negro men aged 25 or over has finished high school, against one-half of white men in the same age bracket. Only one in 20 adult Negroes is a college graduate — against one in 10 whites.

But the educational gap is by no means the whole story. One recent study shows that Negro high school dropouts earn one-third less than white high school dropouts. Another shows that the Negro high school graduate earns an average $4,500 in comparison to $6,400 for whites. As for those with some college education, two in five Negroes hold blue

Egg Thrower Sentenced

WARSAW, March 1 (AP)—A Warsaw magistrate has sentenced a Polish photographer to three months in jail for throwing three eggs at Marlene Dietrich.

The photographer, Marek Balcerzak, 35, pleaded guilty Monday to misdemeanor charges. He said he egged the actress-singer at a performance Sunday night because she owned him $332 for photographs he took of her during a visit in January 1964.

LIVESTOCK

CHICAGO, March 1 (AP)—(USDA)—Hogs 4,000; moderate active, butchers under 230 lbs. steady, weights over 230 lbs. and sows steady to 25 higher; shippers took 55 per cent of the supply; 1-2 190-220 lb. butchers 27.50-27.75; 300 head at 27.75; mixed 1-3 190-230 lbs. 27.00-27.50; 230-260 lbs. 26.50-27.00; 2-3 250-290 lbs. 25.75-26.50; mixed 1-3 325-400 lb. sows 24.50-25.25; 400-500 lbs. 23.75-24.50; 2-3 500-600 lbs. 23.25-24.00; 600-650 lbs. 23.00-23.25; boars 22.00-23.00.

Cattle 1,500; calves none; trading on slaughter steers and heifers fairly active, generally steady; cows active, strong to 50 higher; bulls active steady; several loads high choice and prime 1,100-1,250 lb. slaughter steers 30.00-30.50; choice 900-1,350 lbs. 27.75-29.50; mixed good and choice 26.50-27.50; good 24.50-26.50; standard and low good 22.50-24.50; load high choice and prime 975 lb. heifers 28.00; choice 850-1,050 lb. 26.50-27.50; choice 775-850 lbs. 25.25-26.00; mixed good and choice 750-1,000 lbs. 24.75-26.00; good 24.00-25.25; standard and low good 22.00-24.00; utility and commercial cows 17.25-18.50; high yielding commercial and standard 18.50-20.00; canners and cutters 15.00-17.75; utility and commercial bulls 19.75-23.00; few standard and good 500-700 lb. feeder heifers 20.00-22.00.

GEORGIA CATTLE (USDA-GDA)

Receipts at seven markets 1,800 compared 2,800 week ago. Widespread and heavy rainfall main factor in reduced run. Compared one week earlier at Cherokee County, Columbus, Dublin, Sylvester, Thomaston and Waycross slaughter steers steady except 1.00 higher at Dublin, heifers steady to 50 higher, cows and calves unevenly steady to 1.00 higher, bulls steady to strong, vealers steady on few available. Feeder steers and heifers steady to 50 higher mostly steady on heifers, cows steady to strong, calves unevenly steady to 1.00 higher.

Slaughter cattle and calves — Steers: Choice 600-1,000 lbs. 24.50-26.75, good 500-1,100 lbs. 22.00-25.50. Heifers: Few choice 500-800 lbs. 24.50-26.00, good 22.00-25.50, standard 19.00-22.50, utility 16.00-19.00. Cows: Commercial 18.50-21.50, utility 16.50-19.50, cutter 15.00-17.50, canner 12.00-15.00. Bulls: Commercial 20.00-22.50, utility 17.50-20.50. Calves: Choice 250-500 lbs. 24.50-26.50, good 22.00-26.00, few good and choice up to 29.00, standard 20.50-24.00, utility 18.00-20.50; Vealers: Choice 30.00-36.00, good 26.00-32.00, standard 24.50-28.00.

Feeder cattle and calves — Steers: Choice 500-800 lbs. 24.25-27.00, good 22.00-25.00, standard 19.00-22.50. Heifers: Good 475-700 lbs. 21.00-24.00, standard 18.00-21.00. Cows (feeder and replacement): Good 18.00-20.50, standard 15.00-18.00, utility 12.00-15.00. Calves: Prime 250-500-lb. steer calves 29.00-33.00, choice 26.00-30.00, good 23.00-27.00, standard 20.00-24.00, utility 18.00-20.50. Choice 250-500-lb. heifer calves 24.00-28.00, good 21.00-25.00, standard 18.00-22.00.

SOUTHEASTERN HOG MARKET

Receipts 2,300 at packing plants at Albany, Columbus, Moultrie, Thomasville, Ga.; Dothan, Ala.; Jacksonville, Fla. Prices 25 lower. With prices on a plant-delivered basis, U.S. 1-2 barrows and gilts 190-230 lbs. 25.25-25.75, latter price sparingly 1-3 180-240 lbs. 24.75-25.25, 2-3 240-270 lbs. and 1-2 160-180 lbs. 24.00-25.00. U.S. 1-3 sows 200-400 lbs. 19.25-21.00, 400-600 lbs. 17.50-19.50.

a canvas windbreaker that covered one side of the building and half o fanother side.

The building, the Georgia Life Building, is undergoing renovation and is surrounded by scaffolding. Assistan Fire Chief Steve Campbell said the fire started about 1:30 p.m.

Workmen on the scaffolding fled into the building through open windows, he said. None was reported injured.

The cause of the fire has not been determined.

Chief Campbell said when he arrived, "the whole side of the building was a sheet of flame."

Cuba Frees Marines to Swiss Envoy

HAVANA, March 1 (AP)—Two United States Marines were taken into custody by a Cuban patrol in Cuban territorial waters off Guantanamo Naval Base in southeastern Cuba Sunday.

The two were turned over to Swiss ambassador Emil Stadelhofer, who handles American affairs here. They were expected to be flown to the United States later Tuesday or Wednesday.

The marines were identified as Vaughn David Muller, 19, of Erie, Pa., and Richard Anthony Monaco, 18, of Milton, N.J.

Cuban foreign ministry officials said they were arrested Sunday in a small boat near the Cuban coast. They were flown to Havana last night and turned over to the Swiss, who have provided them with living quarters until their case is disposed of.

The Cuban government reportedly will not bring any charges against them, but this is not officially confirmed.

Muller and Monaco were quoted as saying their boat had drifted away from the U.S. naval base area and they were unaware they were in Cuban waters.

Atlanta Produce

Receipts and trading were very light on the Atlanta produce market Tuesday morning the federal-state market news reports. Prices were mostly unchanged from Monday morning. Florida citrus fruits were steady and unchanged. Light supplies of Florida strawberries were offered for 4.00-4.20 per flat of twelve pints.

Florida cabbage was in plentiful supply as fifty pound bags of round type jobbed 1.50-2.00 few 2.25-2.50. Red sold at 4.00 and crates of round type 2.50-2.75. Florida bunched turnips were 2.50-3.00 dozen. Collards were 2.00 on Florida and mostly 1.50-1.75 per dozen for Georgia stock. Bushels of turnip greens and mustard from Georgia and Florida brought 1.75-2.25 with few higher. Georgia green onions in very light supply were 1.00 per dozen.

Few Florida snap beans of fair quality ranged 5.25 to 6.00 per bushel. Pole beans were cleaned up early with no sales reported. Few yellow crookneck squash moved at 8.75-9.00 per hamper and Bahama cucumbers ranged 12.00 to 14.50 and fair stock 9.00-11.00. Florida radishes held at 1.25-1.50 per dozen; some crate five dozen yellow sweet corn was 5.25. Medium to large bell peppers were 4.25-4.75 and few large 5.00-5.25; small to medium and fair brought 3.00-3.50. Fifty pound bags of round red potatoes were 3.00 on U.S. No. 1 size A and 1.50-1.75 for ordinary quality. Other Florida vegetable prices included sixteen inch crates of pascal celery at 3.75 on three dozen size and few four dozen 3.50. Eggplant was 4.00-4.50 bushel and fair 2.00-2.50; vine-ripe tomatoes of fair quality ranged 2.00-2.50 few 1.75 and few very best higher; crate escarole was 2.00-2.25 and endive 2.25-2.75; Romaine 3.00-3.25 per crate; Bibb lettuce ranged 2.50-3.50 per basket and leaf lettuce few 2.00 with few northern hothouse stock at 2.25-3.00.

Authorities said that additional murder charges would be filed today against Spence and Williams who already were charged with slaying Durham cab driver Alston Maynard, 35, whose body was found in his bullet-riddled taxicab in Greensboro Saturday.

Franklin County authorities charged Spence and Williams

area during the day.

Durham Deputies M. W. Jones and I. W. Jacobs went to the Butner area about 20 miles northeast of Roberts' store and discovered the bodies near the site of an old concrete mixing plant.

Although both had lengthy police records, neither Spence nor

age or dependents," he said.

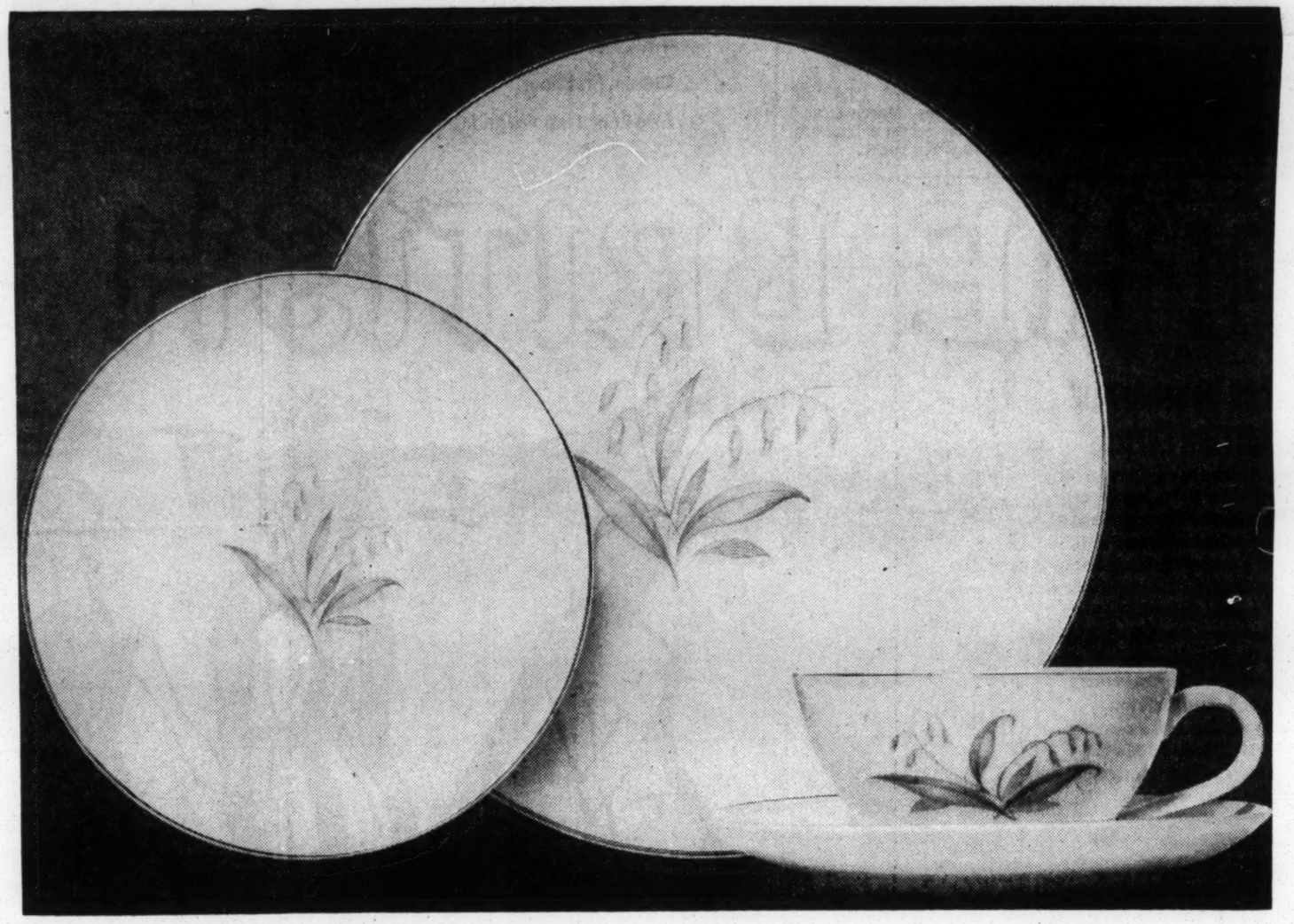
Marine Corps Gunnery Sgt. Bill Borgman said his office has experienced a similar inpouring, and that the volunteers are far above average.

Air Force M.Sgt. Leonard Couch said his office is far ahead of its February quota also, and that 10 to 15 per cent of the enlistees were not threatened by the draft.

"I would say the majority of them are patriotic and not trying to dodge their obligations," he said.

Navyman Dies

CHELSEA, Mass. (AP) — Victor H. Soucek, 57, retired Navy captain and former commanding officer of the Naval Reserve branch office in Boston, died Monday. Soucek, who retired six years ago after 30 years Navy service, was born in Lawton, Okla.

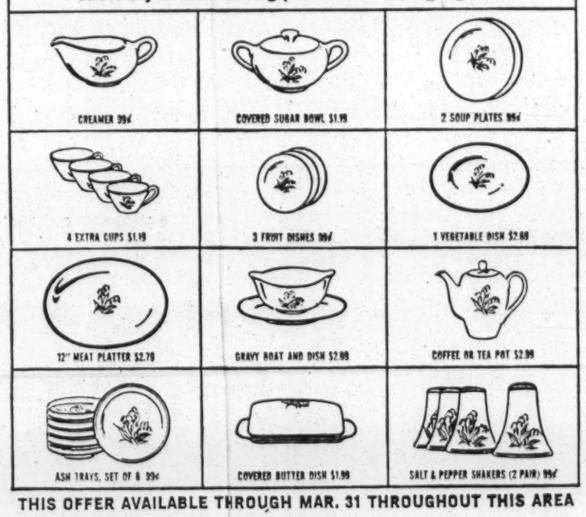


Last chance! Offer ends March 31!

FOUR-PIECE PLACE SETTING 99¢ PLUS SALES TAX

with eight-gallon gasoline purchase

Select any of these serving pieces with each eight gallons



THIS OFFER AVAILABLE THROUGH MAR. 31 THROUGHOUT THIS AREA

This month will be your last chance to complete your set of beautiful Golden Rhapsody translucent china which Standard Oil stations in this area have made available. Setting includes: dinner plate, salad plate, cup and saucer. Nine serving pieces available also. Use your Standard Credit Card if you wish. Increase your service to six, eight or more settings. Yours now thru March 31 at Standard Oil stations in this area with eight-gallon purchase of new Chevron,* the livelier gasolines.

We take better care of your car

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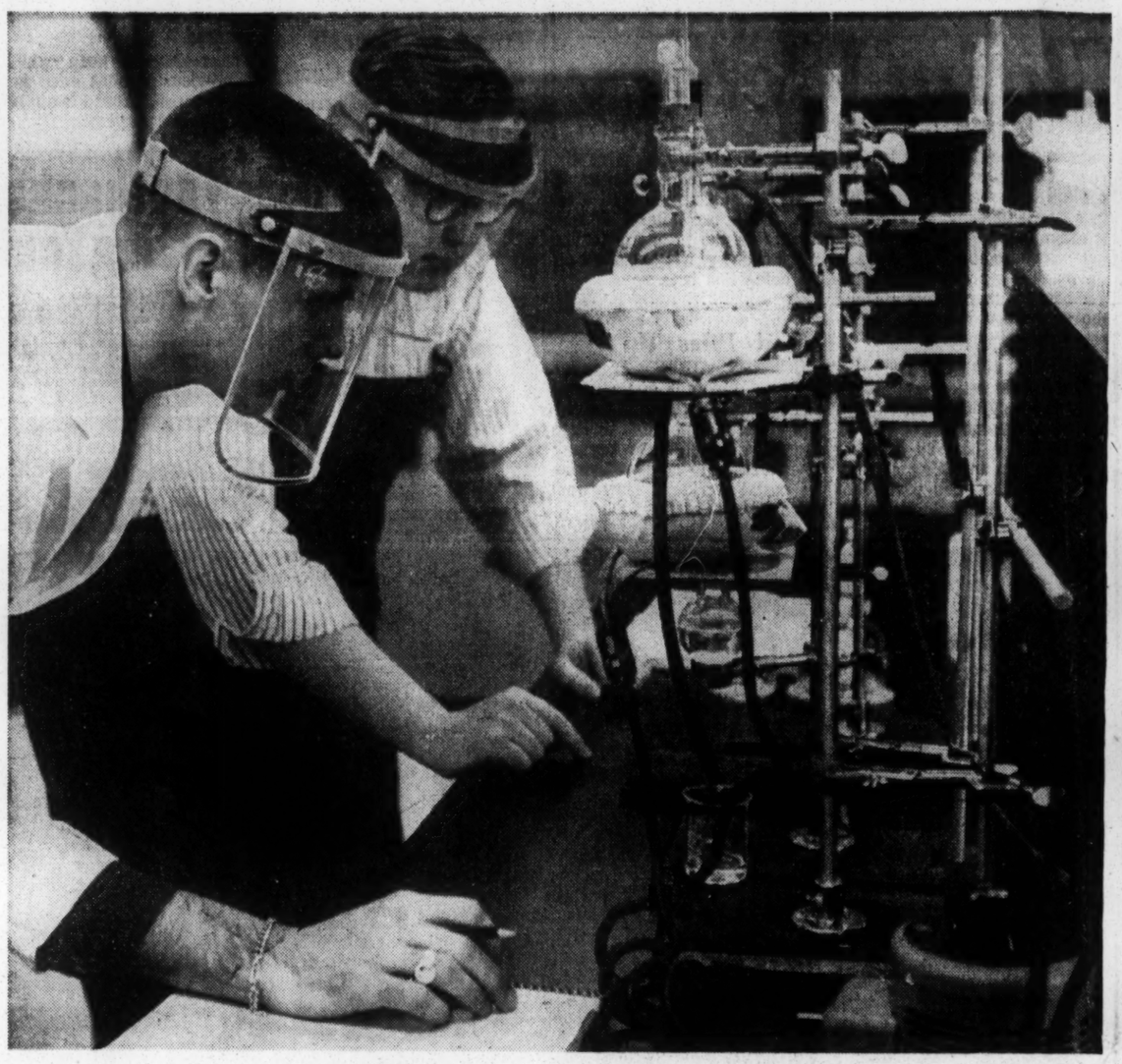
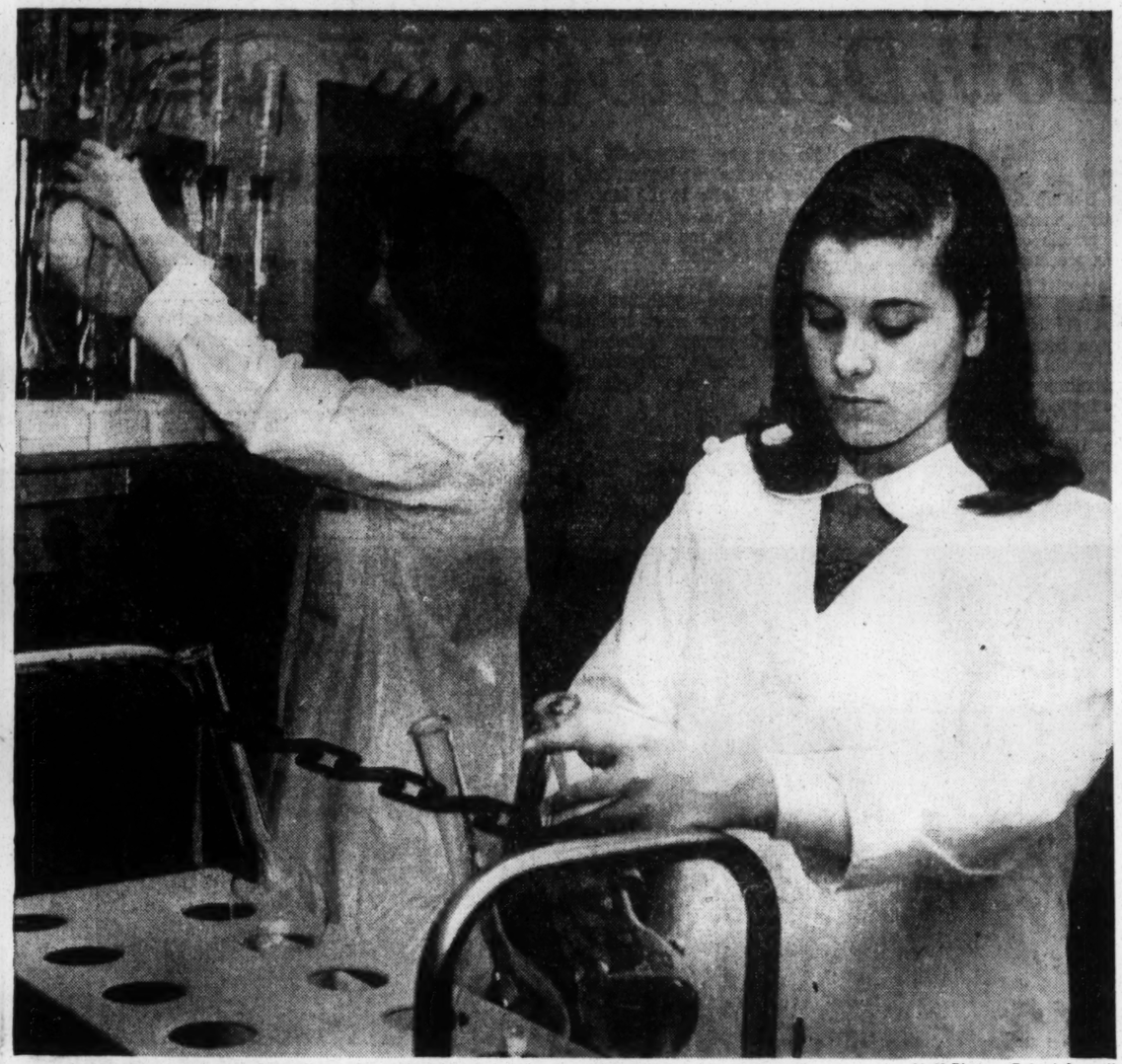
Apprenticeship Project





Staff Photos—Robert Connell

L-R: Bill Jarrell and Alan Nulph, Judy Evans, Bonnie Merritt Work in Chemistry Lab at DeKalb Vocational School

Trade Schools Designed to Grow Into Future

TASK FORCE report

Page 8 Monday, March 7, 1966

Georgia's vocational - technical schools, officials say, are designed with flexibility in mind. As industrial employment needs change, training programs can be revamped at minimum cost.

Located on large acreages with ample parking and easy accessibility to present and planned highways, the state's 23 V-T schools can be readily expanded when the need arises.

Building interiors are designed with non-load-bearing partitions. Utilities, for the most part, are served from central overhead supply lines. Ample electrical service is provided for future ex-

total capital investment of more than $20 million will be made before all the schools are completed in 1967.

The schools are tuition-free

years.

Curriculums for all — V-T schools are planned carefully by advisory committees with representation from industry,

existing industry, areas of critical shortage in the state and nation, and types and numbers of skilled workers needed to attract additional

and assist in the development of course outlines and the selection of equipment.

"We envision this program as one answer to the present young employment dilemma," says state Board of Education chairman James S. Peters.

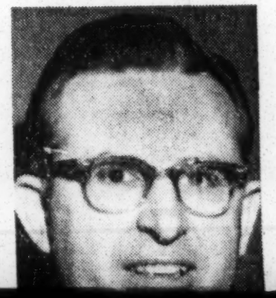
"The Georgia State Board of Education has long been concerned about our boys and girls who remain unemployed while thousands of jobs for highly skilled workers remain vacant for lack of qualified applicants," says Peters.

"After considerable study and research concerning population, migration patterns, economic situations etc., we

Vocational Schools: Bridge to a New Life

Enrollment of 14,200 Seen in Job Training

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer



Because of automation and unceasing advances in technology the gap between what a student knows when he gets out of high school and what he needs to know to get a decent job is awesome.

To bridge that gap Georgia is developing a network of 23 Vocational-Technical Schools of-

Last year 8,200 Georgians took advantage of this free job train-

Bridge to a New Life

Enrollment of 14,200 Seen in Job Training

By JOE BROWN
Constitution Education Writer

Because of automation and unceasing advances in technology the gap between what a student knows when he gets out of high school and what he needs to know to get a decent job is awesome.

To bridge that gap Georgia is developing a network of 23 Vocational-Technical Schools offering courses in everything from electronic technology to bricklaying.

Last year 8,200 Georgians took advantage of this free job training. With seven more schools scheduled to open this September, authorities predict enrollment will leap to 14,200.

"We're here to prepare people for jobs," explains one school official.

'A SALEABLE SKILL . . .' Superintendent Nix

READY TO TRAIN

"If we're shown there's a need for a particular type worker in an industrial field, we'll train him," he says.

"Recognition that inadequate vocational preparation contributes to youth unemployment and skill shortages stimulated Georgia to develop a network of area vocational - technical schools," says State School Supt. Jack P. Nix.

"These skills will assist in the more efficient utilization of our manpower by providing individuals with opportunities to develop salable skills. Possession of a salable skill insures the employment of an individual in this period of rapid change.

"The skill demands of industry and business have added greater significance to the area vocational-technical schools as an important and essential phase of the total program of public education."

BACKED BY SANDERS

Gov. Carl E. Sanders is also an enthusiastic supporter of the 8-year-old state program.

"There has never been any doubt as to the ability of Georgians to learn new industrial ways," he says. "They are loyal, energetic, aggressive, dependable employes.

"The economic strength of our state and out nation depends to a large degree on the skill, initiative and creativeness of our people. Through these new area schools, we will accomplish much in training our young people to earn a living and make possible more rapid development of industry through the availability of trained workmen."

Vocational educators react sharply to any suggestion that what they are offering is "second rate" when compared to college training.

COLLEGE FOR ALL?

"The concept that all youth should aspire to attend college is nonsense," according to Byrl R. Shoemaker, national vocational training authority.

"We're not knocking colleges. We just don't think it's the answer for everyone," explains James F. Clark, assistant director of DeKalb County Area School. "Even given financial aid not everyone wants to go to college.

"Statewide only two out of 10 high school graduates will go to college. That's fine for those two, but what's going to happen to the other 80 per cent?

"Without further training their future is not bright."

With technical training, however, there is little chance of a Georgian not being able to find a job in the state, Clark maintains.

VANDIVER PRAISES

Former Gov. Ernest Vandiver, under whose administration the area trade school program began, says: "Let me make it clear that the trade school program is not a dead-end street for dullards and dropouts.

"It offers post-high school work in the 13th and 14th grade range by which the complex technical skills required in modern industries can be quickly acquired."

"The area trade school system gives Georgia the means by which she can direct into her industrial economy thousands of talented youngsters who cannot, or do not plan to, attend college," Vandiver says.

"At the same time, the trade schools offer both day and night classes to adults who have left Georgia's farms and are seeking jobs in Georgia's industrialized economy."

"In every city where they have been utilized in local industrial development programs, they have proven to be a tremendous stimulant to industrial growth," he adds.

SURVEY OF NEEDS

A survey of large Georgia firms to determine new job openings for technicians in the next five years disclosed a need of 138 new plant job titles representing a total of 8,000 jobs, officials say.

Fifty-one per cent of these will be required in the Atlanta area.

The 10 leading categories of new technician jobs listed ny industry are: communications, electrical - mechanical, general science, chemical, statistical, biochemical electronic, engineering, electrical and electronics, audio - visual, and computor - programer operator.

Balancing net training requirements against expected output in public training agencies and programs, say state officials, shows a shortage of 4,500 technicians and 7,100 skilled workers in five years.

READY FOR THE 1970s

Schools Set Up Where Need Is

Federal, state and local governments have recognized that the complexities of social, civic and economic changes today require continuous training programs for industrial workers.

"There is no future in this country for the unskilled worker," says U.S. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz. "What has been his job is going to be done by machines."

"If you want to determine the status of any state in the nation during the 1970s," says American Vocational Association executive secretary M. D. Mobley, "look at its activities in the field of vocational and technical education during the '60s.

"The states that lag in vocational education in the '60s," he said, "will lag in economic growth in the '70s."

Industrial progress and training needs in geographic areas has played a large part in final consideration of school locations, say state officials.

A school advisory committee, composed of industrial and civic leaders, is organized in each locality. Surveys are conducted to determine industrial training needs unique to each community, and schools are planned to include courses to meet these needs as well as those of state and national concern.

Advisory committees for each course offering, made up of workers actively engaged in each of the trade or technical fields, are then organized to advise on course content, equipment needs, entrance requirements and instructor qualifications.

Thus, training laboratories are planned to simulate industry, and instructional programs are designed to prepare students for initial entry or advancement in occupations of their choice.

Established and new industries in Georgia are highly conscious of the locations of the schools, say state officials. More and more industries are requesting training programs for their employes. Industrial employes can, and in many instances must, continue to grow within their fields by continuing in training programs during evening hours.

They must keep up with changes and gain new skills for advancement on the job. Extension classes are designed and scheduled to meet the needs of specific groups of employed workers.

Pre-employment courses are offered on a full-time and part-time basis. Full-time day pre-employment classes for high school students and out of school youths and adults meet 6 hours a day, 5 days a week.

Part-time evening pre-employment classes meet for a minimum of 12 hours a week.

Georgia's vocational - technical schools, officials say, are designed with flexibility in mind. As industrial employment needs change, training programs can be revamped at minimum cost.

Located on large acreages with ample parking and easy accessibility to present and planned highways, the state's 23 V-T schools can be readily expanded when the need arises.

Building interiors are designed with non-load-bearing partitions. Utilities, for the most part, are served from central overhead supply lines. Ample electrical service is provided for future expansion.

School plants and equipment range in cost from $250,000 to more than $6 million. A total capital investment of more than $20 million will be made before all the schools are completed in 1967.

The schools are tuition-free to all Georgia residents over 16. They may choose from 40 course offerings — ranging from several weeks to two years.

Curriculums for all — V-T schools are planned carefully by advisory committees with representation from industry, business, employment services, civic organizations and education.

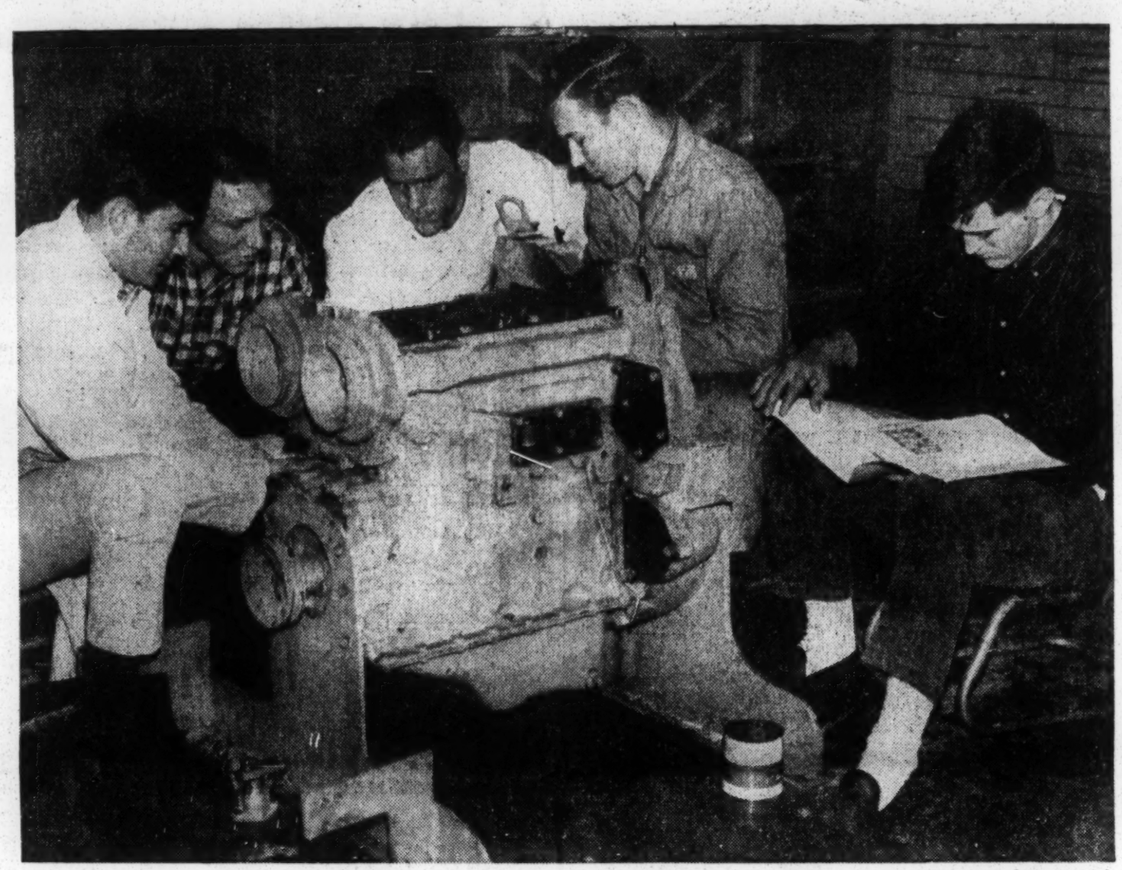
Committees study needs of existing industry, areas of critical shortage in the state and nation, and types and numbers of skilled workers needed to attract additional industry to the state.

Craft and technical committees also are organized for each course to give advice and assist in the development of course outlines and the selection of equipment.

"We envision this program as one answer to the present young employment dilemma," says state Board of Education chairman James S. Peters.

"The Georgia State Board of Education has long been concerned about our boys and girls who remain unemployed while thousands of jobs for highly skilled workers remain vacant for lack of qualified applicants," says Peters.

"After considerable study and research concerning population, migration patterns, economic situations etc., we unanimously adopted policies for the establishment of this system of area schools in 1958."



Staff Photo—Bob Dendy

DEKALB STUDENTS GET PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE IN WORKSHOP
L-R: Charles Cole, Stephen Dean, Joe Berger, Lyle Bluel, Jerry Gosdin

Georgia Wins U.S. Acclaim For Trade School System

Georgia, at the bottom of the heap in most educational areas, has won national acclaim for its system of trade schools.

The state's rapid change from an agricultural to an industrial economy and the migration of its people from rural areas to the larger population centers make these schools of great importance to the future say authorities.

Brown

Connell

Dendy

In this week's Task Force Report Constitution education writer Joe Brown and photographers Robert Connell and Bob Dendy report on what these schools have to offer.

Most of Students Land Jobs Before Training Is Finished

Most of Georgia's trade school students are offered jobs before their training is completed.

Of last year's graduates 97 per cent said they were satisfied with the first job they obtained. Sixty-one per cent of them went immediately from school to work.

Some were even hired without completing training.

"We're having fabulous luck with our graduates," W. M. Hicks, state supervisor of Trade and Industrial Education says.

"Our problem is that industry is in such need and workers are in such demand they're being hired off before getting their certificates."

"Of course, if they're nearly through the course they're still productive workers, but it would be better if they finish."

Some trade school graduates receive beginning annual salaries of $7,200; most receive beginning salaries of more than $70 a week.

The 14 schools in operation and the 9 that are scheduled to be completed in 1967 "are designed to meet the needs of a crash program, of the nuclear age and new industry," Hicks said.

"Our schools," he said, "are designed to meet the needs of three different groups of individuals."

He listed them as:

1. Young people who've graduated from high school, or even if they're dropouts, can spend six hours a day, five days a week, until trained.

2. Those who are employed in jobs but need more experience, and who need retraining. These can attend night school.

3. Those who are employed in jobs but need upgrading and better jobs.

The state has two trade schools with dormitories. One is in Clarkesville, serving north Georgia. The other is in Americus, serving south Georgia.

"Eventually everyone in Georgia should be in driving distance of some trade school," Hicks said.

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

~~LEAP~~ Apprenticeship

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

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Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

May 23, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

Enclosed is a short summary of the newly initiated Labor Education Advancement Program to be carried out in several cities of the Southern area.

The great efforts of federal program, such as the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Plans for Progress, etc. appear to have focussed on the white-collar and professional worker. However, it is recognized that there are far more opportunities for blue-collar jobs and the availability of such occupations has some correlations to the practices of local labor unions. Some local unions have established civil rights or fair employment practices of every local, in keeping with the national policy and clear legislation. Yet, there are others who remain unheeding to such a policy and are without Negro membership.

An attempt to initiate a program of this type was made several years ago, but neither the social climate nor legislative backing was conducive to its successful operation. In light of changed conditions and efforts on the part of national and international labor union presidents, the National Urban League is anxious to serve as the catalytic agency in this important area of the labor movement.

Therefore, I am seeking your cooperation, suggestions and ideas around this endeavor. I ask this because of your knowledge that despite the Negro's will to succeed, barriers to opportunity are the problem, and its solution appears to depend on economic growth and employment opportunities, to which the entire nation is committed.

Affiliated with National Social Welfare Assembly, National Conference on Social Welfare
Contributions to the National Urban League are tax deductible

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Presently, plans are being formulated to convene with several leaders of the Atlanta community in an effort to discuss and formulate appropriate steps of operation for this program. I extend a special invitation to you to be a part of this venture and will advise you of the scheduled meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin F. Lewis, ACSW
Field Representative

BFL:sat
Enclosure

FOUR STAR BOND
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25% COTTON FIBER

L E A P

(LABOR EDUCATION ADVANCEMENT PROGRAM)
National Urban League

Prepared by Benjamin F. Lewis, Field Representative, LEAP
Southern Regional Office, National Urban League, Inc.

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PURPOSE

Little has been done to bring to the attention of Negro youth and their parents, any realistic information regarding entrance qualifications in the apprenticeable trades. Employers and trade unions who are accelerating the pace of recruitment and acceptance of minority groups do not understand why the response by Negro youth is either minimal or non-existent. This is attributable to the lack of information about and understanding of what the requirements are in terms of educationsl background and skill level that are necessary to take advantage of such opportunities.

This means that attitudinal changes must be made within the Negro family, as well as within local unions to motivate non-white youths to make early career choices based upon first hand requisites necessary to enter into such occupations. Simultaneously, Project LEAP will provide orientation for non-white trade union members to assume leadership roles within local and international unions.

Project LEAP's purpose will be to provide Negroes with jobs so that they can reach an acceptable level of living in this country. Despite the Negro's will to succeed, barriers to opportunity are the problem and its solution appears to depend on economic growth and employment opportunities, to which the nation is committed.

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PROGRAM EMPHASIS

The main target areas of Project LEAP are threefold:

1. To develop pre-apprenticeship programs for selected occupations in several Urban League cities. Such a program of this nature will be concerned with the dynamics of disadvantaged Negro youth involving the utilization of union members to carry out the instruction, emphasizing the actual demands and pre-requisites necessary to enter into the apprenticeship program.

   The key in this area of concern is to persuade Negro youths to actively identify and associate themselves with the preparation for adulthood with serious intent and involvement. Such motivating influences will be symbols of communications depicting them and their role in the future by developing materials in visual and print media and employing techniques in group dynamics. This will be in connection with international unions and coordinating the efforts of local league affiliates. Moreover, the National Urban League will promote interest in this project at the local level via print and broadcast media, arranging personal appearances and oral presentations at community affairs and organizing union visitations and plant tours. This last aspect is seen as a dual purpose in providing Negro youths with first hand knowledge of pre-requisites necessary to enter into the various trade occupations and also to bring labor and management closer to the Negro community.

2. To develop programs for the minority trade unionists, emphasizing their leadership role and liaison within the trade union movement. Included would be specific programs designed to depict their role and the labor movements' responsibility to community affairs.

3. To have the National Urban League establish and maintain the same kind of dialogue with the labor movement as it has with commerce and industry. This will m ean establishing a Trade Union Advisory Council to coordinate this project, providing staff services to affiliates and actively participating in international union conventions, conferences, work-shops and other existing programs.

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OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this program will be within the context of already established goals and policies of the National Urban League's Job Development and Employment programs - specifically On-The-Job-Training and National Skills Bank operations and/or as follows:

1. To provide a background for non-white union members on their responsibility to the furtherance of the trade union movement.

2. To provide union members with community information and identification of their responsibility to the total community.

3. To provide for minority group youth, information and program activity which could lead to selected apprenticeable trades.

4. To facilitate the entrance of Negro youth into the trade union movement with the assistance and participation of local and international unions.

5. To establish dialogue and improve communications between the Negro community and representatives of organized labor.

6. Develop and disseminate information within the Negro community concerning blue-collar employment prospects, interpretation of the role of labor unions, membership requirements, etc.

7. To provide a realistic basis for expanding occupational and guidance counselling services in the predominantly Negro vocational and technical high schools.

8. To work directly with unions to eliminate discriminatory employment practices.

9. To provide employers with new and increased sources of manpower.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

June 22, 1966

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Southern Area Director
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
40 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

The enclosed sheets which are in rough draft constitute Eliza's proposal for the narrative part of a mimeographed pamphlet on training, information centers, and apprenticeships in the Atlanta area. The attached mimeographed sheets are ones which she has already run off and presumably might be included with the leaflet.

I have explained my travel situation to herefor the next few weeks and suggested that you be one of the persons she consult with prior to putting the draft into final shape. She knows that it will need some work. I will try to get my comments down so that both of you can have them.

I thought I would get this copy to you in advance for your information. I would guess that you have no really official role until she gets in touch with you. However, I thought there were several items in the report of special interest to you, especially her continuing negative response to the idea of an apprenticeship information center.

Enough for now.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

IAM negotiating goals set at GE, Westinghouse

Fifty-five enthusiastic IAM delegates representing General Electric and Westinghouse workers met recently in New York City to formulate national IAM goals for this year's negotiations, now less than four weeks away.

The two-day meeting was a sounding board for problems of IAM members working for GE and Westinghouse. The delegates reconfirmed their full support of the national bargaining goals adopted by eight AFL-CIO unions. In addition, they voted to seek "a greater measure of justice" on these four issues:

Apprenticeship program. The delegates blasted the corporations' training programs, accusing them of "diluting the trade." The present programs, the delegates contended, train machine operators instead of bona fide machinists.

National contract. IAM members will seek a national contract to end the management philosophy of "divide and conquer."

Abolishment of motion-time survey (MTS). Delegates called MTS and similar motion-time studies unfair. Straight time-study is sought as a substitute for all types of motion methods.

Prohibition of cameras. Delegates accused management of invading their privacy by installing cameras and other electronic devices to watch production. They want a contract clause prohibiting any use of such devices.

The delegates also discussed the latest attempts by management to break the eight-union negotiating effort. IAM members working at GE plants at Evandale, Ohio, and Milwaukee, Wis., reported receiving raises of four to 18 cents an hour. IAM Vice President Gilbert Brunner, a member of the eight-union steering committee, announced that other unions reported similar increases in at least ten GE plants. The corporation, labeling the increases inequity adjustments, has been quick to remind workers that the raises were given by management rather than won through union negotiations.

The delegates also heard Vernon Jirikowic, Albert Epstein, and Donald Wasserman, of the IAM Research Dept., recap the national demands and the unity efforts by the eight unions cooperating in this year's negotiations.

Winpisinger

Auto apprenticeship picking up speed

The long neglect of apprenticeship training in the auto and truck repair industry may be coming to an end.

That is the cautious optimism expressed recently by Grand Lodge Rep. William Winpisinger, the IAM's automotive coordinator.

Winpisinger spoke at the 22nd Annual Eastern Seaboard Apprenticeship Conference in Groton, Conn.

He reported on a new program in the trucking industry, scheduled to provide 2,000 new apprenticeship opportunities within the next ten months. The IAM is developing the program under contract with the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

Chrysler Corp. and Ford Motor Co. also are beginning to participate in government-sponsored programs for training auto mechanics, Winpisinger said.

"We are a long way from the 13,000 apprenticeships a year that represent our rockbottom requirement," he added. "But for the first time, government and labor and at least a significant part of industry have stopped coasting and started accelerating."

Winpisinger pointed out that for many years, while the auto industry kept breaking records in the production of new cars, "neither Detroit nor the franchised dealers considered it a part of their responsibility to train mechanics in sufficient number to take care of those cars."

He noted that in 1950, there was one mechanic for every 75 vehicles in the United States. By 1965, there was only one mechanic for every 101 vehicles.

Winpisinger explained why the trucking industry has led the way in apprenticeship training:

"In the trucking industry, operators can't afford long waits for service. They also can't risk sloppy or inept work. In a dealer garage the price of poor workmanship can be passed on to the guy who owns the car. In a truck garage, the guy who owns the truck and the guy who owns the garage are usually one and the same.

"Thus the operators of the great truck fleets that pound back and forth across the country have an economic stake in an adequate supply of good mechanics. This stake makes them much more willing to work with the union in developing apprenticeship training programs. We are delighted to work with them."

Winpisinger explained that the IAM has named four full-time coordinators who travel from Maine to Texas to set up apprenticeship training programs in the trucking industry and help recruit qualified apprentices.

Ramsey, Glover move to Chicago suburbs

The Chicago offices of IAM Vice Presidents Joe Ramsey and Eugene Glover are now under one roof, at Des Plaines, Ill., adjacent to O'Hare Airport. Both officers announced their new address last week: 50 West Oakton St., Des Plaines, Ill. 60018. The new building is owned by and is also headquarters for IAM Lodge 1487. To reach Vice President Ramsey or Glover call Area Code 312 774-8355.

ANKERS PHOTO

Badge for 15-year member

IAM Vice President Mike Rygus, temporarily in charge at union headquarters last month, pins a 15-year badge on Thomas Carroll of IAM Lodge 702, Miami, Fla. The ceremony took place during the recent Washington seminar for financial officers of air transport lodges.

~~Pl. Admit~~
Oppr,

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OF
GREATER ATLANTA, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE 523-1581

MRS. JOHN W. STANLEY
CHAIRMAN
MR. ZENAS SEARS
1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
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2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN
MISS GLENDA BRISCOE
SECRETARY
DR. JON JOHNSTON
TREASURER

MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Aug. 19, 1966

To: Dr. Cleveland Dennard
Mr. Ed Kehrer
Mr. Wiley Montague
Mr. Merlin Taylor
Mr. Emory Via

Fron: Eliza Paschall

Here is our latest effort at the apprentice program. We will appreciate reactions, corrections, additions, comments, etc. - shouldthis now be reproduced and distributed? Do you agree with the recommednations or "urgings"? Should they be stated as recommendations and should they be directed specifically to Sec. Wirtz and should we get other groups to recommend the samething at the same time, endorse these? Please fill in empty spaces on the chart thatyou can.

I would very much appreciate as prmpt a reply as possible as we can settle <u>something</u> about all this, before all the information is out of date!

P. S. Thought this had beem mailed out, but wires got crossed.

APPRENTICE PROGRAMS IN ATLANTA AREA REGISTERED WITH U.S., DEPT., of LABOR

TRADE	CLASSES BEGIN & WHEN APPLY	ELIGIBILITY	WHERE APPLY	MAKEUP of JAC *
1. Electrical	July by April 30	18-24 yrs. old or 28 if vet., equiv. of h.s. ed., copy of birth cert., pass apt. test at GSEO & interview by comm.	Rm.137,195 Pitree or Ga.St.Empl Office Mr. Walter Griffit, Coordinator	3 labor and 3 management
2. Ironworkers	Whenever there is a need for ironworkers	18-30 yrs. old, h.s.ed., pass apt. test at GSEO & interview by C.	1014 Edgewood Ave.Mr. Ben Lorry, Coordinator	
3. Painters	Anytime	18-24 yrs. old, h.s.ed., equiv. interview by Comm.	with coordinator, Mr. J.J. Webb, 263 Cassm st., 373-1463	3 & 3
4. Bricklayers	every 3 month by 15th of previous month	17-24 yrs. old, no ed. requirements	121 Memorial Dr., S.W., Mr. Elmer Holden or St. Labor Bldg. (trinity)	3 & 3
5. Sheet Metal	September Jun-Aug.	18-26 yrs. old, h.s.ed., pass math & apt. test at GSEO, & interview by C.	250 Tenth st. N.E., or St. Empl. Off. 873-3706	3 & 3
6. Plumbing & Pipefitting	February January September Summer	18-25 yrs. old, pass apt. test at GSEO, h.s.ed, pass math test at JAC, & interview by Comm.	GSEO only Mr. Curtis Green, Training Director, 200 Mech. Inst. Bldg. 742 Ponce De Leon St., Atlanta	4 & 4

(CONT'D)

TRADE	CLASSES BEGIN-WHEN APPLY	ELIGIBILITY	WHERE APPLY	MAKEUP OF JAC *
7. Carpenters	Apply anytime	18-24 yrs. old unless vet., h.s.ed. or equiv. pass apt. test at GSEO, interview by Comm.	Carpenters Union 250 Tenth St., N.E. Mr. Charles Ingraham, Director, c/o Flagler Co., 305 Techwood Dr., N.W.	3 & 3
8. Printers (Pressmen & Compositors)	Apply anytime	H.s.ed.19-25; or equivalent, apt. test at GSES, screened by Comm.	Capitol City Machine Shop, 301 Pryor St., S.W. Mr. W.H. Strickland 522-7739	Printing Industry, Atl. 881 Piedmont Rd. Mr. Baker 873-1805; then apply with printing co.
9. Machinists (Capitol City Machine Shop - private industry	Apply anytime	h.s.ed	~~Capitol City Machine Shop, 301 Pryor St., S.W. Mr. Walker St 873-1805 522-7739~~ Here with Printing Co.	
10. Lathers	Apply Mon. & Wed. 6:30 p.m. at JAC, as they need them, always keeping ratio on apprentice to 5 journeymen (?)	8th grade, apt. test; 18-24	158½ Auburn Ave., N.E. Mr. H.N. BOwen, Instructor Mr. Alexander Jackson, Bus. (525-4478)	
11. 11. Natl. Biscuit Co. Machinists	Private Co. training program for machine shop, Apply anytime.	18-30; h.s. ed and/or vocational sch. or work exp.	Apply with co., then screened by committee Mr. Vinson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Turner, Natl., Biscuit Co., Mfg. Plant, 1400 Murphey Ave., S.W. (758-7461)	
12. Roofers	Apply anytime	No special requirments.	JAC, Mr. Larry Shields, 208 Red Rock Bldg., 688-2543.	
13. Lockheed-Ga.	Apply anytime	18-26; h.s. ed.dip. pass test battery; strong in math; interview by subcomt., screened by full comm.	Mr. H.H. Mann, Apprentice training Coordinator, Lockheed-Ga., Dept., 89-01, Marietta (424-2782)	
14. Plasters & Cement Masons	Apply anytime	18-26; familiar with construction work.	Mr. E.C. Couch, 60 Haynes St., 525-1233.	

ROUGH DRAFT

INTRODUCTION

BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

The concern of the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta in the field of training and employment is that existing programs be equally available to Negroes and whites and that existing programs be adequate for those in need of training and/or jobs. Our function has been chiefly that of information and communication, particalarly where eligibility policies have changed.

We assume that an opportunity cannot be said to exist for someone if that individual does not know about it so we have concentrated on obtaining accurate information about training and job openings and distributing it to individuals who might be eligible and to those who advise and counsel on training and employment. It is in this setting that we sought information on apprenticeship training programs in the metropolitan Atlanta area, and it is for this purpose that the report was compiled.

Almost more important that the facts on the programs, however, is the fact of the difficulty of obtaining such information. In 1963 the Council for similar reasons collected information on apprenticeship programs, and it was necessary for someone to go to the regional office of the U.S. Dept., of Labor Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in Atlanta and copy from records there the names and addresses of the persons to contact for each of the programs approved for the area, and then to contact each of these individually for information on the program.

The situation in 1966 is the same. Because we know the people now, it was possible to telephone and ask for a list to be sent to us, but still there is no one office which maintains for general distribution a listing of approved apprentice programs for the Atlanta area, with information for each such as eligibility, application procedure, etc.. Only within the last months were we told there is one person on the staff of the Georgia State Employment Service who keeps current information on the programs in the Atlanta area - we were told that the particular individual assigned to this had changed

the new one-stop Federal Information Center worker did not know what an apprentice program is & did not connect the U.S. Dept. of Labor with it.

recently and we were told to "call the Employment Service" after talking with 4 different people there, we found one person who said he knew about the programs or which the GSES gives the test and he would mail us that list. After 10 days we have received no such list. The volunteer council worker who made the individual contacts found that in several cases, the person in charge had changed. In some cases required as many as 12 calls were required before the proper person was found. In one instance, it was necessary to wait for a person to return from a hospital confinement.

Confusing

The reasons given for this lack of information and coordination were are the same which had been given in 1963. It was pointed out that the Labor Department "acts as a consultant only..they contribute no money, have no supervisory power; can only encourage". Their legal obligation for informing those who might be interested is to inform the state school superintendent and the director of the state employment service. In Atlanta the assistant regional director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training does carry on a one man effort to inform high school students, principals and counselors, but obviously this cannot be a regular part of a regional job, and he reports not enough clerical staff to provide regular lists. The apprentice programs are in the hands of Joint Apprenticeship Committees (JACs) composed of representatives of labor and management. There does not appear to be any arena where the general public can share the responsibility and the initiative for these programs. There are 14 programs registered with the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training for metro Atlanta. (The 1963 list had 10. The Dept., of Labor says there are 350 - apprenticeable trades occupations in 102) Most of these programs do not have a specific number to be recruited for each year's class, therefore it is difficult to tell if these programs are meeting Atlanta's needs. The number to be admitted is usually decided at the monthly meeting of the JAC, depending on the job situation. One of those which does give a number is the Electrical JAC, which enrolls approximately 25 new apprentices each year. The Georgia Skill Study, prepared for the Georgia Department of Labor in 1962-63 predicted a need for 1253 new electricians to be trained to meet the needs of Atlanta industry for the 1962-67 5 years period. Recent legislation permits the establishment of Apprentices Information Centers, which could not only give facts but become a base of operations for Apprentice-related

350 or 19

Don't run together

activities. The Centers are operated under the auspices of the U.S. Dept., of Labor, but require the agreement and cooperation of management and labor. Reports as to why such a Center has not been established in Atlanta vary. Some say labor turned it down, (including the President of the Atlanta Trade Council) other labor leaders say they have never been called on to act on it, ~~that~~ other ~~that~~ It was not explained clearly and that they believe it should be reconsidered.

This lack of information and coordination is by no means unique with the apprenticeship program. Unfortunately it reflects a lack of information and coordination of the many and varied training and employment programs. Efforts to establish metropolitan Atlanta community-wide coordinating body for planning and evaluating so far have failed. The Georgia State Employment Service, which administers the MDTA program, has a state-wide advisory committee, which meets on call and which also serves for the metropolitan Atlanta area. [We obtained a list which contains the names of the state committee, but no addresses or identification - when we asked for addresses in order to be able to mail material to them we were told to maileit to the Employment Security Director who would decide if it is suitable].

U.S. Department of Labor bulletins have recommended a local Manpower Advisory committee appointed by the Employment Service as part of the Manpower Development and Training Act Program (MDTA) but none has ever been appointed for metropolitan Atlanta, although Mayor Ivan Allen only recently retired as one of the public representatives on the National Manpower Advisory Committee.

When it was suggested to Mayor Allen in 1963 that a local Manpower Committee be appointed, he indicated that initiation of such a committee was not a function of mayor'r office.

On January 2, 1964 a meeting on Training was called by the Atlanta Coordinating Committee, which had been appointed by Mayor Allen in response to the creation of the Summit Leadership Conference. The meeting was attended by representatives of state and federal agencies, labor management and civic organizations. Again the desirability of a community wide committee was agreed upon, but there was no answer to the questions of who should initiate such, and who should pay for any expenses incured.

A report of the Council on Human Relations dated January 14, 1964 records an interview with the Supervisor of Community Employment Programs of Georgia Department of Labor who replied "yes" to the question "would it be good to have a community-wide committee?" The next question was "who would appoint such" and the answer was "we would. We're working on that now".

There is still no metropolitan committee, and indeed according to the Employment and Service board there is no one person in charge of the services of the Employment Service in the metropolitan area. When an interviewer asked to speak to the person in charge of the Atlanta area, she was told that there is no one person, that it varies with each program. Most of these programs are cooperative programs with the U.S. Department of Labor and as such come under the general supervision of the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, but ~~the~~ any coordination at present seems to be primarily at the national level. In the regional office of the Labor Department in Atlanta, as in other regional Labor Dept., offices, there is no regional director, but a regional committee made up of the heads of the various bureaus with a rotating chairman.

The latest recommendation for a coordinating committee or council comes from the recent White House Conference on Civil Rights. The report of the Council which planned the June 1-2 1966 White House conference on civil rights made a series of recommendations, the first of which is "Establish Metropolitan Jobs Councils in all Major Urban Areas to Plan, Coordinate, and Implement Local Programs to Increase Jobs". The recommendation is restated "What should be done": "Metropolitan Jobs Councils should be established in each major urban area with a substantial Negro population. With urgent support from the highest levels of the national government, the initiative in establishing such councils should be taken promptly in all major cities of the United States".

The part of the picture which is still missing is WHO is to take the initiative and even more important, at whose initiative will other groups respond, so that the Jobs Council includes those actually involved in Manpower programs rather than those who comment on manpower programs. TO WHOM is such a Council to be accountable and WHAT CONTROLS could it or should it exert over the "job system" of the community?

The apprentice training picture in Atlanta illustrates clearly the need for coordination and stimulation of more efforts. It illustrates just as clearly the present diffusion of responsibility and authority and the resulting confusion to those for whose benefit the programs are being developed.

There is now a new President's Committee on Manpower Coordination. Secretary of Labor Wirtz is Chairman and the members include heads of most departments and agencies of the executive branch of the U.S. government. Hopefully coordination on this level will be reflected in regional and local levels.

We respectfully urge Secretary of Labor Wirtz (1) to direct appropriate persons in his own department to take the initiative in establishing adequate community councils which the general public can then hold accountable for protecting the public interest in this important area of training and employment, and (2) to make sure that the offices established for these purposes be staffed with adequate office clerical personnel to enable the public to reap the benefits of the efforts of the professional personnel, and (3) we urge that another effort be made to establish an Apprentice Information Center in Atlanta.

1 September 1966

Professor Gerald Somers
Center for Studies in Vocational
and Technical Education
Room 205
Social Science Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Jerry:

Belatedly I find that I can attend your conference on research and apprenticeship training. My registration form is enclosed. I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Emery F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

THE S REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W
ATLANTA GA

LABOR DAY EDITION

Another Copy Of North Carolina's Only Official AFL-CIO Newspaper Being Mailed To:

This emblem on the masthead of any labor publication certifies that publication is a member in good standing of the International Labor Press Association, AFL-CIO and has bound itself to observe ILPA's Code of Ethics.

Labor News

Published Weekly | Vol. 26, No. 20 | DURHAM, N.C., FRIDAY, SEPT. 2, 1966 | Price Per Copy Five Cents

NATION SALUTES LABOR

1966 LABOR DAY MESSAGE By GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT OF AFL-CIO

On this Labor Day it is appropriate, I think, to discuss the labor movement in perspective. It is especially appropriate because in recent weeks and months, some of the basic precepts of free trade unionism have been challenged.

First, let us look briefly at the nature of the American labor move-

to organize—sometimes successfully, but more often unsuccessfully—without any legal protection, and often in the face of government hostility. They persevered because they knew collective bargaining was both necessary and right. They knew it was necessary, simply by their experience as workers. They

Drive Launched For Labor Day Safety

The 8th annual Labor Day Safety Campaign co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Committee on Safety & Occupational Health and the Labor Conference of the National Safety Council has been launched with its slogan "Whatever you do, do it safely over the Labor Day weekend."

Material sent international and

OFFICERS OF N. C. STATE AFL-CIO

Seated, left to right—J. R. Fry, first vice president; W. M. Barbee, president; Daniel A. Powell, director COPE Area 5. Standing, left to right—J. P. McKeller, vice president;

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On this Labor Day it is appropriate, I think, to discuss the labor movement in perspective. It is especially appropriate because in recent weeks and months, some of the basic precepts of free trade unionism have been challenged.

First, let us look briefly at the nature of the American labor movement. The one word that best describes its day-to-day operation is "practical." We deal with one problem, or one set of problems at a time. We avoid pre-conceived notions, and we do not try to fit our program into some theoretical, all-embracing structure.

This down-to-earth, one thing at a time approach is uniquely American. And it can be said, I think, that this same pragmatic approach is a unique feature of the American legislative system..

But this does not mean—as our friends overseas sometimes say—that the United States or the American labor movement have no basic principles, no fundamental beliefs or no philosophical perspective.

All of us who are Americans know, almost instinctively, what our country stands for. We may disagree on specific issues, but we were raised in a free society, and we have no need for a handbook to define it for us.

The same is true of us who are in the labor movement. We also know, almost instinctively, what the labor movement is, and why. But this is not true, unfortunately, among many Americans who are not trade unionists. So a few lines of history may be useful..

From the early years of the republic it was apparent to wage-earners that there was a need for collective bargaining. Maybe they didn't use those words, but they realized that workers had to stand together in order to win fair terms of employment and to protect themselves against arbitrary and capricious decisions by management.

By now, an overwhelming majority of the American people also realize this fact. But it was not until 1935 that the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively was written into federal law—a law that was unanimously upheld by the Supreme Court two years later.

For more than a century before that time, workers had been trying to organize—sometimes successfully, but more often unsuccessfully—without any legal protection, and often in the face of government hostility. They persevered because they knew collective bargaining was both necessary and right. They knew it was necessary, simply by their experience as workers. They knew it was right, because their instincts as free Americans told them so.

So eventually, what was necessary and right became, by law, the policy of the United States. There are still some who seek to evade or frustrate that policy, but in general it is accepted.

Now let's see what is involved in collective bargaining.

There is nothing complicated about the basic idea. The workers get together and decide what they want and what they need in the way of wages and working conditions. They elect representatives to discuss these proposals with the employer, who may have other ideas. Then the two parties bargain until they come to an agreement which is reasonably satisfactory to both sides.

This may sound too simple to be true. But in actual fact, something very much like this is what actually happens.. This is how the overwhelming majority of the 150,000 labor-management contracts now in force are negotiated.

In other words, the prevailing condition in union-management relations is labor peace, based upon agreements reached through collective bargaining.

This is due in part to the common sense of the employers. There was a time when some trade union leaders failed to acknowledge this fact. They painted every employer as a symbol of total selfishness. While it is true that there are still too many employers who fit that description, it is also true that there are many others who genuinely want to be fair and many more who recognize that fair wages and working conditions are the best way to build a productive work-force.

Bargains can be reached because each side has the same general objective—a fair share from a prospering enterprise. The union has no

Continued On Page Four

Drive Launched For Labor Day Safety

The 8th annual Labor Day Safety Campaign co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Committee on Safety & Occupational Health and the Labor Conference of the National Safety Council has been launched with its slogan "Whatever you do, do it safely over the Labor Day weekend."

Material sent international and national unions and state and local central bodies includes tips for safe driving, safety in swimming, camping and other recreational activities, and safety in the home.

The hints can "help make labor's own holiday weekend a safe and happy one," Robert M. Farrell, chairman of the Labor Conference and safety director of Operating Engineers Local 150, Chicago, said in an accompanying letter.

"Accidents cause pain and suffering," he pointed out, "and, oftentimes, a loss of income and excessive drain on health and welfare funds."

The tips include:

- Driving: Make a safety check of the car before leaving, wear seat belts, don't try to cover too much ground in too short a time, don't be so intent on the immediate that you ignore the road ahead, give plenty of room to other drivers, stop and pass carefully, give adequate warning when turning, and be extra cautious in case of rain.

- Recreation: Don't be overconfident in the water, make sure life preservers work, watch out for camp fires especially if the wind changes and if possible avoid carrying flammable liquids in a car—especially in a confined area like a trunk.

- At home: Clean up the yard to remove dangers like rocks, nails, glass, old lumber, etc., and check it for poison ivy, oak and sumac; make sure play equipment is strong enough to take rough play; keep a watch on swimming or wading pools; place the charcoal grill on level ground and never use it inside, dress properly for cooking, never use kerosene, gasoline or lighter fluid for a starter, and keep an extinguisher or water handy just in case.

OFFICERS OF N. C. STATE AFL-CIO

Seated, left to right—J. R. Fry, first vice president; W. M. Barbee, president; Daniel A. Powell, director COPE Area 5. Standing, left to right—J. P. McKeller, vice president; Curtis Bullock, 4th vice president; Leroy Capps, vice president; Edith Truitt, vice president; John Jennings, vice president; Ted B. Davis, 3rd vice president; J. R. Dinkins, 2nd vice president; Doris Davenport, State AFL-CIO office secretary; Sam H. Scott, vice president; J. L. Williams Jr., State COPE director; Catherine Kelly, State AFL-CIO office secretary.

HENNING CALLS APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS BASIC TO OUR FREEDOM

LAFAYETTE, Ind. — Apprentice training programs are the foundation of free labor and free industry and there must be no surrender in standards of qualification, Under Sec. of Labor John F. Henning declared here.

Henning was the principal speaker at the awards banquet of the 13th annual apprentice contest and instructor training course of the Plumbers & Pipe Fitters at Purdue University .

"There is nothing in the nation like this training program, which is a tribute to union and management," he said as he told young men about to become journeymen and their teachers that there no longer is a place in the changing U.S. industrial life for the unskilled worker.

Union Pres. Peter T. Schoemann, praising the personal sacrifices the apprentices had made the last five years and the instructors "who are the life blood of the program," charged those graduating into the ranks of journeymen to "do your work faithfully and honorably and always give your employer a good day's work."

The courses certified a record 707 plumbing, pipe fitter and sprinkler fitter instructors and saw 114 apprentices compete for $5,250 cash and additional bonus prizes in three categories.

In the plumber contest, Kurt M. Werber of New York, Local 1, captured the $1,000 first prize with the second prize of $500 going to Harold W. Otten, Chicago Local 130, and the $250 third prize to William R. Watt, Cleveland Local 55.

Thomas M. Collins, Chicago Local 281, was the $1,000 prize winner in the sprinkler fitter competition. Second was Danny R. Pavey, Evansville, Ind. Local 669, and third was Henry E.. Stoepker of Comstock Park, Mich., also from Local 669.

The pipe fitting $1,000 top prize was awarded Edward Murray, Philadelphia Local 420. Arthur C. Hombsch, Milwaukee Local 601, took the $500 second prize and Robert F. Horsch, St. Paul Local 455, the $250 for third.

Henning said he was proud of all building trades unions for their efforts in ending discrimination and pointed out that of the 8,600 complaints filed with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission in its first year, only 10 had involved any building trades union.

"If a man is qualified, he has the right to work where you work," he declared. "Churches, businesses, newspapers, television and American industry are led and staffed by white men. A tragedy of the times is that organized labor has been cited by some as one of the villians of discrimination. But all must see that the qualified are not prevented from working or advancing because of their race, creed, color or national origin."

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RESEARCH

in

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

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a conference co-sponsored by

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, OFFICE OF
MANPOWER POLICY, EVALUATION, AND RESEARCH

and

THE CENTER FOR STUDIES IN
VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION
of
THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
Industrial Relations Research Institute

●

Thursday, September 8, and
Friday, September 9, 1966

at

THE WISCONSIN CENTER
Langdon and Lake Streets
Madison, Wisconsin

September 26, 1966

Professor Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
College of Arts and Sciences
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas 78712

Dear Ray:

The trail has become somewhat cool. But let me make a stab at giving you some of the apprenticeship information which you wanted. Most of what I have is on the attached sheet. I hope that somewhere Lamond's Interview Reports will be found.

A few notes regarding the attached sheet and other matters may be in order. They follow. In each case where no Negroes were in the apprentice program, but where I have indicated some applications, I feel quite confident that the applications were made. However, I do not know the quality of the applicant nor that these were the only applications made.

It is my understanding that the painters at one point had two Negro apprentices as indicated on the sheet. However, I have been told that one of them dropped out and the other was drafted.

I am not certain of the status of the roofers' program. My understanding is that they have a difficult time maintaining the program because the training component is of such little value and that helpers get the same pay increases as apprentices. Furthermore, a helper can evidently move to journeyman status ("When ready") by paying $150.00.

To our knowledge there are no apprentices anywhere in the printing trades in the area. However, there may now be, due to company consolidations, some Negro journeymen. A lithograph business agent took a couple of likely Negro applicants to several shops and created some interests (as well as some sharp reactions), but I do not think that the situation has yet changed.

Lockheed has had two programs which evidently overlapped to some degree in time. The most recent of these, unless a third has now been started, accepted twenty-six persons, five of whom were Negroes. One of the Negro apprentices went almost immediately (after a few days of training) into Lockheed's Industrial engineering Training Program. Lockheed has evidently had at least one Negro each to complete the program in electronics and sheet metal working. Two men who were turned down by Lockheed - they fell below the cut off score on the test- filed some sort of complaint through the NAACP. Lamond was to have checked on this. I am not sure as to the quality of the men or on what basis the complaint was being made.

I have heard some complaint raised about Title 29, Subtitle "A" from the Secretary of Labor regarding non-discrimation in Apprentice and Training (Part 30) at least one complaint has come from within MDAT- someone concerned about employment discrimation. The jest of the complaint is with the construction and administration of the five-page application. It contains sixty-one questions (all of which I am sure you are aware of) which in many respects are tough for the uninitiative. As an example a question which ask about claustrophobia or agoraphobia would be tough for most ordinary applicants. Similiarly, even a question such as whether a man had ever filed under workman's compensation, considering the state of public information, might be a tough one. As a general rule the application is supposed to be filled out in the office and this usually means without assistance. Then in some places the apprentice is handed an appendix listing approximately two hundred organizations from the Attorney General's list and asked, if they are/ or were a member of any of them. Also question 33 ask about arrest records, which would seem to me quite unnessary even though the question is subsequently refined by asking about actual convictions.

I understand that the roofers in Memphis have raised some question about the Title 29 Application Form and it could be that they have refused to make use of it in their selection process.

Atlanta seems to fit the not unusual pattern of having little general information available about the apprentice programs. Certainly the information is not widely dissimulated. The Atlanta Council on Human Relations engaged in a program of calling BAT and the Georgia Department of Labor for information. They were always told to go directly to the individual JAC'S. By and large the response from the responsible JAC'S person was quite discouraging both in terms of the level of information and/or interest in providing the information to others. No special push was being made to initiate Negroes into those programs by the Council.

Similiarly, the director and others at Carver Vocational School have had difficulty in receiving notices about apprentice openings, classes, or test. Even when registered letters went to the individual JAC'S or Unions requesting information few replied (two) were received. I think the same situation had been true for counselors in the Negro high schools. However, the Urban League and Merlin Taylor have worked together to remedy the situation to some degree as far as the high schools are concerned. This latter program has reached not only the faculty, but students and parents as well.

I trust that this will be of use to you. If Lamond's work is uncovered, it would still be of great interest to me. I would like to know, if any of the interviews produced anything.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:hj

Enclosure

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SEP 29 1966

File

~~Bob A.~~

~~Please Index~~

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

SCHOOL OF
MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES

September 28, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director of Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I appreciate very much your letter dated September 15, 1966 relative to the recent Apprenticeship Conference which was held at The Wisconsin Center, Madison, Wisconsin, early this month. The conference was well planned and executed in my opinion, and I left with the feeling that I had acquired sufficient background information to approach the apprenticeship problem with renewed vigor. Naturally, I have been concerned about the apprenticeship program for a number of years.

Although I could tell by the tentative roster distributed the first day of the conference that you were there, I did not get chance to contact you due to the very heavy schedule planned for us. I regret this very much and look forward to the opportunity of meeting you. I do get to Atlanta occasionally and usually telephone Mr. Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA, of your office while there. I will plan to contact you the next time I am in Atlanta. In the meantime, I shall be pleased to have you visit us at Tuskegee Institute when you are in this area.

I want to thank you for sending me a copy of the Council's Vol. 21, No. 3, edition of New South. The article by Dr. K. U. Smith on "The Testing Hoax" is very interesting and thought provoking. I am also very much interested in the other articles and will read them very soon. Then, I will give my colleagues an opportunity to read this issue.

With best regards and good wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

John A. Welch
Dean

JAW/w

EV – Apprenticeship

To Determine Impact:

Building Trades Set Prefabrication Study

The AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. has contracted for a comprehensive research program covering the impact of prefabrication on the construction industry and the course it is likely to take in the future.

The study, to be conducted by the Battelle Memorial Institute, was authorized by the departmental convention in December and is expected to take about nine months, BCTD Pres. C. J. Haggerty said.

It will seek answers to questions raised by the continuing growth and use of prefabrication within the industry and the resulting effect on members of the 18 international unions affiliated with the department. It will also attempt to point toward solutions to problems that have followed, Haggerty said.

Much work previously done on the job site is now being done in factories and has produced a number of new concepts, one of which, he pointed out, is whether a readjustment of skills requires new union training programs.

Basis for Survey

"A main basis for the survey," Haggerty said, "is that no one ever has had basic information concerning the entire scope of prefabrication. Without such facts, obviously, proper courses of action cannot be planned."

The objective of the study will be to identify the types and estimate the amount of construction work that may be shifted from job site to factory or changed otherwise in character because of prefabrication, Haggerty emphasized. It also will examine the effects of other tech- and skills at the job site.

Materials, products, techniques, equipment, design concepts or any combination of these elements will be examined where they have influenced, or may be expected to influence, the allocation of manpower in the "residential, non-residential and non-building segments of the construction industry through 1975," the department said.

Most of the study will be conducted in the United States but the situation in Europe will be scrutinized — particularly current prefabrication practices or expected trends which could be transferred to this country.

Field interviews with contractors, home builders, manufacturers, architects and trade association executives are expected to develop much of the data necessary for the survey, Haggerty said.

Information also will be sought in interviews with consultants and authorities in universities, technical societies and government agencies, he added.

The Battelle Memorial Institute, with headquarters in Columbus, O., is the largest privately-operated research organization in the world.

It has laboratories in Columbus, Geneva, Switzerland; Frankfurt, Germany, and Richland, Wash., and is staffed by more than 5,600 scientists, engineers, economists and sup-

BRUSH-UP COURSE in drilling techniques was given Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California after he had addressed the first class in the Laborers' training course being given at the Marine Cooks & Stewards Training Center in Santa Rosa, Calif. His instructor is Richard L. (Stubby) Andreoff, in dark glasses in the center, who teaches drilling and blasting. At far right is Laborers Vice Pres. Terence J. O'Sullivan.

Pilot Project Seeks to Upgrade Construction Skills of Laborers

Santa Rosa, Calif.—A job training program to upgrade the skills of construction laborers has been initiated by the Northern California District Council of Laborers and has proved so successful in its first few weeks that the international union is acting to make it a national project.

The pilot project, financed with a total grant of $721,758 under the Manpower Development & Training Act, is being carried out at the 400-acre Marine Cooks & Stewards Training School here.

It calls for nine six-week sessions during each of which some 60 union members will receive instruction in the more skilled work laborers do in the construction industry. They are nominated by the executive boards of the 21 locals in 46 Northern Cal-

six. If the applicant is eligible for more than $46 in unemployment compensation benefits, he will receive the difference.

A $5 a day subsistence allowance also is provided, with the Marine Cooks & Stewards getting $4 of it for food costs.

ministrator, a safety instructor who doubles as a field clerk, and a tool and maintenance man.

The first class started training on Aug. 1. Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown (D) officially opened the site at subsequent exercises attended by representatives of each Northern

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It calls for nine six-week sessions during each of which some 60 union members will receive instruction in the more skilled work laborers do in the construction industry. They are nominated by the executive boards of the 21 locals in 46 Northern California counties and finally selected by the district council.

In outlining the program, Vice Pres. Terence J. O'Sullivan, who was instrumental in developing it, said the instruction would include, but not be limited to, pipe laying, drilling, use of explosives, equipment operation and care, concrete placement, and excavation and compaction principles.

Union spokesmen pointed out that construction laborers are called upon to perform a wide variety of tasks, and that the broader a man's range of skills, the better are his chances both for getting jobs and for keeping them longer. In some locals, it was said, jobless unskilled members may outnumber idle skilled workers by as much as 80-to-1 at the height of employment.

Welcomed by Employers

Employers under contract with the union have heartily endorsed the program, pointing out that the availability of laborers with a broad range of skills will cut down manpower turnover, make the workers more productive, avert delays on the job and lower construction costs.

Pres. Joseph V. Moreschi of the international union called the training the union's "most significant program in 20 years."

Based on the successful experience so far of the pilot project here, the Laborers are seeking additional federal grants to expand the training in other parts of the country.

The trainees, under the MDTA, receive a minimum of $46 a week while at the school, plus $5 a week for each dependent up to six. If the applicant is eligible for more than $46 in unemployment compensation benefits, he will receive the difference.

A $5 a day subsistence allowance also is provided, with the Marine Cooks & Stewards getting $4 of it for food costs.

Field instruction is given by six experienced construction laborers, each of whom supervises 10 trainees. The administration is in the hands of a liaison director, liaison administrator, training facility administrator, a safety instructor who doubles as a field clerk, and a tool and maintenance man.

The first class started training on Aug. 1. Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown (D) officially opened the site at subsequent exercises attended by representatives of each Northern California local.

The project is in the nature of a bonus for the Marine Cooks & Stewards, whose own trainees are gaining experience by serving the Laborers' contingent.

Kerner Pledges Drive For Illinois Labor Goals

Chicago—Major legislative goals of the Illinois State AFL-CIO—collective bargaining for public employes, a state minimum wage law and freedom of residence—received a big boost from Gov. Otto Kerner as he urged election of a Democratic legislature on Nov. 8.

Addressing 2,500 delegates to the 9th annual Illinois State AFL-CIO convention, Kerner said gains for working people can come only after the voters tear apart the "iron curtain" to progress drawn around the State Senate by the Republican Party.

He reminded the delegates that all labor supported bills passed the House, where the Democrats hold the majority, but were killed in the GOP-controlled Senate. In a preview of his program for the 1967 General Assembly, Kerner urged:

- A state minimum wage to "end vicious economic injustice done to workers not protected by the federal law." He said he will ask for legislation to bring Illinois in line with the improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act just signed by Pres. Johnson.
- A "freedom of residence" law to ban bias in the sale and rental of homes, with adequate provisions for enforcement. Kerner also called for measures to strengthen the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission.
- A program to wipe out areas of blight and misery in the slums and ghettoes of the state's urban areas.
- Legislative approval of recommendations to come from a special Labor-Management Commission on Collective Bargaining for Public Employes.

The governor urged the re-election of Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D) for the good of the nation as well as the working men and women of Illinois. Douglas was urged to run for re-election by the Illinois AFL-CIO last year and has been endorsed by state and local COPE units, railway unions and other labor groups.

AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Joseph D. Keenan warned against apathy in the coming weeks. Keenan stressed that labor's opponents are using a subtle approach this year instead of frontal attacks on progressive programs.

Resolutions Adopted

After adopting a series of resolutions on collective bargaining for public employes, the convention approved a statement making the issue a major area of concern in endorsing candidates in the future. A similar stand was taken on freedom of residence. These two items were included in the review of voting records that led to support for candidates in the November elections.

Delegates called for a state basic wage of at least $1.50 an hour, a ban on the importation of strikebreakers and an end to federal guidelines on wage increases.

Clarence Meter Named To NLRB Regional Post

Minneapolis, Minn. — Clarence A. Meter will be promoted from regional attorney to regional director of the National Labor Relations Board office here, succeeding C. Edward Knapp, retired. Meter has been an NLRB aide since 1942.

North Dakota Delegates Stress Legislative Aims

Jamestown, N.D.—The North Dakota AFL-CIO concluded a three-day convention here by endorsing state and federal candidates at a COPE conference and setting new goals for improved state legislation.

More than 150 delegates to the 9th annual convention voted to support Rep. Rolland Redlin (D) in the western district and State Rep. S. F. Hoffner (D) for the eastern district seat held by Rep. Mark Andrews (R).

The convention also backed Bronald Thompson, Democratic endorsee, for state public service commissioner and Earl Anderson, member of the Transportation-Communication Employes, for the newly created post of state labor commissioner.

A state legislative program drafted by committees and endorsed by delegates urged a prevailing wage rate for state contract work, bargaining rights for state employes, improvements in the workmen's compensation law, released time for voting, a state chauffeur's license law, and a statutory minimum wage incorporated in the present minimum wage board legislation.

Constitutional changes included dropping the words "Federation of Labor" from the central body's name, making it the North Dakota AFL-CIO; and adding a fifth vice presidential district to the state body.

The delegates authorized a labor education program featuring week-long institutes, called for the affiliation of all eligible labor organizations with the state federation, and retained Pres. Wallace J. Dockter and Sec.-Treas. Robert A. Donegan for new terms. Donegan recently was named to succeed Donald Hertz.

Pres. Ed Smith of the North Dakota Farmers Union, addressing the convention, said farmers and workers should improve their communications with each other "so farmers will know the real labor cost of a tractor and workers know the real farm cost of a loaf of bread."

'Work' Repeal Urged

State AFL-CIO Pres. Emeritus William W. Murrey urged a continuing drive for repeal of the state's "right to work" law, saying "we can live with it but we can live better without it." The law, he said, forces unions to provide costly services for non-members but prohibits them from negotiating union shop contracts.

Other speakers included Stuart Brock of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education, Lieut. Gov. Charles Tighe, Pres. Clifford W. Shrader of the South Dakota AFL-CIO, Executive Dir. Marcella Beatty of the AFL-CIO National Auxiliaries, AFL-CIO Regional Dir. Carl Winn, Mrs. Margaret Thornburgh, western area director for the COPE Women's Activities Dept., and Jack E. McCoy, area COPE director.

October 18, 1966

Mr. Herbert Hill
Labor Secretary
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Herb:

Thanks for sending the copy of your testimony before the New York City Commission on Human Rights at the Construction Trades Hearing. I found it interesting.

I am taking a second year's leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin to continue my work with the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Apprenticeship — where is it? What dept

MACHINIST PHOTO

First IAM Pensioner at Eastern Can

Gus Marinello, third from left, is the first IAM member at the Eastern Can Co., Clifton, N.J., to retire under the IAM Labor-Management Pension Fund, William Oram, president of IAM Lodge 402, reports. More than 300 members at Eastern Can won the Pension Fund under a contract negotiated earlier this year by a committee headed by Peter Baron, union representative for IAM District 15.

Although he was covered by the IAM Labor-Management Pension Fund for only a few months, Marinello had enough past service to qualify for his pension. He worked for Eastern Can for 35 years, the last 20 under an IAM agreement, and all prior service was transferred to the new pension plan.

In the photo, front row, l to r: P. Cuevas, committeeman; H. Zale, Eastern vice president; Marinello; Louis Amato, shop steward; Sal Rea, committeeman. Back row: Norman Cox, Louis Caquais and Joseph DiAmore, all Lodge 402 committeemen. Benefits are paid only to IAM members whose employers make contributions to the IAM Labor-Management Pension Fund.

Ryan

Ryan to head new department

The IAM will establish a special department for government employees on Nov. 1. The new department will be built on the foundation prepared by IAM District 44, the union's spokesman for federal workers for more than 60 years.

William H. Ryan, president of District 44, will become a Grand Lodge Representative and the national coordinator of the IAM Government Employees' Department. District 44 is disbanding.

The reorganization was approved by the District's executive board meeting in Washington last week. It will provide federal workers with more union services and will make greater organizing facilities available to all government lodges.

Landmark of progress

Ryan told THE MACHINIST that the new department is a "landmark of progress in representing, servicing and organizing federal employees." He continued:

"The Government Employees Department will provide us with the tools to do a more effective job than we have ever done."

Ryan said that the need for a special IAM department for federal workers became evident shortly after the late President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10988. This order gave government employees bargaining rights they had not previously enjoyed.

Executive Order 10988 created new responsibilities for District 44. The need for more organizing, negotiating and servicing became clear. The influx of government employees required more manpower.

Ryan explained that the new department makes available more union representatives to assist government lodges and members. He predicted that this will also bring more organizing in areas where there are unorganized government employees.

The new Government Employees Department will operate from IAM headquarters, Washington, D.C. All department officers and special representatives will be on the staff of IAM Vice President Ross L. Matthews.

Ryan will head the department with two assistant coordinators, Grand Lodge Rep. Peter A. MacCagno on the east coast and Grand Lodge Rep. William S. Holly on the west coast.

The department will have 12 regions with a union representative assigned to each region. These representatives, now being selected, will be experienced in working with government officials.

Wherever possible, lodges now affiliated with District 44 will join district lodges in their locality. Several new district lodges will be established for government employees. Some lodges will not be affiliated with districts at present.

Long history

The establishment of the Government Employees Department marks the end of District 44's long history of service to federal workers. The district was set up in 1904 to give government employees a voice in legislative activities and for attempting to handle individual and group grievances. Under Executive Order 10988, federal workers never had need of union bargaining services.

For 40 years, the district was guided by N. P. Alifas, now its president emeritus. During both World Wars, the district represented federal employees at every major government-owned or operated defense facility. The district continued its growth under the leadership of N. P. Weatherby, president until 1954.

Ryan joined District 44 as a representative in 1952, became president in 1954. Under his guidance, the district launched new organizing drives to bring thousands of federal employees into the union.

More union jobs won at Union Carbide Corp.

Members of IAM Lodge 598, South Charleston, W. Va., voiced strong objections recently when the Union Carbide Corp. tried to take some union jobs out of the bargaining unit.

Walter G. Grady, Jr., lodge representative, reports that the company took over some of the functions of the fire station attendants classification. The firm assigned to plant guards, who are not part of the bargaining unit, the communications and surveillance activities normally performed by fire station attendants covered by the contract.

Union representatives complained to the company that the move was in violation of the contract, but management refused to budge from its position. The case was presented to an impartial arbitrator who ruled that the jobs must be returned to the bargaining unit. Consequently, Brady reports, the firm agreed to assign these duties to union members and to add four new jobs.

Black market in craftsmen

McNett

Something new in wartime, a black market for skilled workers has been uncovered in the West Coast aerospace industry.

On the black market, aerospace manufacturers are now paying up to $12 an hour for tool planners, template makers and other scarce skills.

Unfortunately, only part of the money goes to the craftsmen. A large part is commission paid to promotors who hire them for farming out. In the plants, these operators have become known as "the flesh peddlers."

Scarce skills

Tom McNett, president of IAM District 727 at Burbank, Calif., has revealed that the promoters are recruiting scarce skills through newspaper want ads and the state's Employment Service. They put them on their payroll at $6 an hour and them farm them out under contract to the aerospace industry at a reported $8 to $12 an hour.

The $12-an-hour rate is paid for the same work for which Lockheed, for example, is paying $4.20 an hour plus $1.30 an hour for fringe benefits to its regular employees.

In other words, Lockheed's regular craftsmen are paid 50 cents an hour less than temporary help sent in by contractors for the same work.

"There is a lot of trouble building up in this black market both for the workers and for the industry," McNett has warned.

He explained that experienced craftsmen are leaving their jobs, abandoning their seniority for short term work. They are sacrificing their job security, their pensions and their savings plan as well as most of their fringe benefits.

"When times change and aerospace slows down, they will be the first out on the street," he pointed out. "And they won't have any severance."

On the other hand, he explained, bringing temporary craftsmen into the plant at higher rates not only violates the union contract, it is lighting the fires of discontent and dissatisfaction among long-time employees who deserve any special consideration the company has to offer.

IAM leaders at District 727 have been startled by the fact that the Federal Government, which pays most of the bills for the aerospace industry, has failed to stop the "flesh peddlers" that are known to be operating at Lockheed and Northrup.

In some cases, the promoters are known to be recruiting Lockheed's regular help for work at Northrup while they are selling men with the same skill to Lockheed.

Grievance

"If this black market grows," McNett pointed out, "the Government will be paying a fee to the promoters for every hour the skilled men work. This will raise labor costs without improving the lot of the men. In fact, in the long run it will be a handicap in every wage negotiation."

District 727 has filed a formal union grievance which charges that Lockheed is in daily violation of its collective bargaining agreement. It is seeking equal pay for union members who do the same work as the men working at Lockheed for outside contractors.

IAM Lodge 702, Miami, publishing newsletter

IAM Lodge 702, Miami, Fla., has begun publication of its own newsletter, Donald B. Shea, lodge president, reports. The first issue of "The Voice of 702" explains that the publication will seek to improve communications between officers and members and to spotlight unsafe and improper working conditions at Eastern Airlines. George M. Brown is editor of the twice-monthly newsletter.

MACHINIST PHOTO

IAM District 136 holds seminar

These are the officers and stewards of IAM District 136, Wheeling, W. Va., who recently attended the first in a series of special one-day seminars, Robert Kleek, district president, reports. Grand Lodge Rep. Jack Anderson conducted courses on local lodge meetings, the history of labor and the IAM, and labor legislation.

Those attending included, front row, l to r: L. K. Moore, union representative; J. M. Rine; Anthony Provenzano and Charles Sansone. Second row: William Richards, Edna Rucki, Juliene DeMuth, Esther Tholman, Pearl Fraznelli, Ruth Haglock and George Featherline. Back row: Lewis Keites, Thomas Corkran, Paul Whalen, Joseph Barker, Charles Davis, Anderson and Kleek.

Southern Regional Office

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

Dr Vit

BEN LEWIS

LABOR
EDUCATION
ADVANCEMENT
PROGRAM

For Your Info

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
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Leslie N. Shaw
Louis Simon
Mrs. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger
William J. Trent, Jr.
William O. Walker
Leonard Woodcock
Frank H. Wyman
Clayton R. Yates
Dwight R. Zook
Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

October 31, 1966

Mr. A. Frederick Smith
Area Coordinator, Atlanta
U. S. Department of Labor
Office of Federal Contract Compliance
645 Peachtree - Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Fred:

The "ACTION" committee met on Monday, October 24th, with the following members present: Dr. Emory Via, Merlin Taylor, Richard Lyle and Benjamin Lewis.

I thought it might help if I gave you some idea as to the various topics discussed and future plans for the committee.

(1) Merlin Taylor presented each of us with a copy of "Technician Training: How, Who and Where?" (copy enclosed) and brought us up to date on the idea of focusing on this endeavor as well as other training programs. It was agreed that this would be done.

(2) Emory Via presented us with various articles from the American Industrial and Occupation Manpower Requirements magazine, 1964-65. (copy enclosed) Please read it and come prepared to discuss it at our next meeting.

(3) Dr. Via also presented the following points that this committee needs to focus on and assignments were made for securing necessary data and reporting back to the committee:

a. City hiring policies (R. Lyle)
b. Roles of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, State Employment Service and Federal agencies (M. Taylor)
c. List of agencies involved in recruitment of trainees (B. Lewis)
d. Policies of the Building Trades Councils and Joint Apprenticeship Committees (M. Taylor)
e. How the law relates to labor and its practices (E. Via)
f. Negro contractors and recruitment (B. Lewis)

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(4) We discussed just what our role should be as a group and it was agreed that we should concentrate on the "issues" and use the group as a pressure and liaison implementor. It was also agreed that we would not become operational, but assist organizations involved in such manner to become aware of problems and needs. We are still discussing the idea of becoming one agency coordinating all others involved in the program of recruitment, etc. Give this some thought for discussion next meeting.

Everyone understands that we are all busy, but it would be appreciated if each of us could forward the areas of interest and focus so that I can relay same to all members. We are expecting the data listed above to be in my hands by November 1, 1966. Soon after that, we will have another meeting.

There is one important item that I would certainly ask of you, that is, to give consideration to other persons you feel would cooperate with us and it might be suggested that you wait until we have drafted our basic format before speaking with them.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest opportunity. Any suggestions or ideas will be gladly passed on to all members.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin F. Lewis, ACSW
Field Representative

BFL:sat
Enclosures

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VANGUARD Detroit
TULC

October, 1966

JOB CORNER

Detroit Building Trades Council and TULC have joined forces to support a new government - financed program aimed at bringing more Negro youths into the building trades.

The basic purpose of the program will be to orient and educate Negro and other youths who fail to pass qualification tests to become apprentices in various trades.

Interested youngsters are urged to contact either offices for specific details concerning this project.

* * *

Apprentice - training applications are being currently accepted by Local #58, IBEWU. Deadline for filing applications is October 31 and forms are obtainable from the local union office, 1358 Abbott in Detroit.

General requirement for these positions is graduation from high school; age limitations are 18 to 28 years.

Nov. 1, 1966

Dear Ray:

My letter to you of Sept. 26 went out without my reading it. A copy has just come to my attention after much travel and substantial secretarial difficulties. It was shot through with typos for which I am most embarrassed.

I believe you could make out the substance of it, such as it was. However, where I referred to complaints raised about Title 29 and the application forms, the commentator was from within BAT itself and not MDAT(whatever that is).

I received my compensation and thanks. I am sorry, as I have told you on several occasions, that the project here did not go more smoothly.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Southern Regional Office

LABOR
EDUCATION
ADVANCEMENT
PROGRAM

BEN LEWIS

November 4, 1966

MEMO

TO: Dr. Emory Via

At our last meeting, you agreed to be responsible for securing certain information that was felt important for reviewing by the entire committee. The information was to be forwarded to me by November 1st for dissemination to all members.

I know you've been busy, but in order that we might continue our previous pace for the productivity we desire, please submit this information as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Kp/ KIV Wed Nov 9, 66

10 CENTS

Job-Bias Showdown

Government Gets Set To Withhold Contracts From Some Companies

Timken, Armstrong Rubber Accused of Dragging Feet On Promotion of Negroes

'Affirmative Action' the Key

By MONROE W. KARMIN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Johnson Administration soon will begin withholding Federal business, at least in part, from contractors that fail to hire and promote Negroes and other minorities fast enough.

At least two of the initial targets will reflect the Administration's keen political instincts.

The first to feel the brunt of Federal fury may be Timken Roller Bearing Co., generally recognized as rock-ribbed Republican in philosophy and a supporter of conservative causes. The Canton, Ohio, manufacturer is refusing to provide the Government with all the information it wants on the racial makeup of the company's work force. As a showdown nears, Timken displays no sign of yielding. "No comment," is the irritated reply of B. R. Powell, corporate secretary, to all questions about the dispute.

Also in the Administration's sights is a factory in the heart of segregation-minded Mississippi, where Johnson men have little to lose by further antagonizing the state's segregationist Democrats. Federal contract-watchers are dissatisfied with bias-busting progress at Armstrong Rubber Co.'s Natchez tire-making plant. But Armstrong, which is headquartered at West Haven, Conn., appears less adamant than Timken. "We're trying to comply," declares James Walsh, a company vice president, "but I can't answer whether it's good enough for them."

Seeks "Affirmative Action"

So far, neither the Armstrong nor the Timken effort is "good enough" for Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., director of the Labor Department's year-old Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC). His job is to make sure that companies doing business with the Government not only don't discriminate against minorities but take "affirmative action" to employ and promote them. Mr. Sylvester holds the power to cancel or suspend the contracts of recalcitrant firms, or bar them from getting new ones.

In Mr. Sylvester's opinion, Armstrong has "failed to give Negroes a fair crack at available jobs" at its Natchez plant, and Timken poses the "first clear-cut refusal" by a company to supply the Government with sufficient information on which to judge equal employment practices.

If Timken or Armstrong does lose some of its Government business, it will mark the beginning of a toughening Washington assault on job bias. Ward McCreedy, the OFCC's chief compliance officer, predicts a "constant series of contract actions over the coming months" unless there is an unexpected capitulation by all suspect firms.

Major compliance problems, it's said, have been spotted among a half-dozen firms in addition to Timken and Armstrong, and new suspects are being added to the lineup continually. Just last week, National Lead Co., headquartered in New York City, was placed on the "problem" list. Other companies under close OFCC scrutiny include Crane Co., the New York-based plumbing supply manufacturer; Jacksonville Shipyards Inc. in Florida; and the Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. in Virginia.

Banks To Be Covered

Simultaneous with this toughening approach, the OFCC also is extending its reach. Already more than 100,000 corporate facilities report racial personnel statistics to the Government. But within a few days regulations will be broadened to require even more contractors to pledge equal employment compliance. And at the end of this month some 14,000 banks (with more than 500,000 employes) that hold Treasury deposits will be covered for the first time.

All this stepped-up activity is the result of a year's preparation since the OFCC took over the bias-battling assignment from the now-defunct President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity last fall. During that time Federal agents have inspected personnel practices at some 10,000 corporate plants and offices. Some 750 conciliation attempts have been initiated. Where these on-the-scene efforts have failed, representatives of some 60 companies have been called to Washington for conferences.

From all this inspecting and conferring, Federal officials have drawn several conclusions:

Most contractors are aware of their equal employment obligations but haven't assigned them top priority, as the Government insists they should. "Equal employment is not at the top of the agenda for most contractors," says Mr. McCreedy.

Many companies that do take equal employment seriously are under the mistaken impression that eradicating discrimination is enough; they don't realize that "affirmative action" to hire and promote minorities is required. "The affirmative action is what's missing most often," Mr. McCreedy asserts.

"Have to Go to the Mat"

Those contractors that do resist adopt either passive or active tactics. The passive resister promises much but does as little as possible. "There's a helluva lot of pro forma compliance around," according to Mr. McCreedy. The active resister, in effect, thumbs his nose at the Government. Though this is by far the minority reaction, Mr. McCreedy says there's enough of it about "to force a series of situations where we'll have to go to the mat."

Timken is one of those headed for "the mat," simply because it has refused to cooperate fully, as the Government sees it. Beyond that, on the basis of information that Timken has supplied, Federal inspectors sus-

11-9-66

pect that company policy locks Negroes into lower job classifications.

Sample data: Out of more than 150 different occupations at the Timken plant in Canton, Negro workers are heavily concentrated in about a dozen menial job classifications such as sanitation. Few Negroes are employed in skilled or white-collar jobs.

Statistics such as these are mere evidence, far short of enough to reach a verdict. But apart from any question of actual discrimination, Timken is refusing to comply with a Federal request for additional information—a request that places a considerable burden on the company. The Government wants a roster of all nonwhite employes by name, job and date of hiring, the personnel folders and work history of all employes, permission to interview employes, and the testing procedures used by Timken for promotion.

If one last-ditch attempt at conciliation fails, says Mr. Sylvester, "we have no choice but to apply sanctions," which could mean the loss of Federal business for the company. During the fiscal year ended last June Timken held about $3 million in prime Pentagon contracts and did other work for the Government through subcontracts and nondefense contracts.

The Armstrong Rubber Case

Armstrong's problem with the Government is different; it not only supplied all information requested but opened its Natchez plant to Federal inspectors early this year. This inspection discovered that, though the population of Natchez and environs is about evenly divided between Negro and white, only 16% of the plant's work force was Negro, that no Negroes were employed in skilled jobs or in office work, that no Negro females have been employed, and that no Negro has ever been promoted to supervisor.

Mr. Sylvester criticizes Armstrong for failing to take "corrective action," though Vice President Walsh reports that in recent months "we have been able to secure a few Negro office workers and supervisors." In discussions here Monday, Armstrong made a last-ditch effort to convince the Government of its sincerity, but Federal authorities remain skeptical. The company held over $1 million in Government contracts last fiscal year.

Crane Co. also seems headed for a showdown with the Government. Last May corporate officials, after being summoned to Washington, pledged to improve their Negro recruiting program. The company was given three months to show some results, during which time monthly reports were required from each of Crane's 22 manufacturing facilities across the country.

This probation period is now over, and the company and the Government still don't see eye to eye. Robert L. Robinson, a Crane counsel, says, "We feel we have been truly an equal employment employer all along, and the only question involved was our affirmative action." But a Federal inspector who has reviewed Crane's probation reports is recommending contract action against the company, declaring:

"It would seem, in view of the protracted, combative history of negotiation with this company . . . that Crane Co. should have progressed far beyond the few insignificant gestures at compliance."

No decision has yet been made as to what to do about the Crane situation; the company last year did nearly $3 million of business with the Defense Department alone.

In the case of National Lead, though the company voluntarily signed up some years ago as an equal opportunity employer under the old "Plans for Progress" program, the company now employs only a relatively few Negro salesmen, technicians, professionals and managers in its many plants. In last week's confrontation, National Lead, which did close to $50 million of business with several Government agencies last year, was told to come up with an "affirmative action" program within 60 days.

Deadline for National Lead

"We've desegregated entirely in all plants such facilities as washrooms and locker rooms," explains Luther R. Strole, National Lead's industrial relations manager. "The problem is that (the Government) doesn't feel we've moved swiftly enough to get Negroes into higher-paying professional and managerial jobs. We are going to try to develop an acceptable affirmative action program, but it's not an easy thing to find qualified Negroes to fill these positions."

The "affirmative action" required by the OFCC is no casual thing, as Jacksonville Shipyards discovered. Though pinpointed at one time as a source of "deep-seated resistance" to equal employment opportunity, the company pledged reform this year when a $1.5 million shipbuilding contract was held up.

The pledge is extensive: An end to segregated facilities, abolition of "racially oriented" hiring and placement policies, erasure of white and Negro wage differentials and new efforts both to reevaluate the qualifications of Negroes for promotion and to find qualified Negroes for white-collar and supervisory jobs. In addition, Jacksonville Shipyards agreed to appoint an equal employment opportunity coordinator to oversee the program.

"No Differences"

"We probably weren't pushing our policy as strongly as we should have," says Martin Kerwin, Jacksonville Shipyard president. "Now we know what they mean by affirmative action, and we have no differences with them."

A similar opinion is voiced by Don Holden, president of Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock. 'We're getting along very well with those people in Washington," he says. But not long ago Newport News Shipbuilding and the Government weren't getting along well at all.

Earlier this year, after a group of the company's employes complained they were being discriminated against because of their race, the OFCC's Mr. Sylvester and his aides issued an order that would have ruled Newport News Shipbuilding ineligible for a pair of multi-million-dollar ship contracts it was bidding on.

The suspension order was quickly withdrawn when the company pledged an accelerated antibias effort. Mr. Holden insists the order had "no bearing on our discussions." But Mr. McCreedy declares:

"When confronted with their problems and the dollars and cents involved, most companies suddenly decide there is more they should and could do."

Ryan

Bill Ryan coordinates drive

IAM asks for federal workers labor board

When Congress convenes in January, Grand Lodge Rep. William H. Ryan will be waiting with some important new ideas for Congress to study.

As national coordinator of the IAM's new Government Employees Department, Ryan will ask Congress to set up a Federal Employee Labor Relations Board. Under legislation which he has drafted, this board would protect the rights of federal workers, mediate disputes, guard against unfair labor practices and conduct representation elections.

Pressing Congress to protect the rights of government workers is nothing new to Ryan. The genial Irishman is a familiar figure in the legislative halls on Capitol Hill where he is recognized as a fair but tough negotiator.

As president of IAM District 44, then the union's organization for government employees, Ryan twice drafted legislation guaranteeing bargaining rights to federal workers. His proposals became the law of the land when the late President John F. Kennedy signed the historic Executive Order 10988 in 1962.

Before that, he helped to push through Congress the first health insurance plan for government employees, major improvements in the retirement system, and numerous pay raises.

In 1964, when the Department of Defense decided to close a number of military bases and Navy shipyard, Ryan was quick to point out how this would hurt the country's storehouse of skills. Later he stepped in to help negotiate agreements to ease the impact of the closings.

When the Eisenhower Administration, through the Bureau of the Budget, tried to force many government agencies to farm work out to private industry, Ryan helped to get the ruling changed.

This type of drive comes from 26 years of experience in the trade union movement. Ryan learned early in his career that any gain won must be protected. Because of this, he seldom lets up in his efforts to improve the working conditions of federal employees.

Ryan joined the union in 1940 as a member of IAM Lodge 150, Watertown, Mass. He was working then as a machinist at the U. S. Ordnance Corps Arsenal. During his first few years as an IAM member, Ryan served his lodge as president, vice president, and as a delegate to District 44.

In 1952, Ryan resigned his job at the Watertown arsenal to devote full time to the problems of government employees. He went to work for District 44 as assistant to the district president. From 1954 until the district was disbanded in favor of the GED, he served as business representative, legislative director and district president.

The new coordinator of the GED hails from New England where he was born in 1913. He attended school in Boston, served his machinist apprenticeship at the Davidson Rubber Co. Later he was employed as an experimental machinist at the United Aircraft plant at East Hartford, Conn. He also spent three years in the Army with the 66th Infantry.

In addition to his regular union duties, Ryan is a member of the National Planning Committee of the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League, the Knights of Columbus, the Moose, and the Elks.

He is married to the former Angela Magliozzi of Somerville, Mass. The couple has three children—Nancy, Thomas, and Angela—and live in Silver Spring, Md.

MACHINIST PHOTO

Railroaders honored at party

These six machinists, all old timers on the Great Northern Railway, were honored recently by fellow members of IAM Lodge 430 at Havre, Mont. The Lodge sponsored a party for them, with more than a hundred members and their wives present. Michael J. Batinich, general chairman of IAM District 3, addressed the group, and R. J. Karr, lodge president, was master of ceremonies. L to r, Oscar Stordahl, Arthur Otto, Frank Kosler, Urban Goligoski, Harold Bailey and Jerry Mumm. Bailey is a past president of District 3.

Equal time ordered for 'Anatomy of a Lie'

A National Labor Relations Board Trial Examiner has ordered an employer to give another union time to show the IAM movie "Anatomy of a Lie" to employees who were forced to watch the anti-union film, "And Women Must Weep."

The order, subject to Board review, was issued to the Forest Industries Co. of Forest, Miss., a subsidiary of the Sunbeam Corp.

The Communications Workers charged management with a union-smashing drive last year.

According to witnesses, the campaign started when a group of employees met to discuss ways to get a wage increase. Within a day or two, management instructed supervisors to tell employees that the company did not want a union in the plant although no union had been involved up to that time.

Next the firm held employee meetings at which top management delivered a "coercive anti-union speech" and herded the workers into screenings of the discredited "Weep" film depicting IAM members as thugs and terrorists.

The movie purports to document a 1957 strike of the IAM at the Potter-Brumfield Co. in Princeton, Ind. It is a fictional account by professional actors using a contributed script showing a brutal local union president forcing a strike on terrorized union members.

The IAM film, "Anatomy of a Lie," is a rebuttal which reveals that the union members at Princeton were decent law-abiding citizens engaged in an economic strike.

The hearing examiner ordered the company to stop showing the discredited film and to give the union a chance to repudiate it on company property.

Nov. 23 is filing deadline for IAM Scholarship applications

Nov. 23 is the deadline for filing applications for the IAM Scholarship Program for 1966. All applications must be postmarked no later than midnight, Nov. 23. IAM Education Director John Brumm reports that no exceptions can be made.

The scholarships, worth $1,000 each year for four years, are open to IAM members under age 35 and to the high school seniors who are the children of IAM members. Information concerning the program is available from local lodge officers.

San Francisco lodge sets up strike fund

Members of IAM Lodge 1305, San Francisco, Calif., have voted to set up a defense fund of at least $100,000, Ken G. Murray, lodge president, reports.

The money will come from a temporary dues increase of $3 per month. Lodge 1305 represents 3,700 auto mechanics in the city and county of San Francisco.

Murray reports that the amount of benefits will depend upon the amount of money in the defense fund and the number of members forced to strike at any particular time. In the past, the lodge has been able to pay a weekly benefit of $25 for strike picket duty to supplement the Grand Lodge strike benefit, also $25 a week.

The Lodge 1305 fund was set up on a temporary basis, Murray said, "as an insurance to meet the challenge of future strikes."

Lewis wins back pay for unjust suspension

Lewis, right, and Bendizo.

Glenn E. Lewis, a member of IAM Lodge 1725, Charlotte, N.C., has won a month's pay from Eastern Airlines.

In a letter to THE MACHINIST, Lewis explains that Eastern suspended him for 30 days for allegedly abusing his pass privilege. He reports that Kim Bendizo, his chief steward, and Jim Cates, general chairman for IAM District 100, pressed his case through the grievance steps and eventually to arbitration.

There, the arbitrator ruled that Lewis did not abuse his privilege and ordered the company to pay $344 for the month lost.

ANKERS PHOTO

Veterans badges for financial officers

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer Milo Holt, left, took time from the last financial secretaries' seminar of 1966 to present IAM membership badges to three eligible financial officers. He presented a 25-year pin and certificate to Alice E. Snyder, of IAM Lodge 826, Elmira, N.Y., one of 352 women to have earned such a badge in the history of the union. Fifteen-year pins were awarded B. J. Wyatt, center, of IAM Lodge 56, Chattanooga, Tenn., and J. F. Burke, IAM Lodge 350, Hartford, Conn. The seminar was one of four held at Grand Lodge headquarters, Washington, D.C. during the summer and fall. At each four-day session, financial officers were shown how records are kept at Grand Lodge, and were brought up to date on local lodge record-keeping required by law.

Labor committee finds ways to help young people of Watts

Vest-pocket park, a lot-size recreation center, is inspected by members of the Watts Labor Committee. They are, l to r, Ted Watkins of the UAW, project administrator; IAM Grand Lodge Rep. Herb Ward and visitor Tom McNett, president of District 727. The park is one of 13 under construction in the Watts area and all were built with the help of the committee.

Three months before the 1965 violence in the Watts section of Los Angeles, a group of union representatives got together to see what could be done to help the area's young people. Among them was IAM Grand Lodge Rep. Herb Ward then union representative for IAM District 727, Burbank, Calif.

The all-Negro group set up the Watts Labor Community Action Committee. The committee had no money and little outside support, but it had a goal —to help the youngsters of Watts train for and find decent jobs.

Now, a little over a year later, the committee is in full operation and it has some help. The *American Aeronaut,* District 727's newspaper, reports that the committee has won support from many sources since the riots. The group now operates as part of a broad-based bi-racial advisory council with $300,000 in federal rehabilitation funds. But the original committee remains intact as the core of the new council.

Ward reports that the group is now helping 1,600 young people between the ages of 7 and 21. Those old enough to work on community projects such as building play areas and planting, are paid from federal funds at the rate of $1.27 per hour.

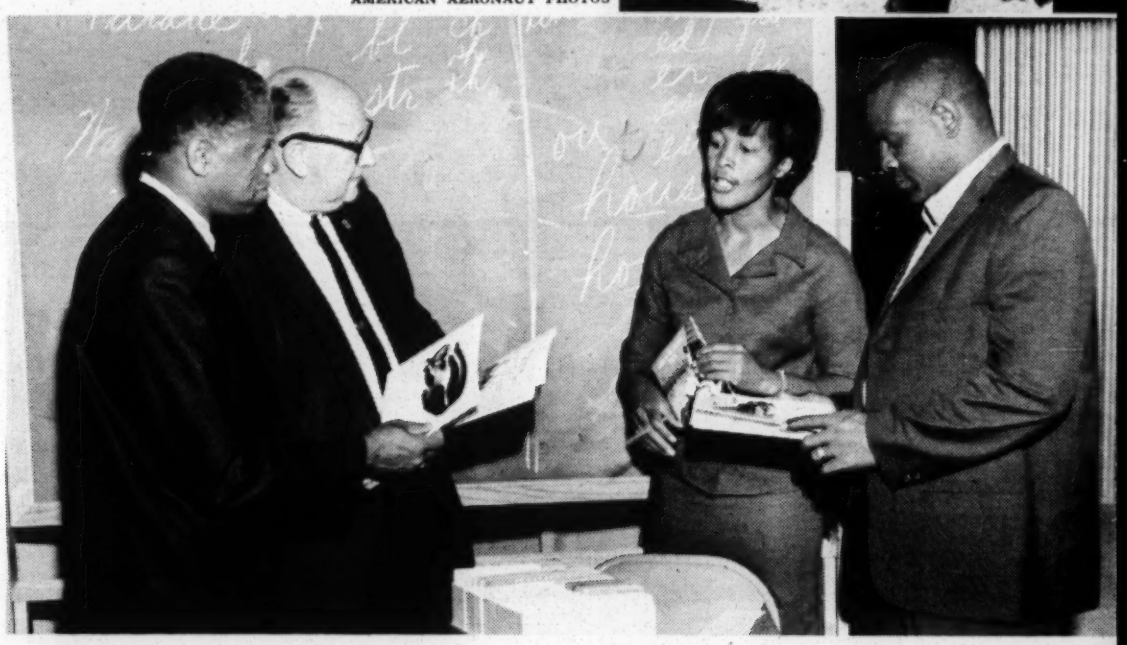
Federal funds also pay for teachers so school-age youngsters can get extra summer help in reading, math and English.

Area unions' contributions supplement federal funds for lunches and recreational items such as baseball bats, balls, ping-pong tables. These unions are now conducting a drive to raise more funds.

The *American Aeronaut* reports that the committee's only regret is that it has been able to handle only 1,600 of Watts youth. There are an estimated 30,000 more who need assistance just as desperately.

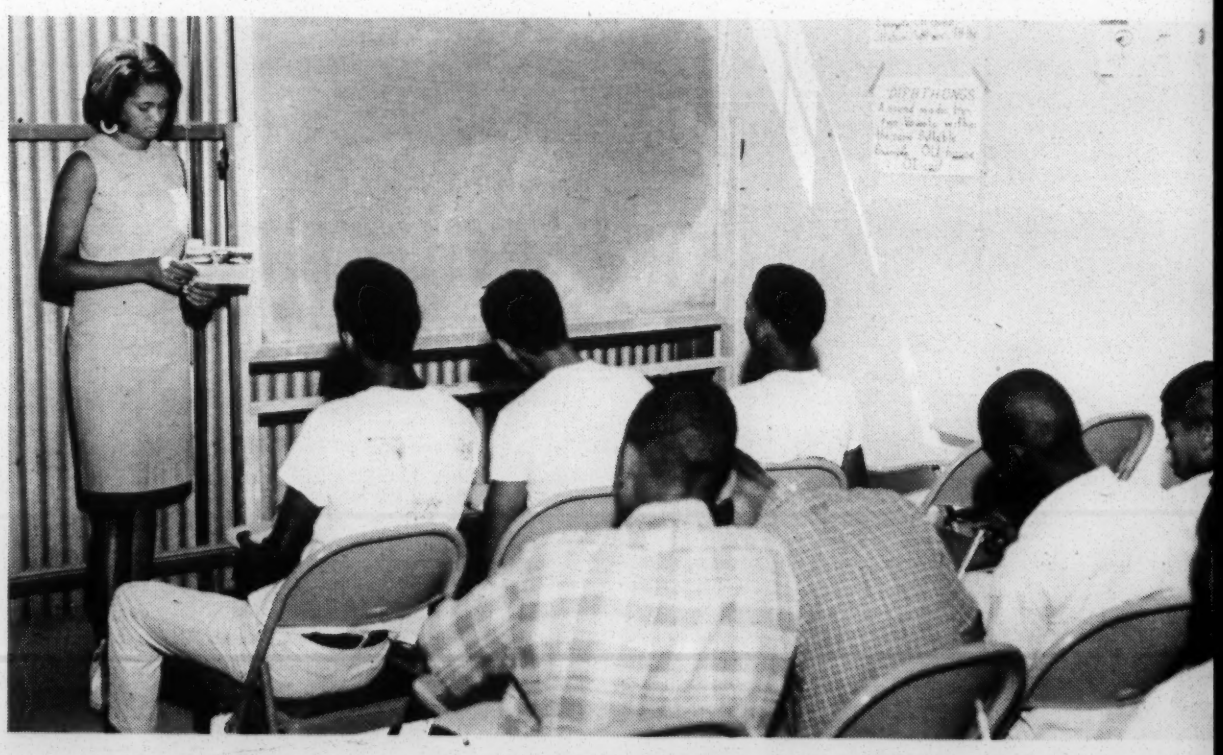
AMERICAN AERONAUT PHOTOS

Lunches for 1,600 young project workers are prepared five days a week. Organized labor pays the daily food bill. Area unions are now trying to raise $44,000 to help supplement federal funds.

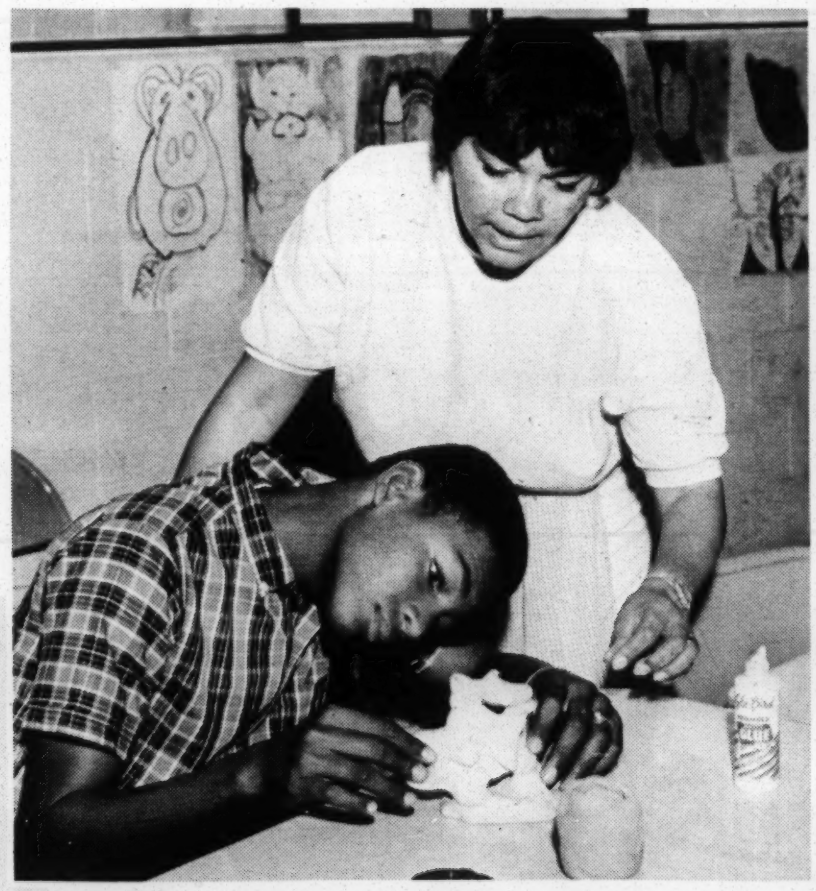


Visitors hear how teaching aids help slow readers. The labor committee was instrumental in bringing extra teachers to Watts to give summer courses to needy students. Visitors are Ward, McNett and Watkins. The teacher is Mrs. Dorothy Soares.

Headquarters for the Labor Community Action Committee is located in this building in Watts. The committee was started three months before rioting broke out in the Negro ghetto in 1965. It has since been joined by other action groups and forms the core of an advisory council.



Planting time in Watts finds these youngsters ready to add another touch of green to an area badly in need of it. Young people old enough to work are given jobs in the area and earn $1.27 an hour. Labor Department funds are used for wages.



Young sculptor Lamar Anderson receives special instruction from Mrs. Jan Thomas. Anderson is one of 1,600 youngsters finding healthy new interests under the guidance of the Watts Labor Committee.

In class, Miss Sheila Miller helps summer students bone up on English before regular school sessions open. Classes are held in a converted warehouse. Federal funds help to pay the rent and teachers' salaries.

Hobby Corner

30 IAM members operate all union ham network

Nearly 30 IAM members are now running their own amateur radio network. In response to an article in the Sept. 1 issue of THE MACHINIST, ham operators from coast to coast are asking to have their call letters listed in Hobby Corner so they can participate.

The ham operators also have had some suggestions for improving communications. The most frequent suggestion is that IAM members should exchange QSL cards. Another is that operators should be sure to list their mode of operation and the hours when they will be on the air.

Here is word from the newest members of the amateur radio network:

George E. Gates, IAM Lodge 484, 92 Handyside Ave., Winnipeg 8, Man., Canada: My call letters are VE4GØ. I will look for other IAM members on frequencies mentioned.

Arthur C. Granthum, IAM Lodge 1630, 1256 Plymouth Pl., Jacksonville, Fla. 32205: My call letters are W4MBJ. I'll monitor frequencies listed in Hobby Corner.

W. A. "Gremie" Gremillion, 9 Pinelea Dr., Newnan, Ga.: My calls are K4SEX or K4GHE. I'll be looking for IAM members around 3990 kc every evening from 7 to 9, SSB or AM.

Steve Spevock, IAM Lodge 1410, Rt. 2, Rivesville, W. Va.: I am a radio ham, call letter W8IEG.

Elbert E. Ford, IAM Lodge 688, 8010 Paterson Dr., Berkeley, Mo. 63134: Would like to rag chew on any bands except 75 and 10. Call letters are WAØIQB.

Arthur J. Richards, IAM Lodge 1322, 122-51 Grayson St., Jamaica, N.Y. 11413: I operate on 40 meters C.W., call WA2QBV.

Andrew L. Hannen, IAM Lodge 459, 1528 Canfield Ave, St. Paul, Minn. 55108: Put me on the list for the radio net. Call KØIUV on 20, 40 or 75 meters.

John Kwei, IAM Lodge 1327, 2200 Kehoe Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94403: My call is K6QZX. Will like to work 20 meters in the evening side band after 8 p.m.

R. L. Diekman, IAM Lodge 720E: I operate on 15 and 2 meters, WA6JQØ.

Howell Hunter, IAM Lodge 1824, 419 Soledad St., Salinas, Calif. 93901: Two hams in this family. My call is WA6HZE and my son's are WB6CMH. I'll monitor frequencies listed. Let's put the IAM show on the air.

Gerald H. Owens, IAM Lodge 1097, Rt. 3, Corry, Pa. 16407: I operate all bands, 160 through 2 meters am and C.W. Operate from a hilltop QTH and put in about 60 hours a month. Call K3KAP.

Nolan Lowden, IAM Lodge 70, 4103 Euclid, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46806: Call K9JKF. Will tune up on the 20, 40 and 75 meter bands whenever possible.

Paul Jones, IAM Lodge 837, Rt. 1, Box 156, Pacific, Mo.: Call WAØKNI. Can be on air between 12 and 2 p.m. or 2:30 and 3:30 a.m. Receive and transmit all frequencies.

William D. Strong, IAM Lodge 1569, 190 W. Prospect, Galesburg, Ill. 61401: Sked on 6 and 20 meters, BCNU. Call K9MEI.

Steven Rogers, IAM Lodge 1893, 424 W. Norwood Pl., San Gabriel, Calif.: My call is K6EHN. Count me in.

Chesley Poole, IAM Lodge 41, 116 Grandview Dr., Fenton, Mo. 63026: KØPWS on 20, 15, 10 and 40 meters. Will look for you.

G. J. Surprenant, IAM Lodge 2145, 74 Main St., Monson, Mass. 01057: Enthusiastic about network. My call is K1STP and I operate almost exclusively on 40 meters. Try me from 3 to 5 p.m. weekdays and weekend mornings.

THE MACHINIST would like to hear from other radio hams who belong to the union and will publish their call letters and frequencies. Write to Hobby Corner, 909 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Union Sportsman

Florida fishing is good despite the hurricanes

By Charles Covell

It's wonderful how Florida can brush off hurricanes. For a state that in many areas is below sea level, tight building regulations and sensible precautions keep damage to a minimum. As for the fishing, it bounces back quickly enough.

Latest word from Stuart is that Spanish mackerel are in small schools all over the area while surf and bottom fishermen are getting bluefish up to 3 pounds in weight. False albacore also were almost as plentiful just off the beaches as they were last summer.

Seems odd, too, that this particular storm hit just about every spot this writer has visited in the last two or three years. Take Mexico. Before it blew itself out in the Sierra Madre mountains, it had passed just north of Tampico on the Gulf Coast.

Like Florida, however, the fishing will soon come back, although unlike Florida these Mexican cities are not built to withstand such storms so that property damage was heavy.

Nevertheless, Tampico has some fine, modern hotels, including the Camino Real, rated one of the best motels in Mexico. As for the fishing, well, it's something to write home about. Commercial netting has made some inroads but you can't deny these facts:

Last spring in Tampico's Silver Anniversary International Tarpon Tournament, the three first places were won with fish of 203, 165 and 145 pounds. The largest, taken by Sr. Emilio Moses of Tampico, broke all tournament records and also was the largest taken by rod and reel there since the late Harry Sedgewick of York Mills, Ontario, Canada, caught the former all tackle world record tarpon, a 247-pounder, in March, 1938.

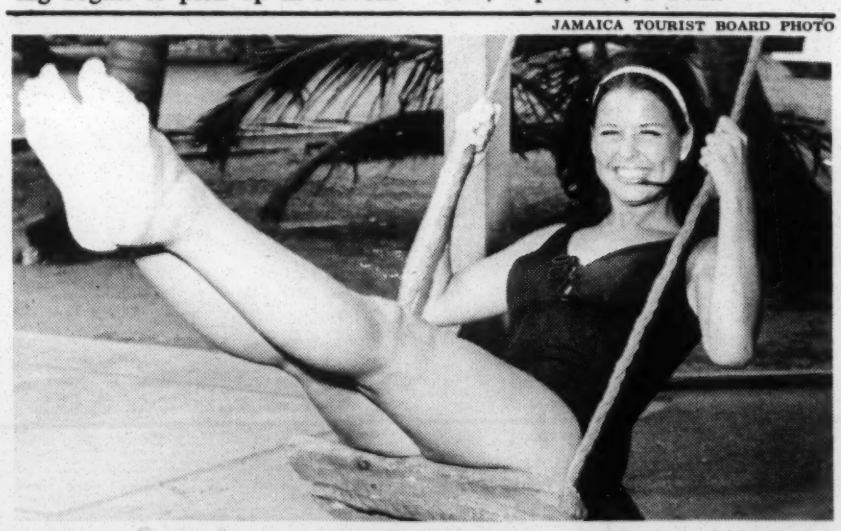
Chances are that if you are footloose this fall and winter, the fishing will be well worth a try.

Fishing at Tampico is done in the lagoons and rivers, the Panuco and Tampesi, which flows into the Panuco. The junction of these rivers is a popular spot for tarpon, big sea trout and big snook. As for seasons, tarpon fishing begins to pick up in November and slowly improves until late spring. Redfish are concentrated near the mouth of the rivers early in the fall but there is good fishing all winter long for numerous varieties of fresh and salt water fish.

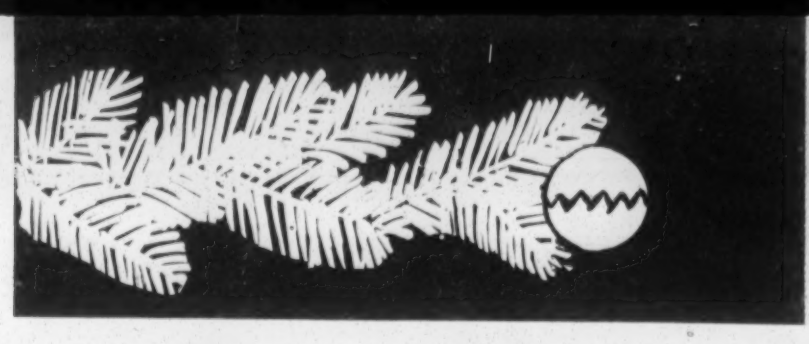
Where the hurricane hit hardest, apparently, was at Soto la Marina, north of Tampico, an excellent fishing place that used to be available by jeep but may no longer be on the map.

South of Tampico, there is good fishing at Tuxpam, Tecolutla, Veracruz and Laguna del Carmen in the State of Campeche. Here's a tip, though. Boat liveries are plentiful and boats good at Tampico. South of there, take your own outboard, tackle and, if possible, a boat.

JAMAICA TOURIST BOARD PHOTO



Christine Fischer, Miss Florida World of 1966, won a prize-winning trip to Jamaica. For shoppers, the union label is a prize.



Members in the News

IAM officers heads county AFL-CIO

Donald Nolan, president of IAM Lodge 1832, Marengo, Ill., has been elected president of the newly-chartered McHenry County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Mrs. Ruth

IAM Family Lawyer

Buying a

Lunch Box: Orange nut bread bakes well for sandwiches

accompanied with orange juice. /

Can You Afford to Pass Up a Best BUY??????

A gift subcription to THE MACHINIST must be the best buy on anyone's Christmas list this year. The subscription price is the same price we charged ten (10) years ago.

A gift subscription to THE MACHINIST is more valuable this year than it has ever been. This newpaper is improving steadily, adding more interesting articles, more exclusive features that save you money, protect your health, increase your knowledge, and keep you up with the world of labor.

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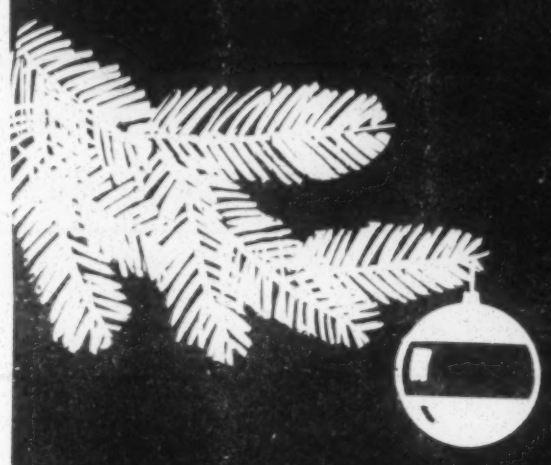

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Cost of

By Sidney Margolius

In America, even the poor have credit

This i
a free lu
as free c

Ad Policeman

$1,000,000 ho

The U.S. Post Office Department recently won another conviction in its campaign against the unscrupulous opera-

Winston-Salem, N.C., was convicted for mail fraud after gross-

Family Scrap Book

Hobby Corner

Silver dollars stay in U.S. Mint vaults

Reading

every man, if pos
some good books
oof, and obtain acce
elf and family to
al library. Almos

11

Machinist's Tool Box

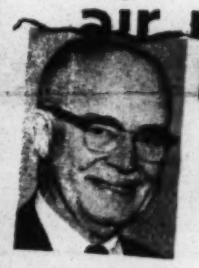
Electr

air po

Union Sportsman

Learn the 'keeping quality' freezing fish catch

the meantime sets in, the fishing gets better.



Live a Little Longer

Noise causes

By Dr. William A. Sawyer

Dear Doctor, I would like

exposure is a

in y

Award Winner

THE WORLD OF LABOR

This weeks broadcasts

Ajo, Ariz.—TV-KAJO (Ch. 6) Thursday, 4:30 p.m. IAM Lodge 1357.

Babylon, N.Y.—WBAB (1440 kc; 102.3 mc) Tuesday and Thursday, IAM Lodges 797, 1470

Middletown, N.Y.—WALL (1 kc); IAM Lodges 1298 and 2189.

Minneapolis and St. Paul, Min WPBC (980 kc) Tuesday and Th day, 4:15 p.m. IAM District 143 IAM Lodge 780, 1219 and 1833.

Mt. Vernon, Ohio—WMVO (

OFFICIAL NOTICES

Notices should be received at least two weeks prior to event. Corre- facts, i.e., nature and name of

JOB OPENINGS

Following jobs are available for qualified IAM members. Pl clude Lodge number in

Coast-to-Coast

This year more union members than ever bef

CARTOON COMMENT: *Timely topics*

Copyright 1966—THE MACHINIST

He's talking for me now

YOUR CONGRE

In labor's old election tradition of supporting its union members coast to coa

Editorial

Politics

The airline strike makes clear that, follows picketing as the dark tails the lig

This is an election year. One must n politicians get uneasy quickly in election

Quote of the Week

"While some may assert that the strike of barbarism, I answer that the strike i highly civilized method which the w wealth producers, have yet devised against the wrong and injustice, and enforcement of the right.

"I never co

Apprenticeship

Message from Fred Smith

He made a tabulation of the 12 Federal assisted construction projects in the Atlanta area. They range from "in-the-ground to 95% complete. The total employment is 583. Negro employment is 314. If figured correctly this is 54% Negro.

Copy

There are 7 Negro subcontractors and 1 Mexican who employs both Negro and Mexicans.

Laborers?

The skills are cement finishers, pile drivers, bull dozer operators, carpenters (form setters, dry wall and sheet rock men), 1 carpente forman, birckmasons, pipe layers (plumber's helpers), stone masons, tile setters, roofers,

same total % applies to Gainsville, Athens, Carollton, Rome, and Dalton on federally assisted projects. Athens - one contractor is using iron workers. One contractor recruited in South Georgia and provided trailor for linving space and plans to ratin the cadre as permanent.

One Negro sub-contractor on brickwork job in Gainsville.

Co. will form 2 corps — one union, one not

CALL FRED SMITH 526-5482

moves from jobs to jobs

Housing Projects
Nursing Homes
Retail by College Park
Maybe Ga Tech

How many are laborers K's?

Are all jobs union? Mixed? Open?

Some — 5

only 4 at stage of using plumbers & electricians

3 jobs just starting — high # of laborers

Several in finishing — high # of frauds

Lake McDonald Corp.
Non-Union
Pub Hwy at College Park

Mexican Sub Cont
mixed Negro & Mexican
new goal to Macon -
moved from El Paso
to Macon

Ed Baker - Reg. Administrator
to request the information -

4294
010-5

6411
0522

5167
000'314 / 525

35.

Construction Projects - Prime Contractors Only
($1 million or more in construction costs)
Federally assisted Construction

	Union Workers Only on Job		Open Shop Job Only		Union and Non-Union Workers no Contract		Total		% Union	
	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966	1965	1966
ALA.	3	4	2	4	5	0	10	8	33	50
FLA.	7	8	8	12	6	2	21	22	33	36
GA.	1	9	2	12	8	8	11	29	9	31
KY.	6	14	1	1	1	2	8	17	75	81
MISS.	0	2	2	3	0	2	2	7	0	29
N.C.	0	1	9	23	0	3	9	27	0	.037
S.C.	0	0	1	7	2	0	3	7	0	0
TENN.	10	13	2	11	3	3	15	27	66	48
	27	51	27	73	25	20	79	144	34%	35%

Table 21
Analysis of Employer Demand and Net Training
Requirements for Important Technical, Skilled, and Clerical Job Titles
By Periods, Summer 1962 to 1967

ATLANTA SMSA

Skilled Category and Job Title	Current Employment Sum 1962	Employer Demand: Net Job Openings[a] 1 Year	3 Years	5 Years	Net Training Requirements[b] 1 Year	3 Years	5 Years
Technicians:							
001 Acc't-Gen & Cost	1,691	164	405	645	68	287	448
025 Electronics Tech	1,137	176	431	687	157	344	542
033 Industrial Tech	635	57	150	243	11	28	40
022 Draftsman-Structural	489	58	85	113	18	46	48
028 Estimator	460	69	107	144	67	99	132
021 Draftsman-Mech-Furn	432	46	100	155	32	64	94
014 Commercial Artist	338	20	83	147	6	56	101
009 Civil & Const Tech	322	61	79	98	59	78	95
045 Mechanical Tech	309	21	68	115	-3	44	74
050 Production Planner	300	19	64	109	5	36	62
049 Proc-Descrip Writer	274	6	17	28	-33	-22	-37
053 Quality Control Tech	274	33	80	127	21	65	103
Subtotal	6,661	730	1,669	2,611	408	1,125	1,702
Per Cent of Total	70	70	69	69	67	67	67
All others	2,889	319	754	1,182	200	552	846
Total	9,550	1,049	2,423	3,793	608	1,677	2,548
Skilled Workers:							
249 Painter	2,442	172	271	372	111	169	202
221 Electrician	1,873	727	1,093	1,461	641	969	1,253
212 Carpenter (Non-mfg)	1,743	335	358	381	322	332	338
204 Automobile Mechanic	1,670	113	320	530	71	269	444
[illegible] Sheet-Metal Worker	1,518	83	155	228	76	130	187
[illegible] Machinist	1,379	134	355	576	125	304	491
[illegible] Auto Body Repr-Paint	1,161	55	197	340	55	125	220
[illegible] Maintenance Mechanic	1,037	50	141	234	26	115	189
[illegible] Maintenance Man	967	92	197	303	82	180	274
[illegible] Mason (Brick, etc)	958	36	24	13	36	-4	-34
[illegible] Welder	921	116	268	420	79	221	342
[illegible] Aircraft Mechanic	894	32	122	212	20	91	160
262 Plumber	767	303	524	746	156	292	359
218 Diesel Mech-Non-mfg	641	31	83	134	16	53	83
210 Cabinetmaker I	552	23	54	86	23	50	80
203 Air-cond or Ref Mech	522	95	189	284	45	115	160
246 Millwright	488	13	36	59		23	37
276 Truck Mech (Non-mfg)	442	45	101	158	39	92	142
264 Printer-Compositor	419	5	41	77	3	17	37
[illegible]57 Offset-Press Man	403	42	89	136	-3	26	31
[illegible]6 Cylinder-press-Pr & Pb	369	70	120	171	24	59	69
[illegible] Pipe & Steam Fitter	336	192	326	459	162	264	357
[illegible] Structural Ironwkers	319	8	19	31	8	19	31
[illegible] Jig & Fixture-Bldg	305	12	31	50	10	30	48
[illegible] Lineman (lt, ht, pw)	300	3	19	35	-7	-30	-46
Subtotal	22,426	2,787	5,133	7,496	2,120	3,911	5,454
Per Cent of Total	81	85	84	84	89	89	90
All others	5,114	504	980	1,462	250	478	627
Total	27,540	3,291	6,113	8,958	2,370	4,389	6,081
Clerical Workers:							
[illegible] Stenographer	6,710	955	2,158	3,404	910	2,013	3,163
[illegible] Accounting Clerk	6,049	672	1,689	2,754	557	1,310	2,120
[illegible] Typist	5,097	844	1,912	3,006	782	1,823	2,857
402 Bookkeeper	2,273	299	715	1,151	255	608	973
405 Statistical Clerk	1,727	247	611	988	196	448	715
Subtotal	21,856	3,017	7,085	11,303	2,700	6,202	9,828
Per Cent Total	87	68	73	74	87	84	87
All others	3,248	1,390	2,656	3,939	407	1,140	1,407
Total	25,104	4,407	9,741	15,242	3,107	7,342	11,235
TOTAL FOR AGGREGATE	62,194	8,747	18,277	27,993	6,085	13,408	19,864
TOTAL FOR JOBS LISTED	50,943	6,534	13,887	21,410	5,228	11,238	16,984
PER CENT OF TOTAL	82	75	76	76	86	84	86

a/ Equals net increase in employment based on employer expectations plus age separation effects.

b/ This requirement is derived by subtracting the number to complete company training by periods from net number of job openings.

The following tabulation shows the most important technical, skilled, and clerical jobs in the Atlanta Area on the basis of job openings and training requirements in the next five years.

	Net Job Openings in 5 Years	Net Training Requirements in 5 Years
Technicians:		
Electronics	687	542
Accountant-Gen & Cost	645	448
Industrial Tech	243	40
Draftsman-Mech-Furn	155	94
Subtotal	1,730	1,124
Skilled Workers:		
Electrician	1,461	1,253
Plumber	746	359
Machinist	576	491
Auto Machanic	530	444
Pipe & Steam Fitter	459	357
Welder	420	342
Carpenter (Non-mfg)	381	338
Subtotal	4,573	3,584
Clerical Workers:		
Stenographer	3,404	3,163
Typist	3,006	2,857
Accounting Clerk	2,754	2,120
Subtotal	9,164	8,140
TOTAL	15,467	12,848

The totals from the above 14 jobs will account for 55 per cent of the job openings in five years and 65 per cent of the net training requirements.

THE BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING

- What it is . . .
- What it does . . .
- How it can SERVE you . . .

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training

The Role of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training is the agency of the U.S. Department of Labor which:

- Promotes and helps develop and improve programs of apprenticeship and other on-the-job training in all apprenticeable occupations.
- Promotes, develops, administers, and services on-the-job training programs in other occupations under the Manpower Development and Training Act in cooperation with management, labor, and State and community agencies.
- Promotes minimum quality standards of on-the-job training in U.S. industry.
- Stimulates business and industry to analyze their own special and individual manpower needs.
- Promotes equality of opportunity in all industry training with selection procedures on the basis of qualifications alone.

More specifically, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training—

- Provides technical assistance, training aids and materials to industry when and where required.

- Reviews apprenticeship programs as developed by industry for adherence to minimum Federal standards recommended by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship.
- Registers apprenticeship programs as a recognition by the Federal Government that they meet minimum standards of training.
- Registers construction industry programs if standards are met to permit their participation in Federal contracts.
- Reviews and registers apprenticeship programs to meet all requirements of equal opportunity in employment through selection procedures, and hiring, assignment, and promotion.
- Administers the allocation of Manpower Development and Training Act funds to employers and agencies sponsoring on-the-job training programs.
- Administers a program of industrial training for foreign nationals in the United States in cooperation with the Agency for International Development, the International Labor Organization, and other agencies.
- Promotes apprenticeship as a youth opportunity for those with the necessary qualifications through apprenticeship information centers.

- Certifies the completion of training for apprentices in registered programs.

How the National Apprenticeship Program Came About

The tremendous industrial growth of the United States after the turn of the century made obvious a great need for national standards in the development of future skilled workers in industry.

This need was met by Congress in 1937 with passage of the National Apprenticeship Act. The act placed in the Department of Labor responsibility for stimulating and encouraging industry to promote apprenticeship programs with Federal standards for training to meet broad skilled-worker needs.

What is APPRENTICESHIP?

Apprenticeship is the traditional method of training persons for highly skilled crafts and trades by demonstration and supervised practice on the job.

It is coupled with limited or extensive off-the-job classroom instruction in theoretical knowledge related to the particular craft.

Terms of apprenticeship range from 2 years to 6 years, depending on the skill to be learned. Most of the terms are for 4 years.

How the Manpower Development and Training Act Came About

Technological change in American industry accelerated after World War II. Coupled with a dramatic reduction in the number of unskilled jobs and an expanding population, it produced a national problem of unemployment particularly among the young and unskilled, the poorly educated, and those with limited opportunities because of poverty or discrimination.

It was recognized that the problem of persistent unemployment would continue to plague the Nation unless job and training opportunities were created for those who lacked marketable skills, and for workers whose jobs were endangered by continuing technological change.

The Manpower Development and Training Act was enacted by Congress in 1962 to help achieve the national goal of full employment.

What is ON-THE-JOB-TRAINING?

On-the-job training may be defined as the actual performance of work duties in any occupation, under the supervision and guidance of a trained worker or instructor. Under provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), the Secretary of Labor is authorized to encourage, develop, and secure the adoption of on-the-job training programs where

shortages in particular occupations exist in any specific geographic area.

Employers select trainees from among the unemployed and the underemployed and the Labor Department allocates MDTA funds to reimburse employers for the training costs of such programs.

For More Information . . .

Information regarding services of the Bureau's representatives in 160 field offices throughout the United States may be obtained from the regional offices of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training covering the State in which your establishment is located, or from the field office nearest you.

Telephone listings may be found under U.S. Government—Department of Labor. Regional offices and the States they cover are listed on the following page.

REGIONAL OFFICES

Region I (Maine, N.H., Vt., Mass., R.I., Conn.), Room 501, 18 Oliver St., Boston, Mass., 02110.

Region II (N.Y., N.J.), Room 906, 341 Ninth Ave., New York, N.Y., 10001.

Regions III–IV (Pa., Del., Va., Md., W. Va., N.C.), Room 321, Professional Arts Bldg., Chambersburg, Pa., 17201.

Region V (S.C., Tenn., Ga., Miss., Fla., Ala.), Room 525, 1371 Peachtree Bldg., 17th and Peachtree St. NE., Atlanta, Ga., 30309.

Region VI (Ohio, Mich., Ky.), Room 948, Engineers Bldg., 1365 Ontario St., Cleveland, Ohio, 44114.

Region VII (Ill., Ind., Wis.), Room 858, U.S. Court House and Federal Office Bldg., 219 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., 60604.

Region VIII (N. Dak., S. Dak., Minn.), Room 106, Federal Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn., 55401.

Region IX (Mo., Kans., Nebr., Iowa), Room 2811, Federal Office Bldg., 911 Walnut St., Kansas City, Mo., 64106.

Region X (La., Tex., Okla., Ark., N. Mex.), Room 212, 1114 Commerce St., Dallas, Tex., 75202.

Region XI (Utah, Wyo., Colo., Idaho, Mont.), Room 832, Equitable Bldg., 730 17th St., Denver, Colo., 80202.

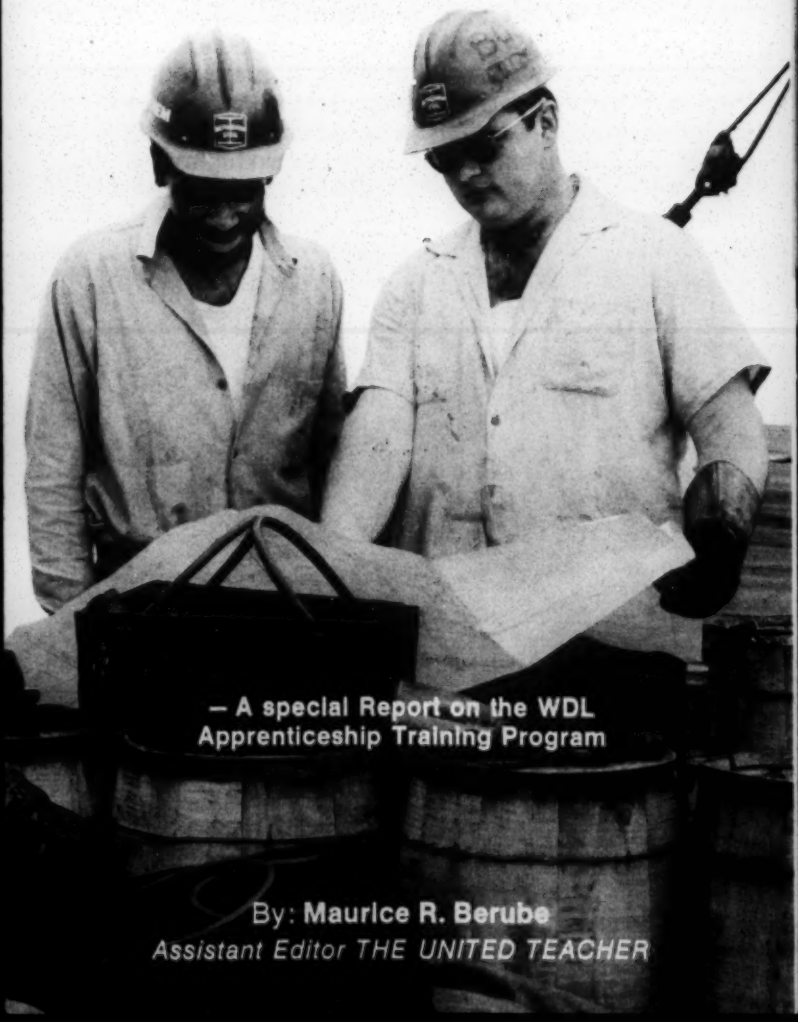
Region XII (Ariz., Nev., Calif., Hawaii), 450 Golden Gate Ave., Room 10451, P.O. Box 36017, San Francisco, Calif., 94102.

Region XIII (Alaska, Wash., Oreg.), 1809 Smith Tower, 506 Second Ave., Seattle, Wash., 98104.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965 O—792-007

Training – Apprenticeship

Breaking the Barrier in the Building Trades Unions



– A special Report on the WDL Apprenticeship Training Program

By: **Maurice R. Berube**
Assistant Editor THE UNITED TEACHER

ROUGH DRAFT

INTRODUCTION

The concern of the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta in the field of training and employment is that existing programs be equally available to Negroes and whites and that existing programs be adequate for those in need of training and/or jobs.

Our function has been chiefly that of information and communication, particularly where eligibility policies have changed.

We assume that an oppprtunity cannot be said to exist for someone if that individual does not know about it ~~and~~ so we have concentrated on obtaining accurate information about training and job openings and distributing this to individuals who might be eligible and to those who advise and counsel on training and employment.

It is in this setting that we sought information on apprenticeship training programs in the metropolitan Atlanta area, and it is for this purpose that ~~the~~ this report was compiled.

Almost more important that the facts on the programs, however, is the fact of the difficulty ~~of~~ in obtaining such information. In 1963 the Council for similar reasons collected information on apprenticeship programs, and it was necessary for someone to go to the regional office of the U.S. Dept. of Labor Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in Atlanta and copy from records there the names and address of the persons to contact for each of the programs approved for the area, and then to contact each of these individually for information on the program.

The situation in 1966 is the same. Because we know the people now, it was possible to telephone and ask for a list to be sent to us, but still there is no one office which maintains for general distribution a listing of approved apprentice programs for the Atlanta area, with information ~~each~~ such as eligibility, application procedure, etc..

COPY

The volunteer Council worker who made the individual contacts found that in several cases, the person in charge had changed. Some required as many as 12 calls before the proper person was found. In one instance, it was necessary to wait for a person to return from a hospital confinement.

The reasons given for this lack of information and coordination were the same which had been given in 1963. It was pointed out that the Labor Department "acts as a consultant only, they contribute no money, have no supervisory power; can only encourage". Their legal obligation for informing those who might be interested is to inform the state school superintendent and the director of the state employment service. (IN Atlanta the assistant regional director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training does carry on a one man effort to inform high school students, principals and counselors, but obviously this cannot be a regular part of a regional job.)

The apprentice programs are in the hands of Joint Apprenticeship Committees (JACs) composed of representatives for labor and management. In most cases the contact person for the committee is one of the labor representatives, who report that they are operating as volunteers, with no budgets for advertising or administering.

Labor spokesmen generally say that management is not enthusiastic about apprentice programs because apprentices earn more than some other trainees and the program takes longer.

Management spokesmen generally say that labor wants to keep the number trained down, to keep wages up.

There does not appear to be any arena where the public interest is debated and the extent to which it is being protected evaluated.

COPY

There are 14 programs registered with the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training for metro Atlanta, the same number as in 1963. Most of them do not have a specific number to be recruited for each year's class, therefore it is difficult to tell if these programs are meeting Atlanta's needs.

One of those which does give a number is the Electrical JAC, which enrolls approximately 25 new apprentices each year. The Georgia Skill Study, prepared for the Georgia Department of Labor in 1962-63 predicted a need for 1253 new electricians to be trained to meet the needs of Atlanta industry for the 1962-67 (5 years) period.

Recent legislation provides for the establishment of Apprentice Information Centers, which could not only give facts but become a base of operations for apprentice-related activities. The Centers are operated under the auspices of the U.S. Dept., of Labor, but require the agreement and cooperation of management and labor. Management representatives were agreeable to such a Center in Atlanta, but the _____ turned down the proposal. Some Labor spokesman have said that it was not explained clearly and that they believe it should be reconsidered.

This lack of information and coordination is by no means unique with the apprenticeship program. Unfortunately it reflects a lack of information and coordination of the many and varied training and employment program. Efforts to establish metropolitan Atlanta communitywide coordinating body for planning and evaluating so far have failed.

The Georgia State Employment Service, which administers the MDTA program, has a statewide advisory committee, which meets on call and which also serves for the

COPY

metropolitan Atlanta area. [We obtained a list which contains the names of the state committee, but no addresses or identification -when we asked for addresses in order to be able to mail material to them we were told to mail it to the Employment Security Director who would decide if it is suitable].

U.S. Department of Labor bulletins recommended a local Manpower Advisory committee appointed by the Employment Service as part of the Manpower Development and Training Act Program (MDTA) but none has ever been appointed for metropolitan Atlanta, although Mayor Ivan Allen only recently retured as one of the public representatives on the National Manpower Advisory Committee.

When it was suggested to Mayor Allen in 1963 that a local Manpower Committee be appointed, he indicated that initiation of such a committee was not a function of the mayor's office.

On January 2, 1964 a meeting on Training was called by the Atlanta Coordinating Committee, which had been appointed by Mayor Allen in response to the creation of the Summit Leadership Conference. The meeting was attended by representatives of state and federal agencies, labor management and civic organizations. Again the desirability of a community wide committee was agreed upon, but there was no answer to the questions of who should initiate ~~such~~ it, and who should pay for any expenses incured.

A report of the Council on Human Relations dated January 14, 1964 records an interview with the Supervisor of Community Employment Programs of Georgia Department of Labor who replied "yes" to the question "would it be good to have a community-wide committee"? The next question was "would you appoint such" and the answer was "We would. We're working on that now".

There is still no metropolitan committee, and indeed there is no one person in charge of the services of the Employment Service in the metropolitan area. When an interviewer asked to speak to the person in charge of the Atlanta area, she was told that there is no one person, that it varies with each program.

COPY

Most of these programs are cooperative programs with the U.S. Department of Labor and as such come under the general supervision of the Assistant secretary of Labor for Manpower, but the coordination seems to be primarily at the national level. In the regional office of the Labor Department in Atlanta, as in other regional Labor Dept., offices, there is no regional director, but a regional committee made up of the heads of the various bureaus with a rotating chairman.

The latest recommendation for a coordinating committee or council comes from the recent White House Conference of Civil Rights. The report of the Council which planned the June 1-2 1966 White House conference on civil rights made a series of recommendations, the first of which was "Establish Metropolitan Jobs Councils in all Major Urban Areas to Plan, Coordinate, and Implement Local Programs to Increase Jobs". The recommendation is restated "What Should Be Done": "Metropolitan Jobs Councils should be established in each major urban area with a substantial Negro population. With urgent support from the highest levels of the national government, the initiative in establishing such councils should be taken promptly in all majorcities of the United States".

The part of the picture which is still missing is WHO is to take the initiative and even more important, at whose intitiative will other groups respond, so that the Jobs Council includes those actually involved in Manpower programs rather than those who comment on manpower programs. TO WHOM is such a Council to be accountable and WHAT CONTROLS could it or should it exert over the "job system" of the community?

The apprentice training picture in Atlanta illustrates clearly the need for coordination and stimulation of more efforts. It illustrates just as clearly the present diffusion of responsibility and authority and the resulting confusion to those for whose benefit the programs are being developed.

COPY

There is now a new President's Committee on Manpower Coordination. Secretary of Labor Wirtz is Chairman and the members include heads of most departments and agencies of the executive branch of the U.S. government. Hopefully coordination on this level will be reflected in regional and local levels.

We respectfully urge Secretary of Labor Wirtz to direct appropriate persons in his own department to take the initiative in establishing adequate community councils which the general public can then hold accountable for protecting the public interest in this important area of training and employment.

We urge that the Employment Service and the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training be adequately financed staffed and even reorganized if necessary to perform their important task.

COPY

Fred Bennett	Breadbasket
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Noyes Collinson	American Friends Service Committee
Albert Davis	NAACP
Al Henry	Georgia Council on Human Relations
Napoleon Johnson	National Urban League (Observer)
E.T. Kehrer	AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Harold Kramer	E.E.O.C., Atlanta Office
Ben Lewis	L.E.A.P., National Urban League Southern Office
Richard Lyle	Atlanta Urban League
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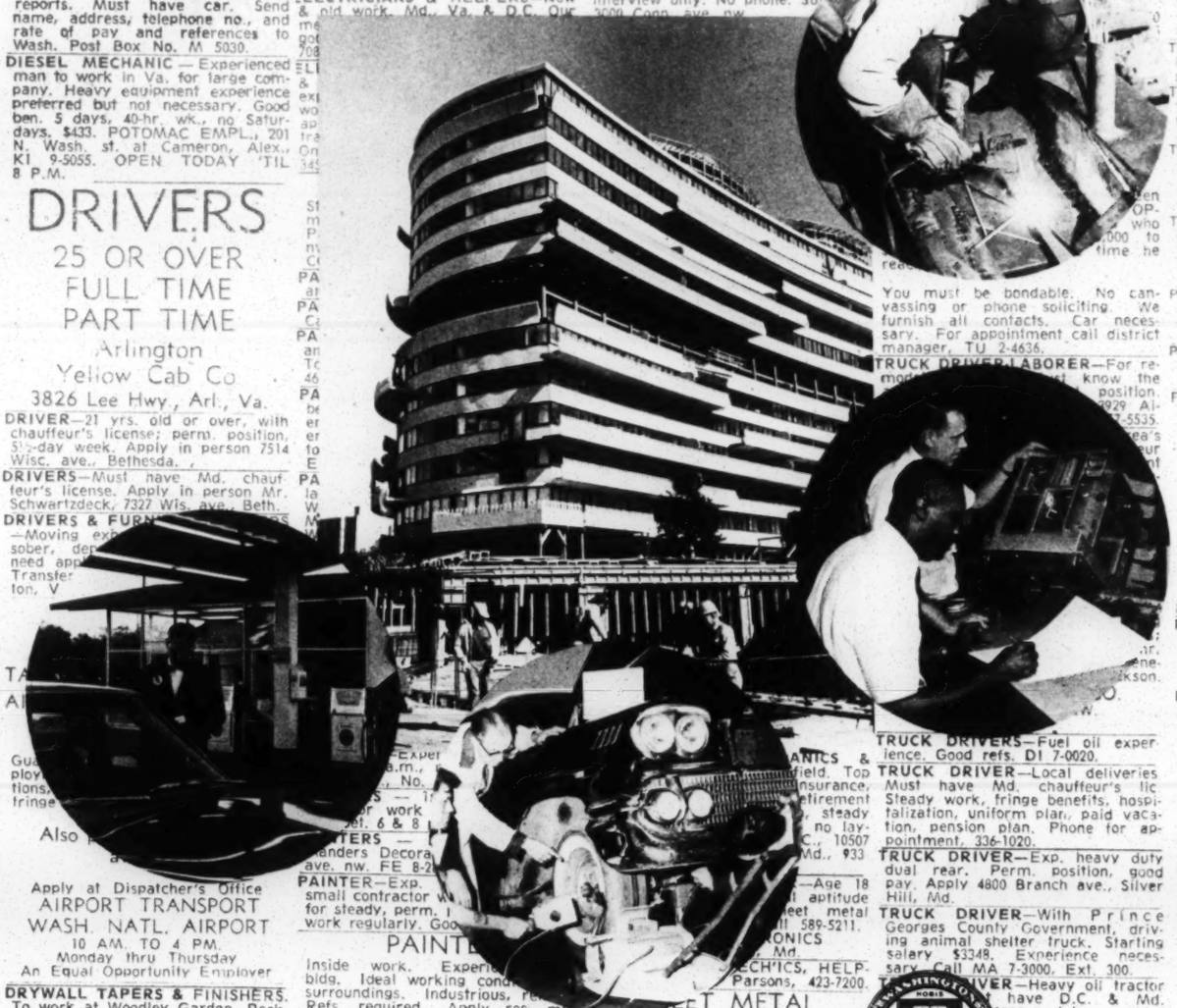

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Oscar A. Ornati

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Graduate School of Business Administration
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YOU CAN'T GET THERE FROM HERE

Roundup of Current Research

from
TRANS-ACTION
April 1969
Issue

PROJECT LABOR MARKET II
Oscar A. Ornati
Director
1969

You Can't Get There From Here

■ If you live in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn (where 60.6 percent of the population is non-white, 38.1 percent of the families have a yearly income of less than $4000, and 6.8 percent of the men are unemployed) and you think you might look for a job in, say, the industrial Hunts Point area of Staten Island, you can get there on two (or three) buses, with a round trip fare of $1.20. If you can find your way, of course, and can get over your not-so-irrational fear of being lost in the alien neighborhoods that lie in between. (There are no complete maps of New York City's transit system; bus service guides are hard to find, deal with only one bus line at a time, and are not posted at stops or in buses; buses themselves carry no indication of the route they take; signs at bus stops and inside the labyrinth subway station are inadequate.)

■ From the poverty areas of central Brooklyn, it is easier and faster to get to parts of the Bronx (15 miles away) than to nearby industrial areas only four miles away. The round trip fare for this safari to the Bronx and back would be 40 cents.

■ The best way to get from central Brooklyn to industrial areas in the adjacent borough of Queens is to get on a train that crosses the East River into Manhattan, takes you to Midtown, dives under the river again, and finally deposits you in Queens.

These cases are not aberrations, but illustrations of a general truth about the New York City transit system. It is the most comprehensive public transit system in the country, but it was designed to serve the needs of the city's middle class, not its poor. Transit from the outlying boroughs into the central business district of Manhattan is rapid and cheap. Transit from the poverty areas of the city to places of industrial employment is complicated and expensive. These are the basic conclusions of Project Labor Market, part of the Graduate School of Business Administration of New York University, on the basis of their detailed analysis of the accessibility by public transit of six neighborhoods in the central Brooklyn poverty areas ("An Analysis of the Transportation Requirements of Residents of Poverty Areas in New York City," by James W. Whittaker for Project Labor Market, January 1968).

Residents of poverty areas, the study found, are more dependent on public transportation than residents of middle-income neighborhoods, but the system serves them less well. Here, for instance, is a comparison between the economic status and the transportation needs of poverty-stricken Williamsburg (in Brooklyn) and nearby middle-class Flushing, in Queens:

	Percentage of families with income under $4000	Percentage of workers using public transit	Percentage of households with car available	Percentage of male unemployed
Williamsburg	45.9	66.3	22.8	8.7
Flushing	11.6	49.9	75.0	2.4

While subway transportation between Flushing and Manhattan is rapid and inexpensive, subways do not run from Williamsburg to the industrial areas in Queens, along the Brooklyn waterfront, in the new industrial area of Flatlands, to Staten Island where the only open land for industrial development in the city is to be found, or to the industrial areas of New Jersey. The bus service that does exist to these areas is inadequate, complicated, hard to find out about, and expensive.

A transit system of this sort makes the life of ghetto residents who have a job difficult enough. But for many job hunters who must travel between New York City's widely separated industrial areas in their search for a job, it may present an insurmountable barrier to employment. To test their conclusion, the project suggests these changes:

■ The existing bus system, with its inherent flexibility, can be altered to serve the poverty areas better. Existing routes were laid out (for trolley cars) in the 19th century, when today's slums were middle-class neighborhoods and large parts of Brooklyn were still being farmed. Existing routes can in many cases be lengthened and tied into other routes to provide better service, more attuned to the needs of today.

■ Since residents of poverty areas will be riding buses for the most part, the extension of free transfer privileges between buses and from bus to subway should be tried. At present, transfers between subway trains at intersecting stops are free, but most bus transfers are not.

■ A more comprehensive information service on bus and subway routes should be devised. A traveler should be able, with a complete and easily available map, to decide on the best route to his destination. Bus and subway signs could list their routes more specifically.

■ Six new, express bus routes from the ghetto to the city's industrial areas should be tried. These routes would connect (a) Central Brooklyn to Staten Island and nearby industrial areas of New Jersey, via the Verrazano Bridge, (b) Central Brooklyn and Kennedy International Airport, (c) Central Harlem and Central Brooklyn, with stops in the industrial area of Queens, (d) South Jamaica (a poverty area of Queens) to Central Harlem and (e) Central Harlem to Bergen County, New Jersey, where there are shopping centers and an industrial park.

If such a project were tried in our largest city, we might find at least part of the answer to the problem of unemployment in the poverty areas of all of our cities.

* * * *

THE ABOVE IS A SUMMARY OF ONE OF PROJECT LABOR MARKET'S REPORTS. THIS REPORT IS BEING REWRITTEN, AMPLIFIED AND EXPANDED BY DR. ORNATI AND WILL BE PUBLISHED BY PRAEGER, INC. IN THE SUMMER OF 1969 UNDER THE TITLE OF TRANSPORTATION NEEDS OF THE POOR.

* * * *

March 12, 1970

New York State School of Industrial
and Labor Relations
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14850

Gentlemen:

Please send one copy of the following publication:

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
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NY Univ

March 18, 1970

Southern Regional Council
3 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

I am a doctoral student at the State University of New York in the Department of Educational Administration, and am in the process of developing a dissertation proposal. My proposal is being focused upon a rural southern school system and social institutions, such as economics, the church, community, government, etc., that affect the educational program in this rural area. The community in which I propose to perform my research is located near Houston, Texas, and is one in which a high rate of cultural deprivation exists. Most of the local citizens are black.

While reading background material for my proposal, I have noticed that your Council has been identified with these rural communities and their social problems in a great deal of the literature. Because of your accumulated knowledge, I would like to know if you could offer me some assistance by supplying me with sources of other relevant research that has been completed in my area, publications, articles, etc., that would further assist me in developing my proposal.

While performing research in this area, as an educator, I am also interested in assisting the local school system in developing a new educational curriculum, designing a new school plant, and generally updating and expanding the quality of their educational program. Naturally, we are in need of funds for planning and educational supplementary purposes (equipment, supplies, etc.). If you could direct me to any sources where funds of this nature are available, this would also be most helpful.

Thank you for any information you can provide.

Sincerely yours,

Lenora Cole

Lenora Cole
Assistant to Vice President
for Student Affairs

LC:h

132 HAYES HALL BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14214 TEL.(716)831-4934

October 9, 1964

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
Suite 300
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Your letter of September 30, re NILE commitments to New Yorld for the Southern Staff Institute leaves me in a quandry. Only one of your points -- point three -- has received any significant attention to date, and this was not because of anything said by New World. If the remaining points are of any special importance, then it is too bad that they were not brought up earlier.

Points one and two may be taken care of in the course of events if you only need the summary judgment of the staff participating in the program. If you want something more refined than this, someone should get busy on the problem of meshing such an evaluation with the program.

Point four is a good idea, but I do not know who will give it much "prior" planning. We had not decided under the new format when projects would be started or who would have responsibility for overseeing them.

Point five is all right if there is someone to work on it. I had the impression that George hoped to do something along this line.

I wonder if I need to underscore my current relation to the Institute. I have no connection with it whatsoever for any further official responsibility. I am not the director. And though sentiment and interest want to lead me astray, I have committed myself only to meet with George for one-half day to discuss program and to nothing further. I thought that I had made it clear all along that under no circumstances would I be able to assume major responsibility, beyond what I have already done, prior to the Institute.

Perhaps I should spell out again what my current situation means in terms of the Institute. I will not be able to give any answer as to my availability earlier than the first week in November and probably not then. I still think you would have been better off to have secured someone else to perform whatever duties you hope I might perform. I will not be able to give substantial time before the Institute begins even if I am able to participate. My participation for two weeks, if it materializes, would not put me in a good position for report writing or evaluation of the institute as a whole.

Joe, pressing me on this matter or suggesting further things for me to do will not help towards a final solution. If I sound blunt, it is because I feel I have given NILE good measure thus far and have asked for nothing in return. I have urged you not to feel obligated to use me in the program because my situation is

so uncertain. Your program is too important to rest on the vagaries of my schedule and academic needs. It has always been my intention to free you to make a more sensible course of action possible.

If this letter seems like an over-reponse to yours, it is because I must reject even the implication that I have further responsibilities to the Institute or that I have agreed to any further role in it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

P. S. It would speed communication some, if your letters could be sent to our present address, 825 Extension Building, rather than to the Stadium.

copy to George Guernsey

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

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September 30, 1964

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
Extension Office - Stadium
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

When we asked the New World Foundation for funds to conduct two more Southern Staff Institutes, we indicated that we would anticipate the following changes, as compared with the North Carolina Institute:

(1) We thought it would be interesting to observe the impact of the difference in climate between the North Carolina Institute, which was held before Birmingham, and the Institutes which will be held after the enactment of the Civil Rights Law. — passed after grant made

(2) We would try to explore some more the relative merits and demerits of the direct as against the indirect approach in the discussion of race relations.] how

(3) We would space the discussions on civil rights and racial problems more evenly through the four-week Institute period.] dad

(4) We would refine the students' projects in terms of scheduling and team competition through more prior planning, and also by making sure that we don't end up, as at the first Institute, with separate teams of whites and Negroes.

(5) Finally, we indicated that we would explore what can be done to prepare students in advance for the work at the Institute.

I hope you will keep these matters in mind in planning the Texas Institute.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:d
cc: Mr. George Guernsey

JA-47762

October 27, 1965

Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr. Henderson:

Let me first congratulate you on your new and important post as President of Clark College. Although I hope that one side benefit from your new position will be an increased availability to the rest of us, I fear that the unique demands on a college president may frustrate that hope.

You will note from the letterhead that I am with the Southern Regional Council. I have a year's leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin to head the Council's labor program. In this capacity I will also serve as director of the Southern Union Staff Training Institute sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education. You will recall that you participated in the program last year at Austin, Texas.

This year's program will be held at the University of Georgia from January 9 through February 4. We would like very much to have you with us again if it is at all possible. Could you call me after you have had a chance to think about your schedule? I would like to know if you can be with us at all, and if so, if you could be with us for as much as a full week. Last year we attempted to involve the instructors for no less than a week where possible. This is still our goal and, in several instances, we will be using instructors for a two-week period. We think that this will further the continuity of the program. If, however, you could be available only for a shorter period we would, of course, still be interested.

We would want your sessions to deal with southern economic problems with some special emphasis on manpower needs for the coming few years. I hope that you will be able to be with us. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

December 6, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I'm meeting with Larry Rogin on the 1966 NILE Institute program. I'll call Don Slaiman and talk to him. I'll then try to get back to you on the program by Thursday afternoon or Friday morning of this week.

I've given Joe Mire a copy of your outline and will talk to him.

I'm bothered by the number of changes in subject matter, but I suppose that this cannot be helped.

Sincerely yours,

(dictated but not read)

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education &
Co-Director of the 1966 NILE Institute

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio

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232-2770

New address:

1911 F St., N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

January 13, 1966

A.U. 244-6800
ST 3 4940 (downtown)

* 737-1366

Professor Emory Via
Southern Staff Institute
Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thanks for the copies of the press release. I do want to send them on to our Board, but will need another 15 copies. Could you send them?

Hope everything continues to go well.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM/d

Joe talk on: Survey of Lab. Ed.
N.I.L.E
27th-28th

The Red and Black

Volume LXXIII — UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1966 — Number 34

Campus Plans Final for Poll

By DAPHNE WILLIAMS

Various campus organizations, including the Interfraternity Council and Panhellenic Council, will circulate Affirmation: Viet Nam opinion poll forms, to secure the University's support of the movement.

This poll will be circulated, beginning Jan. 31, through all fraternity and sorority houses as well as men's and women's dormitories. The purpose of the poll is to find out what the majority of the people think about the United States' commitment in Viet Nam.

A speakers bureau has been set up at the University in order to provide speakers to any organization which wants to become more informed about America's stand in Viet Nam.

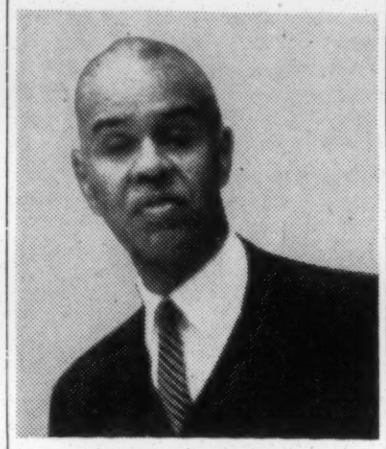
For the rally to be held in Atlanta, Feb. 12, a train has been chartered for University students who want to attend.

"The University of Georgia, one of the leading schools in the state, should be well represented in Atlanta," said Jimmy Martin, minister of men's affairs.

He feels that it is very important for University students to take an active part in the Affirmation movement.

The purpose of Affirmation: Viet Nam, as stated in its constitution, is to analyze and present the factual foundations

els, assemblies and pamphlets making known the results of public polls and other indications of public opinion.



ROY WILKINS
Speaks at Center

Military Group Seeks Changes

Inside R & B

Editorials 4
Society 6
Sports 8

Non-compulsory Plan Suggested by Study

By RUPERT FIKE

The Special Committee on Military Requirements at the University, in its tentative draft released Wednesday, has recommended that the University ROTC program be changed from the present compulsory plan to an orientation-elective system.

This system, which involves a fall quarter compulsory orientation course in ROTC followed by advanced courses which may be elected, combines the aspects of other land-grant university ROTC program into a plan which the committee feels is best suited for the University.

The draft is divided into four major sections:

I. Statement of reason(s) that influenced other land-grant institutions to change their programs,

II. A discussion of the contention that the military program will deteriorate if com-

Wilkins Cites Labor Fault

By DON RHODES

Roy Wilkins, national secretary of the NAACP, said in a speech given at the Georgia Center Tuesday night that labor leaders must recognize and solve the problem of discrimination among workers.

Speaking before some 350 members of the Southern Institute of Labor Education, Wilkins commented that in 1960 there were 57 million whites and six million Negroes employed in this country. He said of the two million employed Negro women, 900,000 were doing low-paid household duties.

"Over one-half of the Negro work force in America is in low categories," he said. "These are poor people. This explains why the Negro is driving for opportunities, why he wants to be more than a street sweeper or a clean-

New resolutions are being formulated, but where the resolutions count is on the job. There has been some progress in Federal work, but still the rank and file lacks training and opportunity."

He stated that this is the cause of many riots. "In the recent Watts riots, one in every three Negroes was unemployed. They had nothing to do. No jobs. The world is against them so why shouldn't they be against the world? Why should they care?"

Wilkins said that the 1960's have been a period of turbulance, sit-ins, protests and birth of the song "We Shall Overcome" because the Brown school decision of 1954 was resisted rather than accepted. He said this resistance was marked chiefly by schools being desegregated at a rate of less than one per cent a year from

of seeing that Negroes had a decent education.

"If I've had one white man say to me I've had 500, 'You know, I had a colored boy in my class.' And that was supposed to prove desegregation was working. It doesn't prove anything of the sort."

He said that the greatest sin this country has committed against the Negro minority is the inequality of opportunity regarding public education.

Another subject Wilkins commented on at length was the treatment of Negroes in textbooks. "There is really no history of Negroes in textbooks. You never know Negroes contributed something. The expression that this is a 'white man's country' was rooted in the fact that nobody knew it was anybody else's country. Even the Ne-

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"The University of Georgia, one of the leading schools in the state, should be well represented in Atlanta," said Jimmy Martin, minister of men's affairs.

He feels that it is very important for University students to take an active part in the Affirmation movement.

The purpose of Affirmation: Viet Nam, as stated in its constitution, is to analyze and present the factual foundations of the position and commitment of the United States in the present Vietnamese conflict.

These purposes are to be fulfilled through public discussion groups, lecturers, pan-

Wilkins Cites Labor Fault

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"Over one-half of the Negro work force in America is in low categories," he said. "These are poor people. This explains why the Negro is driving for opportunities, why he wants to be more than a street sweeper or a cleaner of toilets. He wants to get out of low-pay categories. He wants to get ahead.

"Labor is beginning to see this and beginning to do something about it. New resolutions are being formulated, but where the resolutions count is on the job. There has been some progress in Federal work, but still the rank and file lacks training and opportunity."

He stated that this is the cause of many riots. "In the recent Watts riots, one in every three Negroes was unemployed. They had nothing to do. No jobs. The world is against them so why shouldn't they be against the world? Why should they care?"

Wilkins said that the 1960's have been a period of turbulance, sit-ins, protests and birth of the song "We Shall Overcome" because the Brown school decision of 1954 was resisted rather than accepted. He said this resistance was marked chiefly by schools being desegregated at a rate of less than one per cent a year from 1954 to 1964.

"In 1966 the Supreme Court is still arguing over the illiteracy of Negroes because in 1936 and 1916 they didn't do their jobs in their home territory of seeing that Negroes had a decent education.

"If I've had one white man say to me I've had 500, 'You know, I had a colored boy in my class.' And that was supposed to prove desegregation was working. It doesn't prove anything of the sort."

He said that the greatest sin this country has committed against the Negro minority is the inequality of opportunity regarding public education.

Another subject Wilkins commented on at length was the treatment of Negroes in textbooks. "There is really no history of Negroes in textbooks. You never know Negroes contributed something. The expression that this is a 'white man's country' was rooted in the fact that nobody knew it was anybody else's country. Even the Negroes were saying that. Nothing is said about the Negroes' accomplishments."

(Continued on Page Five)

tive draft released Wednesday, has recommended that the University ROTC program be changed from the present compulsory plan to an orientation-elective system.

This system, which involves a fall quarter compulsory orientation course in ROTC followed by advanced courses which may be elected, combines the aspects of other land-grant university ROTC program into a plan which the committee feels is best suited for the University.

The draft is divided into four major sections:

I. Statement of reason(s) that influenced other land-grant institutions to change their programs,

II. A discussion of the contention that the military program will deteriorate if compulsory ROTC were replaced by a voluntary program,

III. A statement of specific reasons that call for change at the University and

IV. Recommendations on the alternatives open to the University.

A poll of institutions which have abolished mandatory ROTC is the basis for the above information. The committee conducted the poll along with a student opinion poll and a petition advocating the removal of basic ROTC as a requirement for graduation which collected 1,192 validated student signatures.

In Section III of the draft the committee notes, ". . . the Department of Defense stated that

(Continued on Page Eight)

Tanksley Addresses Literary Society

By NELSON AUSTIN

Judge Jeptha C. Tanksley, prospective candidate for governor in the fall elections, spoke at the weekly meeting of Demosthenian Literary Society Wednesday night.

In his address Tanksley discussed the rising crime rate in the state and the ways this rise might be prevented.

"Punishment alone is not the answer," he said. "The real area in which something really effective can be done is in the area of prevention. We can best eliminate crime by doing away with the cause.

"We could possibly set up an employment and counseling service to establish something in the nature of a home to help criminals until they become rehabilitated in the community. Also, we can make the fear of punishment a deterrent for those who have never committed a crime and are considering it."

Alcoholism, leniency of juries and organized crime are three reasons for the increase in crime rates, Tanksley added.

"Crime is really big business in our country. It is a big burden to our people. We must each of us do our best to eliminate it," he said.

Concerning his prospects as a gubernatorial candidate, Tanksley commented, "I am, you might say, waiting in the wings. I believe the voters of this state will reject the three other main candidates (former governors Ernest Vandiver and Ellis Arnall and Atlanta businessman Lester Maddox) and turn to me. This is a new day, a new era and we need a new man as governor."

At present Tanksley is a judge of the Fulton County Superior Court. He has served in that office since 1957 when he was the first man to be elected to the position over an incumbent in more than 40 years.

Deans of Men To Hold Meet At University

Dean of Men William Tate has announced that the annual Conference of the Southeastern Association of Deans of Men will be held Jan. 21.-22 at the Georgia Center.

Four forums will be conducted during the conference, including one on the topic: Changes in Student Attitudes and Mores.

Expressing his views on this phase of the forums Dean Tate said, "Today we are experiencing a shift from the campus to the community. More and more students are attending the University, not simply to benefit from an education as such, but to benefit from an education which in the future

(Continued on Page Five)

Plans Formulated

New Center Considered For Future Construction

By SHARON McKENZIE

The University may be blessed with a new four and one-half million dollar student center sometime in the near future, reports Bill Johns, director of the Student Center.

Although the building has not yet been authorized, it was listed in Pres. O. C. Aderhold's annual report as an immediate building need.

Funds for construction will likely come from operation profits of units within the present Student Center, self ammunization and perhaps some state aid, Johns said.

Johns also revealed two possible locations for the proposed Center. These are the present Stegeman Hall parking lot and the parking area behind Fine Arts.

Johns said that if the Stegeman parking area were used, it would be raised at least one level so that it would not detract from the football stadium.

These two areas, according to Johns, are particularly desirable since they are in direct lines of student traffic from North to South Campus.

The new student center, according to tentative plans, will contain a 500 seat capacity theater, a 30,000 square foot floor space book store, a multipurpose auditorium for dinners, banquets and meetings and bowling lanes.

Johns said both the theater and the auditorium would, it is hoped, relieve some of the capacity limitations of Fine Arts during cultural presentations.

Moreover, the bowling lanes are designed to aid the Physical education department by allowing bowling classes to be held there during the morning hours

Another feature of the new student center will be an art

(Continued on Page Five)

Sound Echoes Success

By MEG GROSS

"Project 70 Sound Studios" is the name of a new sound venture by four University students.

This venture is a commercial sound recording studio which records radio commercials, custom 33⅓ r.p.m. records and master tapes for individuals or groups, all in Project 70's exclusive and revolutionary sound process called "Dimension 7."

Staff Photo—Nick Dunten

RAY DAVIS (L), JERRY CONNELL IN STUDIO

The recording company is owned by Jerry Connell, head of artists and repertoire; John Harrill, chief recording engineer; Ray Davis, accountant and recording technician, and Larry Westmoreland, head of promotion and publicity.

Located at 579 W. Broad St., Project 70 has been in business since the first of January. The students did their own renovating and soundproofing to obtain a studio with 75 per cent sound reflection, thus producing a natural echo which characterizes "Dimension 7" sound.

According to Harrill, this process adds new dimensions to the sound quality, resulting in tapes and records with more clarity and brilliance and an over-all "natural" sound.

"The sound process was developed by the Ultra Dynamic Sound Studio in Atlanta," says Harrill, who has worked there for several years, "but is now

(Continued on Page Eight)

Quintet To Tour Schools of State

The University Student Woodwind Quartet, a newly-organized ensemble, will make its first tour Jan. 22-23.

"The quintet was formed to afford high school musicians a chance to hear a woodwind group and will provide the quintet members with the opportunity to associate with secondary education," said Ronald Waln, director.

Members include Connie Barber, Mary Karwisch, Rocky Gilmore, Dan Martin and Ray Patricio.

UGA Aids Arts Act

The University has been selected as the state agency to implement the National Arts and Humanities Act, Governor Sanders' office announced recently.

The act, passed by the 89th Congress in the fall of last year, provides for matching federal grants-in-aid for states wishing to participate in a program of support and encouragement for the arts.

Plans for the program encompass a wide range of cultural interests including music, dance, drama, sculpture, photography, crafts, folk art and others.

The Arts Council of America, in cooperation with the National Council for the Arts, will meet in the coming months to establish guidelines for the various state and local agencies taking part in the program. The University will collaborate in implementing the act with a state advisory panel representative of all cultural areas.

Lamar Dodd, chairman of the Division of Fine Arts at the University, will attend the first national planning session in Chicago on Jan. 28 and 29 as the representative of the state.

All plans and requests drafted by the University after the initial planning session and the establishment of guidelines must be submitted to the National Foundation for approval.

'Focus' Sessions To Hear Faculty

"Focus 66," sponsored by the Freshman Men's Council, began Jan. 18, with a lecture by Lamar Dodd and will continue throughout winter quarter.

The scheduled sessions will be: Jan. 25, "The U. S. Commitment in Viet Nam" by David Googan, political science professor; Feb. 7, "Philosophy and Religion" by Dr. William T. Blackstone, head of the department of philosophy and religion, and Feb. 22, "Uses and Abuses of Pep Pills" by Dr. Kenneth Waters, dean of the School of Pharmacy, and William Bracewell, freshman men's counselor, who has studied two years in pharmacology.

What's Really Happening On University Campus?

By REV. CHRISTIAN MALONE, O.F.M.

What's really happening here on campus? Is our student body haunted by deep loneliness or imbued with some paralyzing apathy?

As we walk across campus do we really picture this place as the "Playboy Country Club of the Southeast?" Do most of the coeds come here to catch a husband while the boys try to study just enough to get by . . . even if they have to cheat to do it?

Is ringing the bell after football games passé and what are we praying about during the invocations at basketball games? Are the chemistry and physics labs as interesting as the experimental work done at Memorial Park?

Is it true that many graduates get through a four-year education without ever checking a book out of the library? And can you get a copy of almost any exam given in the past—especially if you're with the "in" crowd?

Do we have to feel that school spirit is best expressed in the phrase "damn good team," but none of us plan to help the alumni society after we graduate?

Is it really true that no religious services have been held regularly in the University Chapel until this year; and did the Civil War really cause all the changes in policy which are still being upheld as Gospel on campus today?

Is a panty-raid in the springtime or a fire drill at two o'clock in the morning more productive and formative than trying to help some of the children in the local schools by "tutorial program" participation?

Why have we let the administration take so long to go to IBM cards and the Centrex phone system unless we like these spiritual lessons in patience and perseverance?

Will we have to wait until another coed is killed at the traffic light at North Myers before some crosswalks are built? And are the dangerous curves on East Campus Road and South Lumpkin Street engineered by someone with Brigette Bardot as a model?

Is there really any danger of the Coliseum roof weakening from all the leaks up there, now that our cheering is able to prove to our opponents just who is the greatest? Where are our "less fortunate" married couples going to live if the "diaper row" houses are to be torn down in the near future?

How many Impala convertibles and Mustang hardtops really belong to parents or to the banks instead of to the students driving them? How many students leave the University disenchanted and disheartened because there is virtually no social

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Dillard Delivers Speech For Sibley Law Lecture

By RUPERT FIKE

Hardy C. Dillard, dean and James Monroe Professor of Law at the University of Virginia School of Law, delivered the third of this year's John A. Sibley Lectures in Law Monday night.

The address, "The Role of Law in Managing International Conflict," began a five-day stay by Dillard at the University, which includes talks to Phi Alpha Delta and Phi Delta Phi legal fraternities concerning his experiences as a committeeman investigating the Air Force Academy honor problems.

Graduated from West Point in 1924, Dillard received his LL.B. degree from the University of Virginia in 1927. He taught and practiced law until 1931 when he returned to the University of Virginia as a member of the law faculty.

After viewing plans for the half-completed Law

Welcome Students

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Graduated from West Point in 1924, Dillard received his LL.B. degree from the University of Virginia in 1927. He taught and practiced law until 1931 when he returned to the University of Virginia as a member of the law faculty.

After viewing plans for the half-completed Law School annex, Dean Dillard said, "The building itself is fine, but that's not the important thing; it's secondary. What's important in a school like this is the intellectual excitement which is being created."

As to creating such excitement he also said, "Dean Cowen is doing an excellent job here. He has been bringing to this campus some of the best names in law."

Dean Dillard's string of honors make him one of the outstanding law figures in the country."

Dillard has served as a Fulbright Lecturer at Oxford, a Carnegie Lecturer at the Hague Academy of International Law and in 1962-63 he was president of the American Society of International Law.

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How many Impala convertibles and Mustang hardtops really belong to parents or to the banks instead of to the students driving them? How many students leave the University disenchanted and disheartened because there is virtually no social life for a non-Greek on this campus?

And would we really have to move to another table or take another seat in class if a Negro student dared to sit next to us? And how can we help unwed mothers and their "lovers" better than by taking up a collection in the dorm for an abortion?

Why bother going to church on Sunday when we can get just as close to God by ourselves? Is religion really meaningful in our "Great Society," and if so, just which category do I have to put it in?

After all, what right does a campus chaplain have to ask these questions . . . he's not too well aware of what's going on here . . . or should we take another look? Maybe the "other side of Lumpkin Street" isn't that far distant from our lives after all.

* * *

Fr. Malone is the chaplain at the Newman Center for Catholic students on campus. His is the first in a series of articles to be written by various student chaplains.

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Sorority Pledges

This is a continuation of the 1966 sorority pledge list which began in Tuesday's paper.

ALPHA OMICRON PI

Mary Alice Glass, Greenville, S. C.; Christy Belle Melton, Atlanta; Susan Elizabeth Pacetti, Savannah; Julia Randall, Macon; Rosaline Gail Wincey, Macon; Dolores Deanna, Wood, Clarkston.

ALPHA XI DELTA

Nancy Elizabeth Blackerby, Brunswick; Linda Boyd, Atlanta; Sandra Lee Broadhurst, Athens; Patti Ann Champion, Calhoun; Lynda Carole Collier, Atlanta; Doris Diane Crider, Cave Spring; Barbara Sue French, Sapeville; Jane Elaine Gibson, Tennille; Mary Theresa Greene, East Point;

Mary Elizabeth Grevemberg, Savannah; Pamela Ann Mitchell, Decatur; Gail Jacqueline, Pickren, Atlanta; Vivian Faith Roberts, Hogansville; Gloria Senkbeil, Toccoa; Martha Jeannette Smith, Homerville; Carol Elise Spring, Atlanta; Judy Carl Upchurch, Savannah; Barbara Jean Werk, Atlanta; Ruth Jane Whitlow, Lavonia.

CHI OMEGA

Corinne Ellington Brown, Albany; Susan Grace Brown, Elberton; Julia Anne Burt, Albany; Esther Respess Chatfield, Atlanta; Mary Jane Coleman, Memphis, Tenn.; Jane E. Condon, Jekyll Island; Lucy Deupree Erwin, Athens; Sandra Anne Fitts, Columbia, S. C.; Lynda Grace Futch, Pensacola, Fla.;

Eleanor Hartley Hall, Charleston, S. C.; Donna Bratlett Hulslander, Jacksonville, Fla.; Cheryle Delma Lambert, Jackson; Sharon Reynaud Magill, Athens; Mary V. Osborne, Athens; Jill Smith, Bradenton, Fla.; Patricia Elaine Watson, Swainsboro; Elizabeth Carroll Wellman, Athens; Emeline Elizabeth Willingham, Lookout Mountain, Tenn.; Terri Wilson, Atlanta; Amelia Gail Wingard, Dublin; Helena Lombard, Zimmerman, Columbus.

DELTA DELTA DELTA

Helen Adams, Atlanta; Sheila Elizabeth Bramblett, Marietta; Dorothy Ann Breedlove, Watkinsville; Donna Marie Breuel, Miami, Fla.; Dale Conner Crawford, Decatur; Ellen Dawn Dalton, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Aneglyn Davis, Atlanta; Virginia Ann Ferris, Atlanta; Judith Foster, Marietta; Aurelia Ann Francis, Greenville, S. C.;

Joan Barbara Galligan, Atlanta; Laura Evelle Gibbs, Lyons; Pamela Sue Howell, Bastonia, N. C.; Diane Elizabeth Kingston, East Point; Catherine Ann Kurth, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Cheryl Lynne McDonald, Marietta; Cheryl Ann McLeod, Palatine, Ill.; Mary Jane Rodefeld, College Park; Sandra Mae Sanders, Marietta; Gail Elizabeth Smith, Augusta; Marguerite Elizabeth Tomlinson, Atlanta; Linda Dawn Williams, Stockbridge.

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Religious Calendar

Hillel, Wesley, Westminster Set Seminar

By SHARON RICKEY

The Hillel, Wesley and Westminster Foundations are conducting a seminar called Sex, Courtship and Marriage every Thursday evening at 7 p.m. at the Wesley Foundation.

This group deals with the whole area of sex as it relates to human existence, with the help of doctors, a psychiatrist, films, tests and counseling. Enrollment is by interview only. Any interested person should see Rabbi Fischer at Hillel or Mr. Ruark at Westminster.

Friday, Jan. 21

Baptist Student Union—
11:05 a.m. Luncheon—Rev. Doyle Burgess
12:10 p.m. Luncheon—Rev. Doyle Burgess
1:15 p.m. Luncheon—Rev. Doyle Burgess
6:36 p.m. Vespers—Ben Smith

Newman Club—
7:30 p.m. Cana Club

Saturday, Jan. 22

Baptist Student Union—
6:36 p.m. Vespers—Singspiration

Sunday, Jan. 23

Baptist Student Union—
8:30 p.m. Fellowship

Hillel Foundation—
Painting and Sculpture

Newman Club—
9 a.m. Mass at the University Chapel
11 a.m. Mass at the University Chapel
5 p.m. Mass at Memorial Hall

Wesley Foundation—
9:45 a.m. Coffee and doughnuts discussion at Hbrary
11 a.m. University Worship
6 p.m. Supper (75 cents)
6:30 p.m. Program, film "Butterfield 8," discussion following film

Westminster House—
9:30 a.m. Sunday sermon seminar at Westminster House
11 a.m. University Worship at Wesley Foundation
5:30 p.m. Supper (75 cents)
6:30 p.m. Program, Dr. Mary Margaret Andrews (Prof. Child Development) will speak on "Communication and the Ferment"

Monday, Jan. 24

Baptist Student Union—
11:05 a.m. Luncheon
12:10 p.m. Luncheon—Faye Perry
1:15 p.m. Luncheon—Chet Wright
6:36 p.m. Vespers

Westminster House—
7 p.m. Makers of Protestant Theology—A Survey Seminar

Tuesday, Jan. 25

Baptist Student Union—
11:05 a.m. Luncheon Dr. Raymond Sewell
12:10 p.m. Luncheon—John Pattillo
1:15 p.m. Luncheon
6:36 p.m. Vespers—Confrontation program introduction
7 p.m. Confrontation program, speakers: Dr. William Hamilton and Dr. William Hordern

Newman Club—
7:30 p.m. Inquiry and Convert

Westminster House—
7 p.m. Viet Nam and the Christion Ethic of War Seminar

Wednesday, Jan. 26

Baptist Student Union—
11:05 a.m. Lunchen—Suzie Donehoo, summer missionary to California
12:10 .m. Luncheon—Suzie Donehoo
1:15 p.m. Lunchen—Suzie Donehoo
6:36 p.m. Vespers

Hillel Foundation—
The Elephant and the Jewish Problem

Newman Club—
7:30 p.m. Philosophy and Psychology

Wesley Foundation—
6:30 p.m. Choir practice

Westminster House—
4 p.m. "Route 66". An Encounter with the Bible at Wesley Foundation
6:30 p.m. Choir practice for University Worship at Wesley Foundation

Thursday, Jan. 27

Baptist Student Union—
11:05 a.m. Luncheon
12:10 p.m. Luncheon—Mike Guillard
1:15 p.m. Luncheon—Mike Guillard
6:36 p.m. Vespers
7:30 p.m. Bible Study—Book of Acts

Newman Club—
7:30 p.m. Theology and Liturgy

Westminster House—
7 p.m. Sex, Courtship and Marriage—held in conjunction with Hillel and Wesley at the Wesley Foundation.

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8:30 p.m. Fellowship
Hillel Foundation—
Painting and Sculpture
Newman Club—
9 a.m. Mass at the University Chapel
11 a.m. Mass at the University Chapel
5 p.m. Mass at Memorial Hall
Wesley Foundation—
9:45 a.m. Coffee and doughnuts discussion at library
11 a.m. University Worship

program introduction
7 p.m. Confrontation program, speakers: Dr. William Hamilton and Dr. William Hordern
Newman Club—
7:30 p.m. Inquiry and Convert
Westminster House—
7 p.m. Viet Nam and the Christion Ethic of War Seminar

Wednesday, Jan. 26

Baptist Student Union—
11:05 a.m. Lunchen—Suzie Done-

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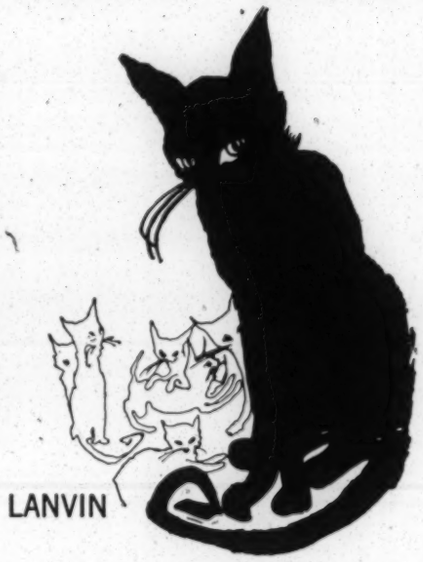

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Housing Inspection Is A Good Move

One of the best ideas we've heard in a long time is the proposed inspection by University officials of off-campus housing. Similar to projects already underway at other schools, this effort, aimed at insuring decent living conditions for all students, would determine whether such basic factors as plumbing, heat, sanitation and lighting are adequate.

Many of us know all too well the inferior living conditions for students existing in Athens, most often due to small-time landlords who want to make a fat profit by charging unreasonable rates and paying little attention to upkeep of their rentals.

Of course most persons renting rooms and apartments to students are conscientious about the adequacy of their units, and the corporations now building modern apartments at most reasonable prices is one of the best things presently happening to students.

But those who capitalize on the desperate student who can't find housing elsewhere should be made to bring their rental up to par or be taken off the University approved housing list.

We also think it would be a good idea to investigate the prices some of these "dwellings" rent for, and determine if students are getting their money's worth, which we are convinced in many cases they are not.

WILKINS LEADS NEGROES WELL

Roy Wilkins, national secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and quite a qualified representative of the civil rights movement spoke at the University Monday night. He was sponsored by the Southern Institute of Labor Education which was holding a meeting at the Georgia Center.

Wilkins, who represents the responsible Negro

DAPHNE WILLIAMS

Red and Black Columnist

Individualism Is Hard

"I am an individual, not like everyone else." This statement has been made so many times by so many people that it has become common in our everyday language.

In this day and age, people say they want to be different, but what they say and do are two different

tain beliefs, while on the other hand he may not agree with every person in the group.

There is nothing wrong with "wanting to belong." People don't seem to realize

MICKEY MILLS

Red and Black Editor-in-Chief

Change Brings Independence

CHANGE HAS COME to the University in the last several years, in its physical appearance, in its academic atmosphere, in its diversity of opinion.

The "individual" is coming into his own; no longer is it necessarily "out" to not be a member of a sorority or fraternity. One can sense this new image as he talks to the high school kids back home who ask about this new **Independent** group on campus which seems to be running things now.

Of course, it hasn't gone that far, but the fact is that no one group, Greek or Independent or administration, is the sole ramrod in getting things done anymore. The Greek is still in his own—but he's not the only one now—the Independent has just about fully become independent and the administration is letting them get by with all this.

THIS IS, needless to say, a healthy atmosphere, as long as the Greeks and Independents don't become involved in extermination projects against each other.

And there certainly is no need in this happening. To put it in basic terms, the Greeks have found they can't bully the Independents, and the Independents know it certainly wouldn't benefit their cause and image to try bullying the Greeks.

Anyway, why does anybody want to bully somebody else right when students are being taken seriously, at least more seriously than in the past, about their ability to run a student government. If there was ever a time every faction on campus should work together, that time is now.

* * *

BUT FOR ONE who came to the University over three years ago, when you were really treated like a GDI if you weren't a Greek, it's satisfying to know that incoming freshmen have the right to objectively make a choice between Greek or Independent life and not feel like a cast-out if they choose to spend less money for the same dignity.

* * *

THERE HAVE BEEN more causes and petitions circulating around campus for the last several months than there have been in all the University's years of existence put together. I believe students are thinking more for their own selves, which is a very important factor in the complicated, hard-to-define term, individualism. It's hard to be "individ-

business and uni-

we are convinced in many cases they are not.

WILKINS LEADS NEGROES WELL

Roy Wilkins, national secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and quite a qualified representative of the civil rights movement spoke at the University Monday night. He was sponsored by the Southern Institute of Labor Education which was holding a meeting at the Georgia Center.

Wilkins, who represents the responsible Negro in America and whose organization has contributed most to the attainment of Negro rights by the legal and judicial processes, told the group that his race is tired of low paying jobs and that one of the only ways it can move ahead is through adequate education. Although the nation has done much over the last five years in providing Negroes the opportunity to an education equal to white students, there is still much to be desired, especially in the South.

And we feel Wilkins and the NAACP will see to it that Negroes receive even more opportunities by responsible, legal actions rather than riots and appeals to issues, such as Viet Nam, which are not even related to civil rights.

* * *

AN AMUSING ANCEDOTE: Attending the meeting Monday night at which Wilkins spoke were four members of Demosthenian who voted against a motion to invite Dr. Martin Luther King to address the literary society. It is reported that one of the four actually gave Wilkins a standing ovation after the civil rights leader's speech.

The Red and Black

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DAPHNE WILLIAMS

Red and Black Columnist

Individualism Is Hard

"I am an individual, not like everyone else." This statement has been made so many times by so many people that it has become common in our everyday language.

In this day and age, people say they want to be different, but what they say and do are two different things. People rebel from society only to join groups of other people who have rebelled also. Therefore, they are all alike, they believe in the same thing—individualism. Are they still individuals?

Sociologists have stated many theories about man wanting to become an individual—but they are contrary to what seems prevalent today. **The Organization of Man,** by William H. Whyte, reveals that man wants to belong to a group and that he doesn't want to be an individual on his own. An example stated was a community in which there were two churches, neither of which was very big. Although they were both Protestant, the denominations were different. The people of the community decided to get a bigger organization. They didn't want to be individuals.

Questionnaires have revealed also that man would rather be a part of a big organization than to be in business for himself. So, what is wrong with that?

Each person is different. He may be like other people in some ways, but not in others. He may be drawn to a group because of certain beliefs, while on the other hand he may not agree with every person in the group.

There is nothing wrong with "wanting to belong." People don't seem to realize that they are individuals, not because they dress differently or because they rebel from society, but instead just because they are themselves.

when students are being taken seriously, at least more seriously than in the past, about their ability to run a student government. If there was ever a time every faction on campus should work together, that time is now.

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BUT FOR ONE who came to the University over three years ago, when you were really treated like a GDI if you weren't a Greek, it's satisfying to know that incoming freshmen have the right to objectively make a choice between Greek or Independent life and not feel like a cast-out if they choose to spend less money for the same dignity.

* * *

THERE HAVE BEEN more causes and petitions circulating around campus for the last several months than there have been in all the University's years of existence put together. I believe students are thinking more for their own selves, which is a very important factor in the complicated, hard-to-define term, individualism. It's hard to be "individual" in an age of big government, cities, business and universities.

But the fact that people can be to some extent individuals today refutes those of Goldwater vintage—which was a very bad year—who maintain bigness is the cause of everything from the common cold to untied shoe laces.

Letters Policy

The Red and Black welcomes letters on any subject pertinent to and involving University students. The editor reserves the right to edit letters to conform to style, good taste, space limitations and libel laws.

Letters should be typewritten and should not exceed 300 words.

No unsigned letters will be printed, but names may be withheld upon request.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Senate Leaders Needed

To the Editor:

THE MOVEMENT now pending before the Student Senate is a proposal to create the positions of majority and minority leaders. This is an effort to stimulate more actions and enthusiasm within the Senate.

This proposal (whether beneficial or not) is intended to improve senator-senator relationships, but is this senator-senator relationship the basic problem confronting the Senate?

IT IS MY OPINION that the main problem affecting the Senate is the **senate-student** relationship. The senators were elected by you to represent you—the students—in our student government. Unless the students voice their ideas and opinions to the senators, the senators can only act according to their consciences in doing what they feel is best for the student body. If you wish to contact a senator, the senators' names, schools, addresses and telephone numbers are listed in the Student Directory. May I say again, unless the students express their suggestions and views to their senators, the senators cannot represent the student body to the best of their ability nor can our student government reach its full potential. The progress of our student government depends not only upon the senators and the student body officers, but also upon the students.

Jimmy Stewart
Student Senator

Integration Still at UGA

To the Editor:

The University of Georgia, a tax-supported state institution, has an inglorious history of denying the educational process to some of the people who contribute to its support. This fact was demonstrated when a court order was necessary in order that Negroes be admitted to the University.

The present injustices to the people of the state and especially to us—the student body—is the present administrative and athletic department policy of not giving athletic grants-in-aid to qualified Negroes. The University—true to its tradition—is playing follow the leaders.

There have been numerous leaders, i.e., Houston, SMU, West Texas State, West Virginia, Duke, Kentucky, etc. Yet Georgia waits while some of its finest young men strengthen Southern institutions such as Florida A&M, Grambling and Southern University, Big Ten schools and West Coast universities. Ironically, many athletes presently recruited by Georgia come from integrated high school situations. The University is then playing follow the leader with high schools!

It was this attitude that was exemplified by Coach Dooley when he stated in an Atlanta newspaper that he did not know when Negroes would be recruited. He should know.

I am personally tired of being a sometime contender. The only losers would be Ole Miss, Alabama and the rest of the SEC. Given the emphasis on football in this conference, there would be no argument as to which conference is the strongest.

It is time that the University excelled in something other than following the pack. It is therefore imperative that the shame of the school, which is perpetuated by the athletic department cease, and that athletes be recruited on the basis of merit and not color.

Harold Black
Senior
Economics

(Continued on Page Five)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR . . . (continued)

HURRAH FOR DEMOSTHENIAN

To the Editor:

Hurrah! Demosthenian, the haven of all refined and cultivated Southern gentlemen, comes through again in its own inimitable style. Afterall, who the hell is Martin Luther King but some upstart nigger from Georgia?

One-hundred years from now students of history will sedulously be pouring over their tomes analyzing the omniscient basketball and FOOTBALL coaches at that Parnassus of football and basketball and swimming and baseball and golf and track and wrestling and bowling and tennis and weight-lifting and gymnastics and volleyball and badminton and just everything!—the University of Georgia! Kudos to the sage who is president of Demosthenian and his cohorts. May the general and universal opprobium of the University faculty and students crush the un-enlightened dissenters.

Anonymous

Law Should Be Heeded

To the Editor:

One of the wonderful things about our great American society is the privilege a person has of criticizing the government, its leaders, laws and policies. It is the duty of a citizen to make his dissent known. But there appears to be, on our campus and elsewhere, a divergence of views concerning what form this dissent should take.

A public official or a private citizen who makes every legal attempt to bring about a change in a law or policy with which he disagrees, is truly a patriot. But any person who advocates breaking the law, prior to getting it changed, more closely resembles a seditionary than a patriot.

This is especially true regarding our draft laws. If they are wrong, they should be changed, not disregarded while they are in effect. Otherwise, our entire foundation of freedom will crumble, because some people think their freedom includes the right to break the law and abet those who break the law, in the name of "individualism."

Norman Vaughn
Journalism Senior

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GEORGIA

BSU Schedules Confrontation: 'Death of God'

"The Death of God" will be the subject of a telephone forum, sponsored by the Baptist Student Union Jan. 25, between the foremost proponent of the radical doctrine, Dr. William Hamilton, and one of the world's leading Christian existentialists, Dr. William E. Hordern.

"Confrontation"—the name of the forum—will be open to questions from University students and faculty. The debate will begin at 6.45 p.m. at the Baptist Student Center, 564 S.

Eighteen Professors Protest Bond Action

By SAM DICKSON

Eighteen professors at the University have protested the move of the Georgia House of Representatives to refuse to seat Rep.-elect Julian Bond of Atlanta.

In a letter which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution, the professors protested "the injustice done by the legislature to Julian Bond, freedom of speech and the right of Mr. Bond's constituents to his services."

While stating that their personal views of Rep. Bond's statement ranged from "enthusiastic general endorsement to complete rejection," the signers of the letter agreed "on his full right to free speech in and out of the legislature."

The text of the letter deplored the possible effect of the House of Representatives' action on the state's national image and the University's efforts to recruit professors from other schools throughout the nation.

Dr. Charles Crowe, associate professor of history and one of the signers of the letter, stated that Julian Bond "has every right—moral, legal and political—to sit in the legislature. It ill behooves the members of the legislature, some of whom have counseled defiance of Supreme Court decisions and federal laws, to question Mr. Bond's loyalty.

"The Julian Bond affair represents a very serious blow to progress toward racial justice in Georgia.

"Legislators and others in Georgia will simply have to learn to respect free speech, and even more important, to stop all forms of racial injustice and discrimination."

TATE . . .

(Continued from Page One)

will be of help in their respective vocations.

"Our present group of students are a more capable and sophisticated group. The present generation is not indifferent or living selfishly for their

WILKINS . . .

(Continued from Page One)

Mentioning the killings of Viola Liuzzo and the Rev. James Reeb, Wilkins movingly said, "How can you go home, get a gun, get in your car and go looking for people to kill like you're hunting elephants? As long as there are people like that, the race question won't be solved."

The nation is in a period of transition, Wilkins said. "You can't divide freedom. Individual freedom is there or it's not there. The Negro has been under a dark intensity of prejudice in every facet of his life. All the Negro wants is justice."

For the Best
In Shoe Repairing

Center Plans Formulated

(Continued from Page One)

gallery. Johns said that not only will there be art in the gallery, but that art will also be utilized throughout the building.

"This (art utilization) is a proven and accepted method in reaching a large segment of the student body," said Johns.

Offices in the building will likely be on a shared space system. Under this method, office equipment is placed in lockers in one large room. This is a space saving device which is effective since few of the groups using the offices would be there at the same time.

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Confrontation: 'Death of God'

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"Confrontation"—the name of the forum—will be open to questions from University students and faculty. The debate will begin at 6.45 p.m. at the Baptist Student Center, 564 S. Lumpkin, across from Fine Arts.

Dr. Hamilton has stated he will only answer questions from persons who have read two out of three of the following articles explaining his views:

"The death of God Theology Today," Christian Scholar, Spring 1965; "Shape of a Radical Theology," Christian Century, Oct. 6, 1965; "The American Theological Radical and the Death of God," Dec. 13, 1965.

Reprints of these articles are available at the Baptist Student Center. All questions must be written out according to "Confrontation" directors.

Both theologians are widely known for their numerous articles and college connections.

Alps Drive-In

FRIDAY & SATURDAY

"SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW"
Jane Mansfield

PLUS SECOND FEATURE

"BABY THE RAIN MUST FALL"
Steve McQueen
Lee Remick

SUN. - MON. - TUES.

"WAR OF THE ZOMBIES"
Susi Andersen

PLUS SECOND FEATURE

"HOW TO STUFF A WILD BIKINI"
Annette Funicello

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(Continued from Page One)

will be of help in their respective vocations.

"Our present group of students are a more capable and sophisticated group. The present generation is not indifferent or living selfishly for their own interest. This generation is intensely aware of the problems of the world and the aspects of nature around them."

Dean Tate stated that in relation to the number of students presently enrolled at the University, open misconduct and silly actions are decreasing.

"The problems of today's students are becoming more involved due to the emotional and psychological pressures which are exerted upon the average student," he said.

"For example, there is more concern today over the failure to make a certain average. The students of this era, although faced with innumerable difficulties and problems, are less fearful of them and tend to solve their problems more capably."

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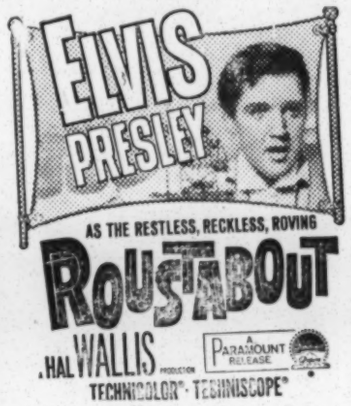
at 8:30



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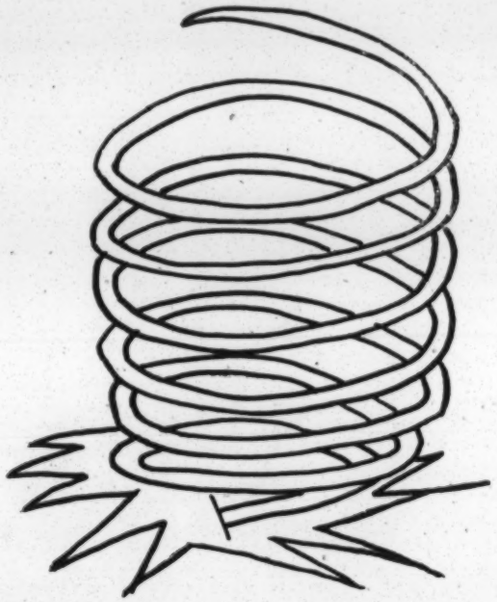
SOCIETY

Thursday, January 20 • Page 6



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. . . Society . . . Briefs

Miss Navy Supply Corps School 1966 will be crowned Saturday night during a formal military ball at the Navy School. Miss NSCS will be selected from among 12 finalists.

* * *

The Student Center will sponsor a dance Saturday in Memorial Hall after the basketball game. All students are invited.

* * *

A dance at the Oglethorpe House Saturday at 8 p.m. will feature The Judge and Jury, with The Attorneys. The featured singer will be Tommy Lay.

The locally-based band has backed such personalities as The Del Vikings and the Shirelles. They appeared at the Homecoming Concert of the University of Tampa last quarter.

The name of the band was chosen because the original leader's father was a judge in Athens. The Judge and Jury make up the instrumental segment of the band, with The Attorneys doing the vocal work.

Individual members of the band have worked with stars such as the Platters, Lesley Gore, Dionne Warwick, Jan and Dean and Dee Clark.

There is no admission charge for the dance, which is open to all students and their dates. Men will be required to wear coats and ties.

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Rita's Round Up

By RITA MOOKERJI

A recent survey made by The Ladies' Home Journal revealed the type of haircut most popular among men.

'Medium length' topped the list with 48 per cent. "It's neat, always acceptable," the supporters said.

The next most popular was the "Beatle" length with a 41 per cent response. Its champions added, however, that they felt it should be "clean and combed."

There was a short drop to six per cent when it came to crew cuts. Some felt "there's nothing to run your fingers through." Others believed it to be the "most masculine look of all."

A close tie in popularity with the crew cut, was shoulder-length hair. Many dismissed this as being "for girls only," and its fans were mainly "individualists."

* * *

There's more in the mail for males this week! According to Robert L. Green of New York, men's clothing trends are about to become as fashion-dominated as women's. For those men who would like to challenge the topless bathing suit, the new "naked look" is in! This is the swimsuit that has several holes of silver dollar size made in an ordinary pair of swimming trunks.

The latest look emphasizes color with polka dots, praisley and pareu. Bell-bottom trousers are back. Neckties with a wealth of design are in.

The new look this spring appears to be the coordinate that consists of a shirt of one color, trousers of another color, and a sports coat that picks up and combines these two colors.

* * *

give it the egg treatment. Separate the whites and yolks of three eggs, whip the whites till frothy, then combine both and massage into your hair. Rinse thoroughly.

Oil is very good for the scalp when heated to a comfortable temperature and applied generously. Then wrap a towel, dampened with hot water around your head, repeating when the towel cools. Finally give it a good scalp shampoo.

To retain the effects of this treatment, brush your hair as many times as possible. Brushing is one of the best conditioners.

HEADS OR TAILS?

Flipping a coin is a heck of a way to choose a career. We have a better one: our Campus Internship Program.

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* * *

If you're feeling jaded about the faded, parched, strawlike look your hair has acquired from the last holiday at the seashore, here's what you can do to revive it to its original gloss.

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For Your Pleasure

Bond, Burials Provide Laughs★★Feiffer Revives Comic Heroes

By STEVE TRAVIS

The newest James Bond movie, "Thunderball," is by far the most elaborate of the Bond series. It provides the most intricate of gadgetry, along with the most beautiful of women.

The story concerns the stealing of a NATO plane by SPECTRE (Special Executive for Terrorism, Revenge and Extortion, if you really want to know).

The plane is loaded with two atomic bombs, and SPECTRE has demanded £100,000,000 (that's $280,000,000 American) in diamonds for their return. If the ransom is not paid they will blow up a large city (a clue: it turns out to be Miami).

"Thunderball" was spectacularly photographed (almost half of the film's original footage was shot under water) in England, Nassau, the Exumas and Miami, and offers, among other items, the first underwater love scene ever filmed (Bond's comment: "I hope we didn't scare the fish.").

The gadgets are fantastic. They include that fabulous combination of an Aston-Martin and a fortress, a one-man rocket pack, a motorcycle which fires rockets and a 90-mile per hour hydrofoil.

The heroine, Domino, is played by dark-haired Claudine Auger, a former Miss France, who makes up for her lack of acting ability with her fantastic good looks.

The wily Fionia, played with nerve by Luciana Paoluzzi (the best actor in the show), is at last a female match for Bond. She is a SPECTRE assasin, and a good one. She is the only "bad girl" Bond has ever made love to who was not not transformed into an ally. (Bond's comment: "There's always a first time.")

The plot of "Thunderball" is not equal to that of "From Russia With Love," and the humor is sadly below that of "Goldfinger," but there is enough action, love and imagination to satisfy all Bond fans.

LOVED ONE

latest offering. The film is an overdone version of the original book by British satirist Evelyn Waugh, which charicatured the enormous funeral business in Southern California. (Anyone who's been there can tell you that it's so fantastic that it's hard to believe without the satire.)

The story concerns an Englishman (Robert Morse) who is given a free plane trip to visit his uncle in Los Angeles. A short time later, his uncle commits suicide and the young man is left to make his funeral arrangement at Whispering Glades, the greatest of these farcical funeral homes. There, he falls for a dedicated (and extremely idiotic) cosmetician, played expertly by Anjanette Comer.

The man tires to make the girl see that Whispering Glades is only a money-making trap run by the "Blessed Reverend" (Jonathan Winters), who is plotting to shoot "those stiffs" into space with rockets so he can build a retirement home on the ground where Whispering Glades now stands.

The film's assets are the players. Morse, Comer, Winters, Rod Steiger, Milton Berle, Margret Leighton and Liberace all do good jobs.

The only real trouble with the film is that screenwriter Terry "Candy" Southern and director Richardson have tried to make the picture anti-everything ("The picture with something to offend everyone") and succeed only with coming up

By FRANK C. WHITE

The famed cartoonist of Playboy, The Village Voice, and other publications—Jules Feiffer—has brought out his own personal contribution to the latest American craze of camp, pop art, Bogart movies et. al.

The name of the volume is "The Great Comic Book Heroes."

All of the devil-may-care adventurers are here—"Batman," "Captain Marvel" and the other defenders of law and order. They dash fervently in search of justice throughout the volume.

Feiffer's introduction to the volume is typical of his sly, social comment category humor. The book is a real joy for those of us who remember the old days down at the corner drugstore. It brings back all of those times when one was always searching for that dime to be able to catch up on the latest antics of the real heroes.

For those of the campus who like a little biography, may I suggest a new volume on that full-of-life robust Welshman—Dylan Thomas.

The book is "The Life of Dylan Thomas" by Constantine Fitzgibbon, an American novelist and historian. One of the Welshman's best known works perhaps is "Under Milk Wood." Thomas, who made three somewhat flamboyant lecture tours through the United States in his life, is a character whom devotees of "camp and Bogie" may find interesting.

RECORDS

Another new album of interest is "Whipped Cream and Other Delights" by Herb Alpert and the Tiajuana Brass. These little numbers with the big popular hit, "A Taste of Honey" among them, are typical of the Alpert brand of musicality.

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suggest a new volume on that sound and pulsating rhythmic

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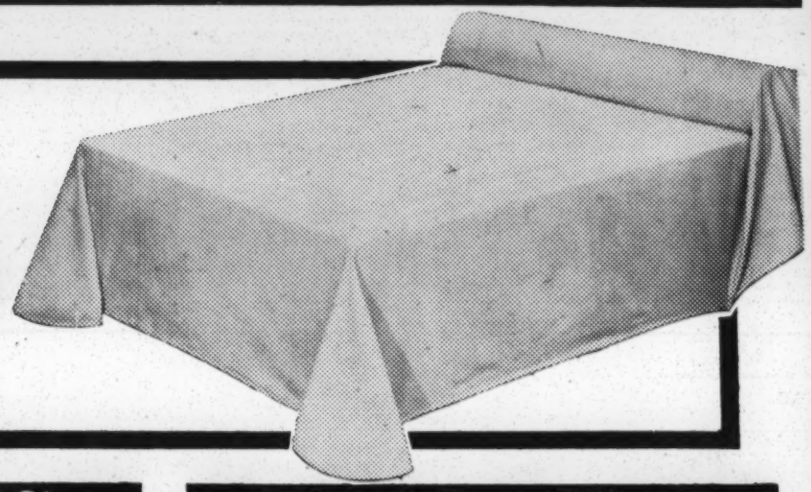

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BAXTER STREET and ALPS ROAD, ATHENS, GA. OPEN 10 A.M. TO 10 P.M.

Casey Horne

The Sports Desk

"I hope it's a different channel Saturday," joked Georgia head coach Ken Rosemond after the baskeball fiasco in Atlanta Wednesday night.

The Bulldogs, in their worst night this year, could never snap together and begin to hit. Actually, it was a matter of mathematics.

"When you throw it away you don't get a shot," said Coach Rosemond, "when you foul you don't get a shot."

"Georgia gave away 13 errors, three offensive rebounds and four fouls.

"They played real well," added the Georgia coach; "we played really poor."

When asked his plans for the remainder of the week, Rosemond repeated the message he had just given his players: 'We're going to work Thursday at 3:30 p.m."

"WHACK" HYDER

After the game a jubilant "Whack" Hyder, just recuperating from his December defeat in Atlanta, praised his team for their work.

"I've never had a greater concentrated effort from a group of boys than tonight. We (coaching staff) didn't have to do a thing to get them ready for this game; Ken (Rosemond) did that for us when he mentioned making a clean sweep."

Discussing Tech's style of play, Hyder added, "We play a team defense, doubling and trapping, with two men putting pressure on the man with the ball leaving three boys in pick-off positions."

Tech sophomores Dave Clark and Pete Thorne led the Jacket defense, stealing the ball with monotonous regularity, charging for the opposite goal and setting up another two points.

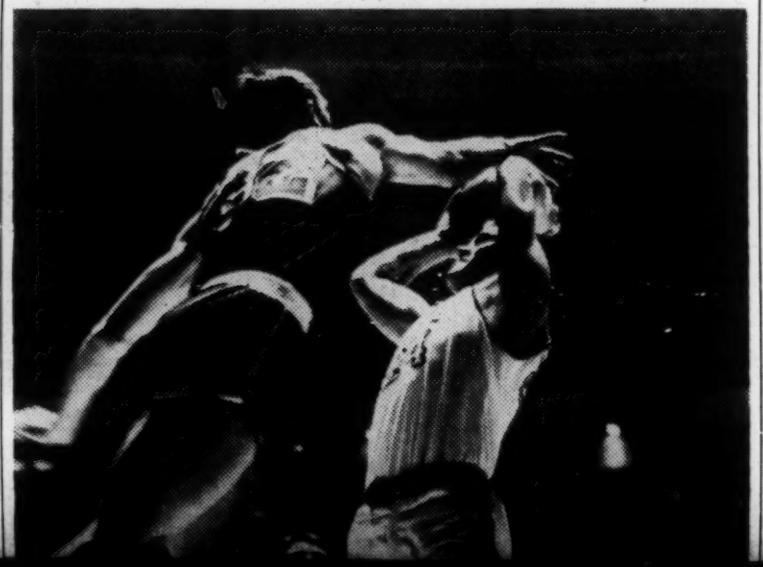
Thorne led the scoring for Georgia Tech with 21 points, with Phil Wagner, another adroit ball thief, scoring 20 points.

"I've never gotten more satisfaction from a win, especially a Georgia win, than this one;" then Coach Hyder was swept along by exuberant fans.

Jerry Waller, consistent point-maker for the Bulldogs, acquired only six point during the game. High scorer for Georgia was Ray Jeffords with 17 points, followed by Jim Youngblood with 11.

Saturday night the Bulldogs face another proficient ball team, the University of Florida. This game will be televised on area TV, and should give Georgia a chance to get out of its slump and play again the type of ball they did against Kentucky.

Georgia has the firepower and the ability to hit from most areas of the court. Whether or not the players can or will act as a smoothly working team will depend on the daily horoscope, or on the weather, or on the time of year.



In Between Classes Wash Your Car
25c It takes only 5 minutes 25c
You Can Vacuum Too
KWIK CAR WASH
On Baxter Street
Next to White & Wier Heating & Air Conditioning

Project 70 Produces Big Sound...

(Continued from Page One)

owned exclusively by Project 70."

The studio is now producing custom records for individuals or clubs, but within two months will be producing records on its own label, Vista, for nationwide distribution. The first release will be a 45 r.p.m. disc featuring two original pop-folk songs sung and played by Connell.

Project 70 hopes in the future to actually press its own records, but at present is equipped only to make master tapes. These are sent to Nashville, Tenn., where a metal master disc is made to be used in a hydraulic press which stamps out records in mass production. In the case of Connell's record, 10,000 copies will be made, which then go to a distributing company.

In making tapes for radio commercials, Project 70 incorporates several innovations. The most revolutionary one enables advertisers to get three times more commercial material in the same time period.

This "speed talk" is accomplished by splicing tapes to cut out all pauses between words and sentences. The result is rapid but still intelligible speech.

Another of Project 70's revolutionary products is wedding recordings. The company will actually go on location to a wedding and record the ceremony. This recording is then made into a 33⅓ phonograph record.

Project 70 invites all interested persons to visit the studio for a demonstration of "Dimension 7" sound.

WSGA HOURS

The Women's Student Government Association has announced office hours for the WSGA executive suite in Creswell Hall will be as follows: 5-6 p.m. Sunday and 3:15-4:15 Monday-Thursday.

These hours were set for the benefit of better communications between women students and WSGA officers.

COMMITTEE...

(Continued from Page One)

the purpose of ROTC in the university should be officer education rather than student indoctrination . . ."

The draft then goes on to cite further statements supporting their position before the actual recommendation in Section IV.

The committee plans to send a copy of the draft to members of the Student Senate and the faculty before presenting their formal draft to the Administration on or about Feb. 1.

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WANTED

Qualified typist, fulltime. Bookkeeper, full or part-time. Civil Desense Research. 542-3651. W-22

Student wives and women students for full and part-time positions as waitress and one cashier. Also trainee for fulltime bookkeeper. Call or apply in person at Gigi's "House of the World's best pizza" 3-3333 W-16

Graduate woman student to share Inglis Apartment. 590 S. Harris (at top of Baxter) Phone 546-7254 W-21

Male or female for part-time work. Apply in person at the Snack Shack Restaurant. W-20

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Experienced Professional Guitarist desires to join established Group. 6 years experience at top N.Y. Lounges, Hotels, and Recordings. Doubles of Fender Bass and Latin Percussion. Contact Steve Wyler. 548-7561 Ext. 375. W-18

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Will do typing on Electric Remington. 35c per page. double spaced. Prefer thesis, dissertations. Call 8-2036. W-14

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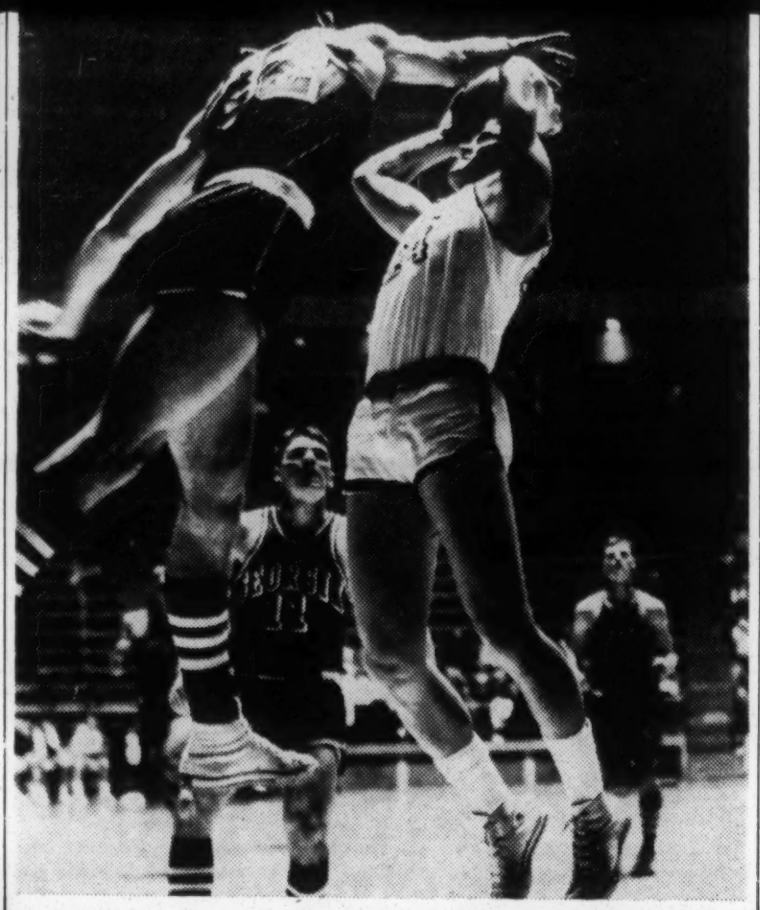
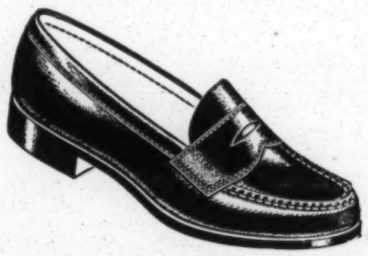
(3) Furnished House $106.
(4) Duplex $100. Five Points W-19



Staff Photo—Casey Horne



Weejuns . . . . . GUNN'S . . . . . Shipment arrived

Monday-Thursday.

These hours were set for the benefit of better communications between women students and WSGA officers.

The committee plans to [illegible] a copy of the draft to members of the Student Senate and the faculty before presenting their formal draft to the Administration on or about Feb. 1.

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(Across from South Campus)

Offering the best in Sinclair Products

Standard Brands To Interview Here

$700 million food firm needs graduates for plant management, engineering, food research and development

NEW YORK: Standard Brands Inc., a giant in the nation's booming food field, today announced that their college recruiting program has been expanded extensively. Interviews are scheduled to take place here shortly.

With a whopping sales increase last year of 13% over the previous one, Standard Brands ranks as one of the fastest growing food processors in the country. Its products are a line of blue chip brands that include Chase & Sanborn Coffees, Planters Nuts, Baby Ruth and Butterfinger Candy Bars, Fleischmann's and Blue Bonnet Margarines, Royal Desserts, Tender Leaf Teas, Fleischmann's Yeast and a long list of bulk products sold to volume users such as bakeries, hotels and restaurants.

In discussing the college recruitment program, officials of Standard Brands stressed the immediate need for mechanical, chemical and industrial engineers with a Bachelor's degree. Also needed are chemists and food technologists, some with Bachelor's, others with advanced degrees.

Comprehensive training programs that are individually tailored and that include on-the-job training, are designed to fill positions in engineering, plant management and research and development.

Opportunities for rapid advancement to supervisory level in engineering and in plant management, and to project leader in research and development were said to be excellent. Salary increases are commensurate. A long list of new products, currently in development, point to enormous future company growth and increased job security.

Those selected for training by Standard Brands will receive full fringe benefits that include retirement plans, comprehensive group insurance and paid vacations and holidays.

Company officials urged graduates who are interested in a career with an unlimited future to sign up now for Standard Brands' schedule. Complete information about opportunities, training programs, and the Company is available in the Placement Office.

The Company's Technical Representative will visit your campus on Feb. 3.

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New address:
1911 F Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

January 21, 1966

Professor Emory Via
Southern Staff Institute
Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I am now planning to visit the Institute next week on Thursday and Friday, January 27-28, arriving in Athens at 11:25 a.m. on Southern Flight 184 and leaving the next day at 4:20 p.m. Will you please reserve a room for me, preferably at the Center, or, if they are full, at a nearby motel. It will be good to see you.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM/d

!!!

The Hangmen Pack 'em in

Rock 'N' Roll Frolic Wrecks Record Shop

By James T. Yenckel
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jack Shaver had sold 2500 copies of their latest record, and The Hangmen liked that, and so did Shaver. So the owner of the Giant Music Center in Falls Church and the rock 'n' roll group decided to put on a real party for the youngsters.

The Hangmen would come on over to the Music Center at 110 W. Broad st. and sing and instrumentalize and sign autographs, and Shaver would beam, and a lot of fans of that sort of thing would really have something to talk about at the drive-ins for a couple of days.

The date was set for 4 p.m. yesterday, and a lot more people than anybody had thought would come began gathering two hours before. They crowded inside, and stood on chairs and stools, and those who couldn't get inside milled around outside and blocked traffic. All this was unintentional and not malicious, everybody emphasized, but it's not every day you get to see The Hangmen in person.

By the time the group—two guitarists, a bass player and a drummer—got there at 4, things were really swinging and there were about 400 eager, perspiring bodies inside the store and another 1500 outside.

All went well for the first 15 minutes of music, but then the crush of human writhing collapsed four display cases and broke lots of records. Two of the eight sales clerks became so frightened they bounded up into the front window, where they became the objects of much jeering from persons outside. One fellow caught in the press fainted.

That did it. Shaver called the Falls Church police, who sent five men over to break it up. It took them an hour to send everybody packing, and along the way they arrested Jamie Antzes, 18, of 3421 Stoneybrae dr., Falls Church, and a 16-year-old youth for disorderly conduct.

Shaver, shaken, estimated damage at $500, and a nice bunch of youngsters stayed around to help clean up.

Washington Post

2/5/66

1966 NILE SOUTHERN STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia, Athens

January 9-- February 4

TENTATIVE LIST OF DELEGATES

R Lawson C. CHITTY
RWDSU Local 43 (2/65)
P. O. Box 847
Dade City, Florida 33525

R Hub COPE
ACWA Local 607 (8/59)
214 N. 1st Street
Mayfield, Kentucky

In Fred W. CORY
TWUA (5/65)
404 Tunnel Blvd., Apt 2-J
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Lety John J. EARLEY
CWA (8/65)
462 Hogan Road
Nashville, Tennessee

Lety Eugene GORE
AFL-CIO IUD
Box 8654, Station "A"
Greenville, S. Carolina

R John W. JENNINGS
UTSE Local 2026 (3/65)
1311 Ardmore Drive
Greensboro, N. Carolina

R Guy JOHNSON
ICWU (3/65)
Rt. 2
Broxton, Georgia
c/o Jesse Harper

In Kenneth W. LAX
IBEW Local 2171 (7/63)
1610 Commerce Bldg.
Ft. Worth, Texas 76102

R Robert W. LEE
Lithographers L 10-P (6/65)
83 W. Lakewood Drive
Fenton, Missouri 63026

~~*Zell LIPSEN~~
~~Painters, Brotherhood of~~
~~c/o 1925 K St., N.W.~~
~~Washington, D. C. 20006~~

In Keith McALILEY
IBEW Local 1570 (3/58)
Rt. 1, Box 643-B
Carmel, Indiana

R H. H. McQUEEN
Laborers Local 229
1314 Milland Street
Shreveport, Louisiana

Hugh OWEN
OCAW Local 3-550 (6/63)
2503 Clearpark Drive
Memphis, Tennessee 38127

R Robert J. PETERS
ICWU Local 377
Rt. 2, Box 35-H-3 (12/63)
Bartow, Florida

In Albert ROBINSON
Laborers Local 70
1818 Hinson Avenue
Mobile, Alabama

In Fred C. ROBINSON
IBEW Local 847 (7/63)
229 Flora Avenue
Rome, Georgia 30161

R Willie G. ROBINSON
IUE Local 182 (12/63)
Rt. 2, Box 920
Connelly Springs, N. Carolina

R James E. STEWART
Laborers Local 576 (8/63)
1818 Dumesnil Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40210

R Virgil A. STOKES
Painters Local 901 (10/63)
409 McCain Drive
Monroe, Louisiana

R Michael VOLK
UAW Local 678 (10/41)
5317 Kingfish Street
Orlando, Florida

In Wallace G. WICKLIFF
IBEW Local 1907 (12/63)
514 S. Park Street
Bellefontaine, Ohio

R Jimmie Lee WILLIAMS
Steelwkrs L-2405 (11/65)
409 53rd Street
Fairfield, Alabama

~~Howard Houghton~~

~~J. Colin Anderson~~

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Tenn	TWUA
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N.C.	I.U.D
Ga	UTSE
Tex	ICWU
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Ala	Laborers
	OCAW
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	UAW
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12

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JAMES E. WOLFE

February 21, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Institute
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Altanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your very nice letter concerning my activities in Athens. I enjoyed being with you and hope that my participation was helpful.

I am only sorry that on the two or three occasions when you and I have been involved in educational activities it has not permitted time for us to get better acquainted personally and I hope that sometime we might have that opportunity.

Sincerely,

Ralph

Ralph N. Campbell
President

RNC:av

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

February 21, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Here are the ten (10) copies of the Atlanta Journal story on the 1966 NILE Southern Staff Training Institute.

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Dept. of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2
afl-cio
Enclosures

Unionists Gather in Athens For Labor Studies of South

By MARY HUTCHERSON
Atlanta Journal Correspondent

ATHENS, Ga., Jan. 22—During the month of January a group of 21 trade unionists, a group intimately concerned with the progress of the labor movement in the South, is engaged in a program of intensive study which possibly could have far-reaching effects in the southern labor picture.

The men, representing a dozen southern states and ranging in age from 23 to 62, are all participants in the Southern Union Staff Institute, sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO, now in session at the Center for Continuing Education at the University of Georgia.

ACCORDING to George Guernsey, associate director of AFL-CIO Department of Education, Washington, and codirector of the Institute, the 21 participants represent 14 international trade unions. All are fulltime union men — organizers, business agents, service representatives — and their attendance at the NILE-sponsored institute is paid for by the various unions.

For six or seven hours a day, the men attend lectures, seminars, and discussions that range from southern labor history to civil rights to development of rapid reading skills.

INSTITUTE DIRECTOR, Dr. Emory F. Via, director of the labor program for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, explained that the institute objectives are, in general, to help the participants better their understanding of their society and of the various problems in the South and through this understanding to help them function more effectively.

And Mr. Guernsey added: "I think the labor movement is slowly recognizing that people need to be trained for this fulltime work, that they need to know more about society and especially true of the South. The reasoning behind this institute is the concern the labor movement has in trying to strengthen itself in the South."

THE PROGRAM at Georgia, Dr. Via noted, is the third in a series of three such institutes, the others having been held at the University of North Carolina and the University of Texas. And although tangible results of the previous programs are difficult to pin down, Mr. Guernsey called attention to three participants of the Texas program (which like this at Georgia dealt at some length with the war on poverty) who are now members of poverty war-community action boards in their own communities.

Thus, although the concern of the institute is primarily with the 21 participants, Dr. Via emphasized that, because what the labor movement does in the South and in the nation is of great importance to the public, labor education programs ultimately affect the public.

STAFF FOR THE institute comes from all over the country. Prof. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas is teaching southern labor history. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, addressed the group earlier this week on civil rights.

Daniel Pollitt of the University of North Carolina School of Law will conduct sessions on labor law.

Reese Cleghorn of the Journal and Pat Watters, formerly of the Journal and now with the Southern Regional Council, will discuss changing voting patterns.

Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College in Atlanta, will participate in discussions of southern economic problems; and William Kircher, director of the organizing department of AFL-CIO, will discuss organizing.

IN ADDITION to the 18 or 20 visiting teachers and lecturers, a number of members of the University of Georgia faculty will take part in the institute.

"The southern labor movement is very concerned about training its people," Mr. Guernsey commented. And the month-long institutes such as this are "probably the best thing that has been done in long-range staff training."

1966 NILE SOUTHERN STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

University of Georgia, Athens

MEMO FROM

GEORGE GUERNSEY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
AFL-CIO
815-16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

March 2, 1966

Emory,

I brought this back from the Institute by mistake.

G.T.G.

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12 articles

(1)

Article: _____ Page No. ____ Page No. ____ Page No. ____

Author: _____ From Short Term From Industry From RCA

Publisher: _____ Date _____ To Jan. 1 To Area To 340,000

1. Number of words in the sample	133	109	106
2. Number of sentences in the sample	5	4	6
3. Number of words not on Dale List	34	22	29
4. Average sentence length (divide 1 by 2)	26.6	27.3	17.7
5. Dale score (divide 3 by 1, multiply by 100)	25.56	20.2	27.4
6. Multiply average sentence length (4) by .0496	1.3596	1.3540	.8779
7. Multiply Dale score (5) by .1579	4.0422	3.1896	4.3265
8. Constant	3.6365	3.6365	3.6365
9. Formula raw score (add 6, 7, and 8)	9.0383	8.1801	8.8409

Avenage raw score of ____ samples. . . . 8.6867

Average corrected grade-level . . . . . _____ Analyzed by _____ Date: _____

Article: _____ Page No. ____ Page No. ____ Page No. ____

Author: _____ From The From By From IRW

Publisher: _____ Date _____ To Coordination To 1951 To Program

1. Number of words in the sample	96	130	103
2. Number of sentences in the sample	4	5	5
3. Number of words not on Dale List	31	34	31
4. Average sentence length (divide 1 by 2)	24	26	21
5. Dale score (divide 3 by 1, multiply by 100)	32	26	30
6. Multiply average sentence length (4) by .0496	1.1904	1.2896	1.0416
7. Multiply Dale score (5) by .1579	5.0528	4.1054	4.7370
8. Constant	3.6365	3.6365	3.6365
9. Formula raw score (add 6, 7, and 8)	9.8797	9.0315	9.4151

Avenage raw score of ____ samples. . . . 9.4424

Average corrected grade-level . . . . . _____ Analyzed by _____ Date: _____

Article: _____ Page No. ___ Page No. ___ Page No. ___

Author: _____ From a From To From Crumbal

Publisher: _____ Date _____ To Time Table To Payments To $62,855,000

1. Number of words in the sample	106	98	114
2. Number of sentences in the sample	5	3	7
3. Number of words not on Dale List	22	24	22
4. Average sentence length (divide 1 by 2)	21	33	16
5. Dale score (divide 3 by 1, multiply by 100)	21	24	19
6. Multiply average sentence length (4) by .0496	1.0416	1.6368	.7936
7. Multiply Dale score (5) by .1579	3.3159	3.7896	3.0001
8. Constant	3.6365	3.6365	3.6365
9. Formula raw score (add 6, 7, and 8)	7.9940	9.0629	7.4302

Avenage raw score of ____ samples. . . . 8.1626

Average corrected grade-level . . . . . _____ Analyzed by _____ Date: _____

August 3, 1966

Mr. Joe Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
At American University
1911 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

At long last the report is on its way to you. You have been most patient, and as I freely confessed to you earlier I have allowed almost everything to get in its way.

The report is in draft form although I would hope not to have to do too much further to it. I think that you should look at it especially with an eye to whether it is too long, whether any policy questions are raised which need to be treated differently, and as to whether or not this report should include financial information as a budget.

I am sending a copy to George and you will see from the enclosed copy of my letter to him the items which I am asking him to pay special attention to.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

1818 Dumesnil Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40210

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Geergia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I received my reading manual from the Southern Union Staff Institute a couple of weeks ago. The only trouble I have is trying to keep up with it, because my children enjoy it and find it very educational and helpful. I haven't received the photographs yet.

I was very much enthusiased to learn that we have made the front page of the A. F.L.-C.I.O. paper.

I am almost finished reading the book, "Congressman From Mississippi," and it has proved to be very beneficial in understanding the problems of the south.

From the knowledge and insight I obtained at the Institute, it has been most helpful in my daily activities in every way. I feel more secure in my conversations with business and management.

Again, may I say that I am most grateful for the Institute and the entire staff of workers of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and for the program you are promoting most efficiently.

I have neither words nor the space to express my appreciation to you for the knowledge and experience I received from attending the Institute.

Sincerely,

James E. Stewart

James E. Stewart
Laborers Local 576
1818 Dumesnil Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40210

Some notes regarding the NILE staff institute. From Emory VIA

First Week: What topic for Keenan? Does he now have full and sufficient notice of his participation?

Second evening program not yet definite.

Second Week: Other names will perhaps be added to civil rights program. It is not definite that Wilkins will be with us for the 18th rather than some other date.

If Wilkins comes for this week, then probably shift project session to Thursday afternoon and Allen's evening arbitration to Thursday. This avoids three evenings in a row or giving Allen both a long afternoon and evening on same day.

Third Week: Note need to shift Henderson's schedule. No evening sessions listed as yet. Perhaps a time to involve local students and human relations council. There are other program ideas, but I have left us this flexibility for the moment.

Fourth Week: We are not certain yet if Goldfinger is available. I assume that he will either agree to this time or see that an acceptable substitute is made available. If this can not be done, and we should have this answer soon, then I suggest that we use a good academic -- perhaps Marshall.

On the Negro voting and coalition sessions it is hoped that we can involve the members of each panel in the sessions of the others. In other words, we would hope to have both groups on hand prior to Wed. afternoon and to have them stay through Thursday morning.

Ralph Campbell could chair the closing session and make some remarks about NILE and its current and coming interests including staff training. We have not settled on a final speaker, but the inclination has been to either have a southerner of note or an important labor figure. Some suggestions have been: Lane Kirkland, Bill Schnitzler, Ralph McGill, Frank Smith, and Frank Graham. My own preference would be either Kirkland or Graham. I would welcome your suggestions as to how to make the approach to either of these if you agree that they fit the bill. I am certainly open to other suggestions

Some special sessions which we should consider: an evening with Joe Mire, and evening discussing the role of a university with special emphasis on services to public groups(George Parthemus, a vice president of the University would do well in this role, I am told.).

Could someone see if Meany would send the group greetings either at the beginning or at the end of the institute?

I will plan on a loose leaf ring binder notebook for materials for each student. Instructors will be encouraged to bring materials appropriate to their subjects.

It is time to begin to get the suggestions for books for the library and for a bibliography. I will write the committed instructors soon. We should have the suggestions from the rest of you within two weeks.

From Henry Vie

NEIL staff institute notes -- continued

What sort of registration form will we want for our various needs? I am open to suggestions or will simply develop one here. I suppose that the University will have a form for its own use, but will check back on this.

A little advance planning on projects would be in order. First need is just for suggestions of kinds of projects. Some that have come up: survey a plant for potential organizing campaign(perhaps short of any lenghty personal contact with employees), but to do the background work, and make some assessment of the local community and labor situation related to such a campaign, etc; to work on some aspect of a community study -- perhaps studying one set of interests or one neighborhood in a limited fashion; to report on student groups with social concerns; to do a voting participation analysis for a city or congressional district -- to include matters such as racial breakdown, voting potential, shifting patterns, and perhaps a stab at group and individual leadership exercised in a given election. I would undertake to sound out the regional AFL-CIO on the organizing study to make sure that might be potential and to also make sure that we provide sufficient safeguards not to upset anything now contemplated.

The following list of faculty may help you know where we now stand. The "committed" group are already signed up and in most cases with definite dates as indicated on the pro rem. The "seeking" category indicates people we know how we want to use them but have not yet received a final answer from them as to availability -- in a few cases the initial contact has not been made. The final category, "proposed", ~~/////////~~ is composed of worthy suggestions which we would like to use, but have made no definite provision for. With the exception of those whom Don might use, there is no special place now open for the others except as a substitution. For instance, Silver would be our next choice after Wilkins for a name, university-wide speaker.

Committed	Seeking	Proposed
Russell Allen		
Paul Anthony	EV. Reese Claghorn Assoc. Ed. Atl Jnl.	James Silver
Bill Collins Head of Inst of Govt Univ. of Ga.	GG. Nat Goldfinger	Bayard Rustin
	EV Aaron Henry	Mike Miller
Walt Davis	EV Charles Morgan	Sam Cook
George Guernsey	GG(EV) Jim Pierce	Lane Kirkland
Vivian Henderson	GG(EV) Ben Powell	
Vernon Jordan	EV Claude Ramsey	
Joe Kennan	GG(EV) Phil Weightman	
Al Lehrer	D.S. Ray Wilkins	
Bill Kircher	EV. Andy Young SCLC, King's first	
Ray Marshall		
Don Pollitt		
Don Sleeman		
Henry Vie		
Pat Watters		
Al Kingston pending		

(My initials by a name indicates that I will be in touch with the person. If your ~~[illegible]~~ initials appear, would you make the contact or let me know so that I can do it.)

It is unusual to get busy working adults together for a month of study. We think our program is interesting and important as well as unusual. And we are pleased with the cooperation of the University of Georgia and its Center for Continuing Education in making this program a reality.

We want to welcome those of you who are visiting with us tonight for this special session. It is our pleasure to have members of the University faculty and student body, and members of the Athens community join us for this evening.

Now, I would like to introduce to you Mr. Chester Leathers, Supervisor of Conferences for the Georgia Center. He is the central person for arranging conferences and institutes such as ours for the University. I am pleased that Mr. Leathers is with us tonight and to introduce him to you. Mr. Leathers.

Questions

George Guernsey, Ray Marshall
Participants in Institute

After Leathers:

Thank you, Mr. Leathers.

I now have the opportunity to introduce to you an old friend who will in turn introduce the evening's speaker. We are fortunate to have with us for our instruction program the Director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights. He is an able spokesman for the labor movement. He has a detailed and practical knowledge of the kinds of problems that unions face in an era which has witnessed what is frequently called a civil rights revolution. He has an abiding concern for the welfare of our nation, the necessity for us to end discrimination and to find a fully democratic solution to all problems relating to racial relations. He is in a very special way concerned with the involvement of unions in these processes. I present to you the

The Director of the AFL-CIO's Dept. of Civil Rights, Mr Donald Slaiman.

We have seen with astonishment and dismay the action of the Georgia House of Representatives in denying Representative Julian Bond his legally elected seat as a member of that body. Their action has struck a blow at the fundamental right of all Americans to free speech as guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Many of the undersigned disagree vehemently with Mr. Bond's views. Others vigorously support them. But his views, whether we abhor or applaud them, are not at stake. What is at stake is the right of every American freely to express his opinion, without fear of retaliation, intimidation or harrassment.

Some of the members of the House of Representatives, in denying Mr. Bond his seat, claimed they were motivated by patriotism. If so, they seriously misapprehend their duty as patriots. Our national leaders have proclaimed that the mission of the United States abroad -- in Viet Nam and in other areas of the globe -- is to promote the cause of democracy against the forces of totalitarianism and repression. The Georgia House of Representatives has done a grievous disservice to that cause by suppressing at home the very democracy we seek to promote abroad. This paradox cannot fail to be observed by the peoples we seek to influence.

Perhaps we can state our position best by quoting the words of President Lincoln just over a hundred years ago:

"What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements or bristling sea coasts. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere."

It is this standard we urge upon our representatives. It is this sentiment we ask all Georgians to support.

NAME (Please print legibly)_____

ADDRESS_____

The following is the release required by the Atlanta Constitution for signed ads. Sign, do not print, your name.

I am familiar with the advertisement of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia for Citizens for Free Speech, and approve of my name being attached to the advertisement as one of the persons responsible for its publication.

SIGNED_____

DATE_____

Good evening. Tonight's program is sponsored by the Southern Union Staff Institute. I am Emory Via, director of that program, which is sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education. For those of you who are visiting this evening's program, a quick word about that organization. The National Institute of Labor Education promotes programs of adult education with trade unionists. The policy board of the organization is composed of educators, union leaders, and persons representing the general public. It includes among its board members so distinguished a Southerner as Frank Graham.

The Institute of which this evening's program is a part is the third held at a Southern university. Two previous programs were held at the University of Texas and at the University of North Carolina. Each of these Institutes has been a cooperative enterprize between the National Institute of Labor Education, the University involved, the AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights, and a number of individual unions who have sent representatives to the program.

For this Institute, these union representatives, our students, come from twelve states and fourteen different unions affilliated with the AFL-CIO. While here at the University they will be studying such subjects as economics, labor history, government and politics, arbitration, civil rights, and labor law. In the course of instruction we will make use of members of the University of Georgia faculty and members of the faculties of four other universities. These instructors will be joined by others who come from the professional staffs of unions and the AFL-CIO, and from civil rights and governmental agencies.

It is unusual to get busy working adults together for a month of study. We think our program is interesting and important as well as unusual. And we are pleased with the cooperation of the University of Georgia and its Center for Continuing Education in making this program a reality.

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the Director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights, Mr. Donald Slaiman.

DIRECTORS' REPORT FOR THIRD NILE SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

INTRODUCTION

This report is intended to serve both as a summary and an evaluation of the Third Southern Union Staff Institute. The Institute was held at the Continuing Education Center on the campus of the University of Georgia. As in the case of two preceeding institutes, this one was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the Education Department and Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. Funds for the planning, administration, and for providing some of the instructional services and other costs had been secured by NILE from the New World Foundation.

It is not easy to adequately evaluate such an intense educational enterprise. The month was full of courses, challenge, thought and meaningful personal relations. When the positive experiences are so varied as to include the satisfaction of having improved a skill, an adult student's delight in discovering what a ham omlet is (and having one) to the first inter-racial living experience for some, and to the recharging of the emotional and professional batteries of the directors, what can one say about the whole?

This report springs from the bias that the Third Southern Union Staff Institute was a great success. To be sure, the report will include a number of suggestions for a program and specific incidents which had negative overtones. But overwhelmingly, the month's program was a rewarding experience for the union staff attending, the instructors, and for the two directors. What follows in this report is a more detailed look and evaluation of some of the elements that entered into the development and execution of the institute. In that process it is hoped that the values realized from the Institute will be made clear.

PLANNING

The chief ingredients in planning for the Institute were program content, faculty, recruitment of students, the arrangement of physical facilities, and the allocation of the financial resources for the various program costs.

The outstanding fact about the planning for this Third Southern Union Staff Institute was that the whole process could be accomplished more quickly and efficiently because of the experience gained in the preceeding institutes. This was especially true in terms of coming to grips with the major elements to be included in the program, how to give it balance, and how to guage the timing on the various program emphases.

Profiting from the experience of the two previous Institutes was facilitated by the carry over in personnel

and the reporting from the earlier programs. It was especially useful that the NILE director had had a hand in the two preceeding programs, that George Geurnsey had been fully involved in each of them, that the director had been quite conversed with the planning stages of the second Institute, and that we were able to make use of instructors who had participated in one or more of the previous undertakings. None of this is to suggest, however, that the planners were freed of the innumerable details, shifts in schedule, and related problems that beset such programs. Certainly, both directors were appaled over the time required to get the program into final shape.

What was possible was a saving in the cost and time in the use of the program committee. More of the work of the committee could be hanldeed adequately and with understanding by phone. Conflicting views of the program and instructors were minor.

(Note: EV - go back and label at an appropriate space this section as the sub heading under PLANNING simply titled PROGRAM)

In the planning of program content, it was important to strike a balance between those subjects which the prospective students would consider directly useful to them in their work as full time union staff representatives and an exposion to broader social and economic concerns. A special part of this balance thing was how to integrate the material that had specific civil rights content so that it would be most meaningful and useful.

Of course, there was the usual concern to space the instructors so that each week included instructors of known quality, not only in terms of their ability but in terms of how they would likely be received by the group itself. Perhaps it should be stated right here that we were quite fortunate in the level of instruction throughout the Institute. In general, we achieved the kind of balance in this regard which we had hoped for, but the task was certainly made much easier because of the competance and acceptability of all of the instructors.

The original plans, as might have been expected, were changed on several occasions because of unanticipated schedule conflicts on the part of some of the personnel involved. In general, however, the final program did have good balance. The overall program can be quickly grasped by referring to appendix X which is the complete schedule for the month. An indication of the content of the courses will be found below in the section of the report dealing with the courses.

RECRUITMENT

Most of the planning and follow through for recruiting the participants in the Institute was left in the hands of the co-director. Again, less was required in terms of formal committee meetings. General guidelines had been established and the committee could function with little more than looking over applications and granting final

acceptance authority to its chairman. However, it should be underscored that the recruitment task was as arduous as ever, even though aided by the acceptance of the Institute idea in a number of national union offices. An effort was made to expand a number of unions sending delegates.

The recruitment process runs up against the dual problem of giving a national union office sufficient time to plan for the release for a month of a member of its staff and the fact that in some instances it is easier for them to make this decision close to the date of the program rather than far in advance. Added to this should be a frank recognition that releasing one or more full time staff people for a month's time presents very sizeable difficulties to most unions. These vary from deciding how the released man's work will be done in his absence to the sometimes touch internal political problem of making a single selection from among the various members on the staff. This problem has personal overtones for those who are selected. For instance, unless very special care is exercised a man may well come to the Institute not knowing whether he has been honored or stigmatized. He will not know whether he is the most dispensible member of the staff or whether someone hopes to help him along the way of becoming indespensible to the staff.

Full time local officers were recruited for the first time, for the Third Institute. This latter fact raised a few problesm which should be considered in future planning. The close relation between the mobile officer and his local union, including the union's dependence upon him, suggest that the national union to even more to make clear to the man and the local what the financial arrangements will be and to give him practical relief and protection from the pressures for his doing his job in the local while away for an extended period of time.

These problems are raised here not just because they have occurred in the past but also because the nature of this kind of undertaking suggests that they will occur in the future programs as well. Perhaps more importantly, a national union's willingness to take on these problems underscores its interests in such staff training endeavors as to its contributions in terms of encouragement to the man, salary support while not performing his regular duties, and the underwriting of his expenses in connection with the Institute.

PHYSICAL FACILITIES

The search for an appropriate place for the Third Institute was undertaken largely by the Executive Director of NILE in cooperation and consultation with other persons with a major concern with the Institute. From the outset

of the Institutes it had been considered a good idea to hold each in a separate location but in conjunction with a University. The use of a University setting was considered important for several reasons; one, it would provide the favorable educational climate; two, it would allow for the use of University resources in program, free and it would acquaint a major southern university with some of the potential in labor education activities. _____?? to different universities was considered advisable both in terms of spreading the idea of labor education and because it would provide a different location within the region which might aid in securing the participation of union staff persons who were not too far removed from that location.

The University of Georgia's Continuing Education Center was finally decided upon as the sight for the Third Institute.

The physical facilities at the University of Georgia were quite good in most respects. The rooms were comfortable as to arrangement and quality of furnishings. They were small for two person occupancy, more than adequate for single occupancy. A number of rooms were divided into two singles by a folding wall. These were converted to double rooms to be shared by three people. This arrangement provided some flexibility as to room cost and as to the assignment of roommates. In general the group got through the month with little or no complaints regarding rooms. There was a

short spell of severe cold weather during which time some ofthe rooms suffered from heat failure.

The whole group was housed together on one floor with one director's room, a double room, at one of the hallway and the other director's room at the opposite end of the hall. The double room was suitable to be used as a social room in the evenings and on some afternoons.

We used a single classroom which was a good size and had generally good equipment and with the exception of a small accoustical problem was really very good indeed. The separate room was provided by the University to be used as a library and reading room. Aside from these facilities we were able to make use of the regular library at the Center for housing some of the reference volumes which had been secured for the program. We also had general access to that library for whatever materials were in it. The building's auditorium and other rooms were available when needed as long as there was no conflict with their schedules.

The general atmosphere of the building and surrounding area was very good. We felt we were on the campus without being invaded by it. Recreational opportunities on the campus were somewhat limited in practice though in theory we had access to all University facilities.

MEALS

The main dining room in the Center provided generally good meals in terms of variety and quality. Meals were served on an individual order and pay basis. Some complaint developed among some members of the group about the prices of

the meals. A few persons ate meals at other places than the main dining facility. Within the building there was also a coffee shop which provided an adequate and cheaper breakfast and also provided snack type meals for the rest of the day. One of the disappointments in the physical arrangements at the University was that we were unable, except through extraordinary effort, to have meals together. Such meals had to be especially planned with a pre-ordered menu in advance and at extra cost. It had been the understanding of the program planning persons at the beginning that it would be possible for the group to share a meal together using regular University facilities and ordering from the menu without any special cost involved. This turned out not to be the case. Although the general spirit of commadery in the group remained very good, there seems little doubt that having meals in common at least once a day would not only have contributed to the spirit of the group but to the educational process as well. Only three times during the month did we have a scheduled meal together. These came at the opening and closing of the program and a special breakfast held midway. At lunchtime were able to group some tables together after having pre-ordered the meals at the coffee break. This turned out to be much less than fully satisfactory. Only about half of the group or better made regular use of this opportunity.

TIMING

The choice of dates for the Third Institute ~~dedication~~ did occasion some problems. It is not certain, however, that these problems were necessarily in excess of what might be brought about on any chosen set of dates. Some of the last minute recruitment and schedule changes were made more difficult because of the proximity of the Institute to the Christmas and New Year's Holidays. Although the Institute was held in the fairly deep South winter weather became a factor of some importance. It was an unusually severe winter and on at least one occasion some of us had difficulty returning from the weekend at home. Furthermore, some faculty were caught in the same weather difficulties and were unable to be with us.

It is possible that our dates could have met a little better with the end of the normal academic semester in terms of securing faculty at a time when we wanted them most. However, large this problem seemed to work out reasonably well. The two problems that need to be considered here are the ones of the severity of the winter weather and the difficulty of program planning over the holiday period.

HEADING?

The participants in the Southern Union Staff ~~Meeting~~ Institute came from 15 labor organizations and twelve states. Appendix X will give an idea of the variety of unions that were represented. Unions from service, construction, soft goods,

hard goods, and communication and transportation industries were represented in the group. Each of the southern states, with the exception of Virginia, Mississippi, Arkansas, were represented in the group. The home residences of three of the Institute members were outside of the south. However, these men served as part of their southern territories.

NOTE: Joan check the registration forms or rather the green registration information secured from each of the Institute participants as part of his application to determine the following information.

The age range in the group

The educational range

The various job titles held by the men - by which is meant the current at the time of his registration job with his union.

Four of the members of the group came from one union, three from another, and two from the other. Each of the other unions was represented by only one person. Four of the members were Negroes and from three differenent unions. (Perhaps develop some information here about their position in the union, recency on the staff, age and education.) With such a variety of age, educational experience, union background, it is not surprising that the individuals in the group varied quite a bit in terms of personality, articulateness, and interest.

We were reasonably lucky in the matter of the formation of cliques in the group. The chief clique that did develop centered

around the four members fax from one union. They stuck together in class and in many social activities. This did not always mean that they agreed with one another, however, From this core, an informal teriphery?clique developed which became a poker game. The development of this clique was not overtly negative in its impact on the group. It did not lead to fascionalism nor to any open exclusion. However, there seems to be little doubt that the existence of this clique prevented the full development of the rest of the group. This was partly because at least one member of the clique was among the more able leaders within the total group. It is possible that our attempts to make the luncheon meal a more meaningful group experience were thwarted in part because of this group's insistence in being seated together.

The poker game itself served some positive functions although it is certainly within the range of imagination that some of its regular participants use this as an escape rather than devoting part of their time to more serious pursuits. There is little doubt that the poker game contributed to a general feeling of fellowship for a sizeable number of the group. On occasion the bull sessions accompanying the game were serious and to the point. Some of the friendships that developed there have persisted well beyond the closing of the Institute.itself.

Some of the younger members of the group regularly looked for more athletic forms of recreation. This usually meant going out for an evening of bowling. This too led to some new friendships and also led to serious discussion

On occasion when then were accompanied by one of the directors ~~xx~~ or an instructor. The Negro members of th group did not seem to be excluded from anyof the group's informal acticities. None of these men were especially forward in thinking participatio with other membsrs of the group. Two of them, the older ones , seemed a bit reluctant to share with the rest of the group except in the regular institute program and its planned informal occasions -- for instance, the social hour in the coop room. The other two ~~xx~~ Negro members of the group responded fairly readily to invitations to participate in activities either at the University or out in the town.

In general, the relations across racial lines were quite good. Such steains as did occur were largely of a personal nature although it might be fair to admit that there were some racial overtones. Earlynin the institute a more liberal white and one of the Negro members raised th compliant about the a fellow white's attitude toward Negroes. This complaint especially centered around the kind of language used by the white members. The staff and offended parties consulted on the problem and came to the agreement that no special actionwas requited until the offending man and been given a chance to develop further in the group situation. This man did undergo a very i teresteing personal development in a months time. His comments will be recalled in a l ter portion of this report in terms of a highly negatve reaction to the inclusion of so ~~x~~ much ciil rights material . However, beyond that first week we're not aware that he was in any overt way offensive or exclusive in his relations with Negro membsrs of the group . Not only did he take part in activities at th University but also went out into the town in an interracial group.

The group was
Even in this third institute a number of the participants came not knowing why ~~xxxxx~~ they had been sent. There seemed to be little resentment or bitterness, but there was certainly some wondering why the union had selected "poor mee" .

There was no obvious resitatnce to education as such in the beginning. Later we learned some came with a fairly healthy "show me" atmitude. Others came wanting the cahnce xx for an educational exposure but sure that it wou,d be a dull matter. At the end of the first week, spirits were high and the vote of confidence on the value and ineerest of educational pursuits would have been x won handily. This interst perhaps tapered some the second week but began to build again later on. It progably did not diminish again, depending on how you interpret a few last week symptoms -- latebess, which with some attention began o be cured. Except for a short spell of tardiness in the last week the Institute was caracterized by promptness and attendance. There was ony one absence during the month that was not of an excusable sort . Most absences, and they were minimal, were excused in advan e.

There is little doubt that one of the major informal accomplishmen s of the institute was the groth of friendships across the union lines. In a few cases old hatchets were llterally buried. In others the common interests and common problems which they had became apparent in a bond for friendship. Perhaps even more important where there were differences in trade and industry began to understand the significance of these differences Some of the comments of below of the student's evaluation will indicate the depth which some of these friendshpps ranged and also show that they lasted beyond th institute itself.

In a region where the labor movement tends to be fragmented and geographically dispersed it is difficult to over estimate the importance of any actvity which builds sound relations across union and geographic lines. The opportunities for such building are all too rare. However, they have been observed in a number of one week institutes under the sponsorship of the AFL-CIO in cooperation with one or more state labor bodies. In a one month institute, where no serious divisions develop, it was just a much more dramatic process and the friendships

were able to mature. It would be difficult to have observed the group over the month's period without coming to the conclusion that despite their differences in motivation and orientation that by and large they had found a common cause with one another through a common interest in job problems. and through the developing labor movement within the region.

Although the group did not give much evidenc e of the "rah-rah" kind of group spirit, there were many occasions when a kind of solidarity and support of the enterprise in which they were engaged was evident. It should be noted in this connection that throughout the month the group as a whole and almost every individual remained quite cooperative in the variety of undertakings which the institute caused them to be involved. It seems clear, to the director at least, that on public occasions or when being visited by "officialdom" that the group, in its own way, rallied to the _____. This supportive behaviour was clearly evidenced in the institute's one public program and was similarly evidenced when the group was visited by the director and president of NILE itself. The group as a whole was deeply appreciative of the instructional difference and unstinting in their praise of those persons who took time to be a part of the program. This, of course, does not mean that individuals in the group might not have been critical of particular instructors or of particular classes.

V. The Courses (note to EFV to include some mention of wives who visited the institute during its course)

✓Russell Allen
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

✓Paul Anthony
SRC
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Reese Cleghorn
Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Walt Davis
EEOC
Washington, D.C.

✓Marvin Friedman
Research Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Vivian Henderson
Clark College
Chestnut Street, N.SW.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Wilbur Hobby
COpe, AFL-CIO

Durham, North Carolina

Vernon Jordan
SRC
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

William Kircher
Organizing Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street,N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

• Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dan Powell
COPE, AFL-CIO

Memphis, Tennessee

• Donald Slaiman
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Pat Watters
SRC
5 Forsyth Street, nw
Atlanta, Georgia

Phil Weightman
COPE, AFL-CIO

Washington, D.C.

Roy Wilkins
NAACP
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

Andrew Young
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

W.M.H. Collins, Jr.
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

• Mrs. Hazel Simpson
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Emory F. Via
SRC

George Guernsey
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Week II 1/16-1/22	MORNING 9-11	11-11:15	11:15-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING
Sun. 16					7:30 - Orientation and Evaluation
Mon. 17	Southern Labor History Ray Marshall	Coffee	Reading Hazel Simpson	Civil Rights Don Slaiman	
Tues. 18	"	"	"	Civil Rights Slaiman and Wilkins	"The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights" Roy Wilkins
Wed. 19	"	"	"	Civil Rights Slaiman and Young (?)	
Thurs. 20	"	"	"	Civil Rights	Southern Labor History - Ray Marshall
Fri. 21	Civil Rights Slaiman and Walt Davis	"	"	Free	Free

ELEMENTS OF A SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN

Rockefeller Aide Put Steam in Campaign

Continued From Page A-1

hamlets too small to get into the Atlas, he made a key decision: Oregonians like to see their candidates. They particularly like to see Eastern candidates. They are sophisticated voters.

What gave him the clue was that in some settlements he was gladly greeted with the words, "We haven't seen an Eastern Republican here since Tom Dewey was through in 1948."

In his first move on April 15, he sent out to 380,000 Oregon Republicans a letter signed by William Walsh, asking for Rockefeller support and enclosing a card to be mailed back. Those who returned the card got a handsome personal letter on engraved stationery over Gov. Rockefeller's signature thanking them for their interest.

Grassroots Campaign

Culling the lists of the card-returners, Mr. Price began the hunt for 36 county chairmen. Advertisements began appearing in papers all over Oregon announcing the chairmen. Pacific Northwest Telephone installed 200 telephones. Mr. Price told his chairmen to set up their headquarters in two days, promised to come and address the volunteers as soon as there were five on hand. He travelled 20,000 miles in pursuit and encouragement of them.

Volunteers were set to work on a telephone canvass. An instruction sheet headed "recommended telephone talk" told them to stress the Governor's experience, his victories in New York, and especially the note that "he cares enough to come to Oregon."

He called his county chairmen every other day. On May 5, he had a dinner in Eugene for the county chairmen at which the Governor appeared. He suggested that the Governor speak always of the local application of Federal issues.

On April 20, he cut out 75 per cent of the weekly $10,000 Rockefeller television budget. On April 27, he eliminated the while television coverage. Gov. Rockefeller was being overexposed on the screen.

Divorce Issue Rises

The Governor spent as much time as possible in the State. The posters announced, "he cares enough to come" to the Gateway Supermarket or the Ace Shoe Company or wherever it was.

"He was doing the one thing none of the other candidates was doing," Mr. Price said. "Lodge couldn't come, Goldwater didn't choose to, and this is one thing the Governor does supremely well."

Throughout, Mr. Price got complete co-operation from New York, which was seeing its first real Rockefeller campaign manager in action. He brought in Senator Javits and Representative Lindsay for week-end visits. He asked for and got personal appearances in the past week from the Governor's daughter Ann and son Rodman.

The only problem he could not manage or fathom was the insistent question of the Governor's personal life. For every one question about the Rockefeller stand on social security or the United Nations, he got 50 on the Governor's divorce and remarriage. Mr. Price suggested that the county chairmen tell questioners that the Governor had shown courage and integrity in his private life, that difficulties occur in many marriages (Oregon has one of the highest divorce rates in the country) and that Gov. Rockefeller should be judged on his record as Governor.

Hoped for Best

In vain he pleaded with the New York staff to persuade the Governor to confront the issue head-on.

It was the one thing New York could not provide.

By the day before election, Mr. Price, like Gov. Rockefeller, was hoping at best for second place.

He said, just before the amazing vote began to roll in, "We did the best we could. We tried to educate the voters, find the friends of Rockefeller and bring them to the polls on primary day."

Not since the heyday of the Kennedy organization has there been a campaign with more attention to detail and attention to the voters. Mr. Price has not read Lawrence O'Brien's campaign handbook, but he operates in the same way.

Mr. Price now intends to go back to his law practice in New York. But after what he did with his lists and his notebooks and his hand-holding in Oregon, it is doubtful the Rockefeller people will let him stay there for long.

I ANALYZE SITUATION

II PROBE FOR EXISTING SUPPORT

III DEVELOP ON-SPOT LEADERS

IV COMMUNICATION:

(A) Tools

(B) Techniques

(C) Issues

V KEEP-IN-TOUCH

VI CONSTANT REVIEW

VII PERSONAL CONTACT

VIII FRATERNAL COOPERATION

IX WEAK POINTS

(A) Identify

(B) Correct

X BASIC STRATEGY AND TACTICS

AMMO

AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIZATION
JOHN W. LIVINGSTON, *Director*

Truth is the best ammunition against the "baloney barrage" that union-busters aim at workers who want to organize. Good organizers must be "Fiction Fighters." To win, arm yourself with ALL THE FACTS.

VOLUME II, NUMBER 2 WASHINGTON, D. C. JUNE 4, 1965

CAPTIVE AUDIENCE AND MAILING LISTS ARE SUBJECTS OF RECENT HEARING BEFORE FULL N.L.R.B.

On Thursday, May 20, 1965, the National Labor Relations Board conducted a formal hearing on four cases that point up two major problems in union organizing -- employer held captive audiences, and the exclusive possession, by management, of the names and addresses of the complete bargaining unit.

The cases were: McCulloch Corporation -- UAW, AFL-CIO; General Electric -- IUE, AFL-CIO; Excelsior Underwear, Inc., Saluda Knitting, Inc. -- ACWA, AFL-CIO; K. L. Kellogg & Sons -- Locals 3 and 12, Operating Engineers, AFL-CIO.

In its "Notice of Hearing", NLRB asked the following questions:

1. Can a fair and free election be held where an employer makes an anti-union speech on company time and premises, in the period immediately preceding an election, and the union involved is not afforded the opportunity, which it seeks, to reply under similar circumstances?

2. If an opportunity to reply is appropriate, what should be the crucial period? For how long a period prior to a scheduled election may an employer make such a speech, without granting the union involved an opportunity to reply?

3. What are the relevant factors in determining whether an opportunity to reply is necessary? For example, is the size of the unit material?

4. Can a fair and free election be held when the union involved lacks the names and addresses of employees eligible to vote in that election, and the employer refuses to accede to the union's request therefor?

5. If such information should be made available, should the requirement be limited to situations in which the employer has utilized his knowledge of these names and addresses to mail anti-union letters or literature to employees' homes?

6. If some requirement that the employer make addresses available is to be imposed, how should this be implemented? For example, should such names and addresses be furnished to a mailing service with instructions to mail, at the union's expense, such material as the union may furnish? Or, should the union be entitled to have the names and addresses?

Presenting the union position were: Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. (UAW); Irving Abramson (IUE); Jacob Sheinkman (ACWA); Charles Hackler (Operating Engineers); Ted St. Antoine (AFL-CIO) and L.N.D. Wells (IBT). The latter two appeared as "friends of the court" to discuss all the issues, while the others addressed themselves primarily to the issues of the case in which the union they represented was a party.

Management's position was delivered by lawyers representing each of the companies involved, and by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce through its Counsel, Gerard D. Reilly, one-time member of the top level NLRB.

AFL-CIO's amicus brief, and Ted St. Antoine's oral argument, were replete with reference to questionnaires AFL-CIO regional directors had completed concerning elections in which AFL-CIO regional staff members had participated in 1964. In addition, every person presenting oral argument, including management spokesmen, referred to the AFL-CIO survey. (As have most journalistic accounts of the hearing.)

In general, throughout the all-day proceedings, unions maintained that a fair and free election can be assured only when voters -- the workers -- receive full information regarding union representation. That means that unions should have right of access to the area of greatest impact, and that, correspondingly, workers should have the right to hear where it is most pertinent. The plant, the shop, the office, the job site is both the area of greatest impact and the most pertinent location.

The union request is a simple rule, reasonable access to workers -- reasonable in the sense that such access will not constitute interference with production, traffic, necessary work discipline. Adoption of such a rule would eliminate administrative problems of trying to determine on a case-by-case basis what comprises "equal time" and "equal circumstances" in captive audience situations.

Concerning names and addresses, the union spokesmen pointed out that in no other electoral procedure is the list of registered voters denied to legitimately interested parties. The idea that such information is the exclusive property of the company in NLRB elections was assailed as absurd since it is only "by accident the employer happens to be the sole repository of the registration list. There is no property right in information contained in the personnel file."

Union counsel characterized management's position on plant access and address lists as "it's mine!." Subsequent statements by company legal representatives confirmed this; among such comments on the rules changes sought by unions were, "an intolerable, further restriction upon employer's rights" and "the Board has no right to interfere with property rights."

One surprising concession came from the Chamber of Commerce spokesman when he advanced only slight reservations to making mailing lists available via a commercial mailing service, or, in small communities where such services do not exist, through a disinterested third party. He further stated he would have no objection to the employer's sending out union literature, at union expense.

An interesting "slip" was made by the same management spokesman while endeavoring to minimize the effect of captive audience speeches. He estimated that "in his experience" -- (that is, in campaigns in which he represented employer-clients) -- unions won one-third of the campaigns marked by a captive audience speech.

Since unions win approximately 60% of all elections conducted by NLRB, the much poorer showing in elections featured by captive audience meetings gives ample evidence of their impact.

That employers and "labor consultants" recognize the powerful effect of the captive audience is underscored by the information compiled by AFL-CIO regional directors and their staffs. Employers held captive audience meetings in 73% of the 780 elections reported in the AFL-CIO questionnaires. Unions requested opportunity to reply in 172 of these elections. Only three requests were granted.

The combination of those figures demonstrates that the professional anti-union consultant and the hostile employer realize the potent weapon they have in the captive audience situation.

AFL-CIO's brief, in its section dealing with address lists, commented that "union organizers and in-plant committees have to devote an inordinate amount of their time to what is only a partially successful effort to track down the names and addresses of employees -- the concensus would seem to be that approximately 30 per cent or more of the campaign actually has to be spent compiling names and addresses."

According to the AFL-CIO regional directors' reports, house calls are made in 86 per cent of the total number of elections -- a statistical confirmation of the need unions have for home addresses, not just for mailing, but, even of greater importance, for the face-to-face, personal contact essential in successful organizational communication.

Many interesting sidelights and clarifying remarks were elicited by questions put to the various parties by NLRB Chairman Frank McCulloch and fellow Board members Jerry Brown, John Fanning, Howard Jenkins and recently appointed Sam Zagoria.

Questions by the Board brought out a significant difference in the attitude of unions and amanagement towards worker-voters. Repeatedly, union representatives emphasized the desirability of assuring an "informed" electorate.

In response, two of the management lawyers took issue with this insistence, one saying it is "not a question of assuring an 'informed electorate'", with the other, in a later exchange, echoing that "the test is not an informed electorate."

As a union lawyer put it, "we take issue with anyone who says it is not a question of an informed electorate. This is the basic difference between us."

Just a year ago, in Volume I, Number 1, of AMMO, the Department of Organization outlined FCC's "fairness doctrine" as a basis for unions meeting and off-setting the challenges of biased radio and TV "on-slaughts".

Actual proof of this position is now contained in a case reported by the Federal Communication Commission, where it has ordered a Jackson, Miss. broadcasting company, accused of anti-labor and anti-Negro broadcasts, to desist in discriminatory radio and TV broadcasting.

The government order -- the first to deal directly with southern broadcasters' racial policies -- includes a one-year probationary renewal of the company's licenses instead of the usual three year term. It also sets forth steps for compliance with the FCC's "fairness doctrine," which spells out a station's responsibility to provide answering time when individuals or organizations are attacked on the air.

The Lamar Life Broadcasting Co. owners of WJDC radio and WLBT television, had been charged by the Mississippi AFL-CIO and the United Church of Christ. Both organizations held that the company had refused them air time to answer attacks.

The state AFL-CIO said the television station had unlawfully attempted to influence a National Labor Relations Board election and had sought to divide the state's labor movement by use of a letter falsely accusing Mississippi AFL-CIO President Claude Ramsey of being a Communist sympathizer.

The AFL-CIO also charged that WLBT was the "semi-official organ of the John Birch Society, the White Citizens Council and other right wing organizations," and it had been utilized by its station manager to urge Mississipians to disobey federal laws and court decrees.

Among the charges were instances where the station cut off pro-integration speakers on network programs by flashing a sign, "Sorry, cable trouble." Network news broadcasts were also preceded by the announcement: "What you are about to see is an example of biased, managed, northern news. Be sure to stay tuned at 7:25 to hear your local newscast."

The Commission ordered the company to "discharge in full" its responsibilities under the "fairness doctrine," provide each side in any controversial issue with broadcast time, and give copies of scripts to any person mentioned in a critical manner.

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PHONE: 855-2880

IN REPLY REFER TO:
FLORIDA UAW AREA OFFICE
1825 W. OAK RIDGE ROAD
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

March 2, 1966

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

My reactions regarding the recently concluded National Institute of Labor Education Program held at the University of Georgia remains unchanged. I am just as enthusiastic about the program now as I was on the last day at our luncheon.

My first day at school, I was prepared to remain aloof from any representative who did not have a former C.I.O. affiliation. I had a built-in prejudice which I knew would not be dispelled during my stay at the Institute. I felt that the only dedicated representatives in the Labor movement came from the C.I.O. and particularly from my union, the U.A.W. How long can a guy stay on the wrong track? Thanks to the N.I.L.E. Program I was not only able to get rid of my prejudice but in addition, I was pleasantly surprised to find how willingly the representatives from other international unions extended their hand of friendship and brotherhood and my response to them, I must add that George Guernseys hospitality room helped a lot in this area.

Last week Wally, one of the I.B.E.W. representatives called me from Mississippi, just to say "hello" and chat a bit. This most certainly was a carry-over from the school.

What a wonderful opportunity this was - not only to get an education but also to make new friends that can only help to solidify our labor movement.

A few comments about the program itself: I thought the first week was tought as hell but in thinking it over I believe it is necessary to do this in order to get the representatives' minds off the problems in their locals, so that the learning processes can set in.

In the beginning I felt that duration of the program was much too long. At the start of the last week I would not have been unhappy if the program had been extended. I do not propose to name anyone in particular but the caliber of instructors who conducted the various classes would be difficult to improve upon.

They came prepared and knew their subjects exceptionally well.

I thought the program was of great benefit to both servicing and organizational representatives who had been on the staff of their international unions for just a few years.

Shown what to do, or what not to do, without the need for trial and error on basic problems enabled these students to bridge the gap of many years of experience which our labor movement had to gain the hard way, of trial and error. The new approaches in organizing, servicing, civil rights, labor law, economics, community services, education, government, and international affairs were interesting and educational to me and all the students. Punctual and a perfect attendance record throughout the entire four-week program, in my opinion, is very unusual and speaks well of the program.

I talked to my boss last week (Brother E. T. Michael, Director in Region #8.) I told him about the school and the program. He was very interested in the school's activities.

International union educational programs for staff and leadership in my opinion are very essential and necessary and tend to bring the International Union and its members closer together. However, they are limited in scope and the opportunity to discuss problems and exchange ideas on what the whole labor movement is all about does not exist in a limited educational program. It would be most unfortunate if programs such as N.I.L.E. were discontinued. It would be Labor's loss.

I am very grateful that I had the opportunity to attend the Institute and my Mrs. wants to thank both you and George Guernsey for letting her participate.

With sincere and best wishes,

Michael Volk

Michael ~~Volk~~
International Representative, UAW

MV/dlg

opeiu46aflcio

P.S. Thank you for the reading manuel.

cc: E. T. Michael
George T. Guernsey
John Yolton

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

March 21, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Institute
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I have just realized that I have not followed through with my promise to provide you with a complete set of materials distributed during the organizing sessions at the recent N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute.

The material is enclosed.

Please accept my apologies for this belated transmission.

Sincerely,

Alan

Alan Kistler
Assistant Director of
Organization

opeiu #2 afl-cio
enclosure

United Steelworkers of America
AFL-CIO
GULF STATES ORGANIZING AREA — DISTRICT 36-G
316 TULANE BUILDING 3308 TULANE AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70119

41

File

DEAR EMORY:

Attached hereto is a picture of you teaching. Except for his garb, Socrates no doubt would have felt quite comfortable in similar circumstances. Possibly more comfortable. Because his attire was less confining.

I thought you would like to have the picture among your memos. Just in case your wife had any idea that you might have spent undue time casting about in the French Quarter.

Response to the schools has been good with a demand for more involving more members.

I will keep in touch with you as the program develops further.

Sincerely,

Bill

"THE UNION ORGANIZER"

Excerpts from a chapter by that name in a book "UNIONIZATION ATTEMPTS IN SMALL ENTERPRISES" written by Morton Gitelman, Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Denver and prepared under the Small Business Studies Program of Duke University. It is a 200 page book published by Callaghan and Company, 165 North Archer Avenue, Mundelein, Illinois and sells for $12.50 per copy.

--- X ---

"The key to success in a union's organizational drive is the organizer."

"His product is unionism, but his ability would probably insure success in any other line of selling endeavor."

"In addition to being a good salesman, the union organizer is the type of individual who can adapt to different situations.

"For the most part, successful union organizers are sincere men, dedicated to the principles of trade unionism, and they have the ability to convey their enthusiasm to unorganized workers."

"Not all organizers possess the same level of competence and since the best organizers are assigned to large plants, the small employer may have a slight advantage in that his employees are contending with less proficient organizers."

"In the course of making his initial contacts, the organizer is more interested in the quality rather than quantity of the contacts."

"In the beginning, a great deal of the organizer's time is devoted to developing the confidence and understanding of key individuals with leadership ability."

"The union organizer is sufficiently adaptable to vary his organizing methods to suit the situation with which he is confronted."

"Pre-Organization Planning: No competent union organizer would undertake a unionization drive before obtaining as much information as possible about the company to be organized. The data sought by the organizer covers a wide range of items, including the physical nature of the plant, the product of the company, sales, profits, return on investment, nature of ownership, personal data about company executives, methods of distributing the product, labor history of the company and the industry, identity of the major competitors, and existence of company-sponsored athletic and social events, credit unions and publications. This data is useful to the union, not only during the process of organizing the employees, but during collective bargaining negotiations as well. The organizer gathers and files as much information as possible before launching the unionization attempt and continues to accumulate information during the course of the attempt.

"In addition to acquiring data concerning the company, the organizer learns as much as he can about the company's work force. Such things as ratio of male to female employees, ratio of urban to rural employees and the racial composition of the plant work force are ascertained by the organizer. This information is used in planning the types of appeals and literature which will be most effective during the campaign.

"One item of information always sought by organizers, and difficult to come by, is a complete list of employees and their addresses. A complete employee roster would enable the organizer to contact each employee by mail and home visitation thereby making his task of organizing much easier. Employers naturally try to keep such information secret at all times and, during a unionization attempt, informed employers never publish or post a list of employees on bulletin boards. Therefore, the organizer is usually constrained to go to great length in obtaining an employee mailing list, sometimes to the extent of offering to purchase such a list from a payroll clerk or someone similarly situated.

"All the data an organizer can obtain regarding the company and its employees is potentially valuable and the good organizer conscientiously and methodically goes about gathering bits and pieces of information wherever and whenever he can. Some organizers, however, pay little attention to this phase of organizing, preferring to 'play by ear' during the unionization attempt. These organizers engage in much wasted motion and are prone to making errors which may be fatal if properly exploited by management. In sharp contrast, the better organizer knows exactly what he is going to do at each stage of the attempt and rarely makes mistakes."

"The Organizing Committee: The organizer plans and directs the union's campaign, but the actual work of organizing is done by the employees. Early in the unionization attempt the organizer selects and trains a plant organizing committee.

"In selecting a committee, the organizer tries to obtain a cross section of the entire plant. Wherever possible, each department is represented on the committee, as well as female employees, racial groups and nationality groups. When the actual, full scale organization drive begins, the committee will be in a position to reach workers in every part of the plant and in every social group. The committee is selected not only on the basis of having each interest in the plant represented, but also on the basis of potential leadership ability. Every member of the committee must be a key individual, a leader. Therefore, the organizer sometimes sacrifices full representation where he is unable to secure a leader from a particular department.

"The function of the organizing committee is to contact every worker and sell the union. Such tasks as distributing literature and making home visits are part of the committee's job. An employee pays more attention to, and has greater faith in, a fellow worker than the organizer, a stranger. Consequently, during the organization drive, the committee is in the forefront and the organizer is more or less in the background providing the committee with ideas and organizing material."

"The organizer must be selective in undertaking home visits and, like any good salesman, he directs his home calls at likely prospects."

FACT SHEET FOR ORGANIZERS
. . . second in a series

A GUIDELINE TO ORGANIZERS ON EFFECTIVE IN-PLANT (OR IN-OFFICE) COMMITTEES

(Adapted from Organizing and Leading Volunteers, Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, By Dr. Robert Kahn)

WHAT THIS IS:

This Fact Sheet gives hints for effective leadership of volunteers in union organizing activity. They are all things that you as an organizer can do. Give them a try. They will make you a better organizer and leader.

SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES:

This Fact Sheet is a tool to help you carry out your organizing program. The basic principles are few but vital. All suggestions in this Fact Sheet are based on these central ideas:

1. Talking face-to-face is more effective than any other form of communication.

2. Effective leadership depends on group decisions and reinforcement.

3. People have reasons for what they do, or fail to do. You must understand those reasons before you can organize effectively.

4. Personal interest makes a big difference to workers. They like logic and efficiency too, but their loyalty goes to organizers who know and care about their needs, problems and accomplishments.

5. Effective groups don't just grow and persist; they must be built and maintained. Good group work requires organization, and that means records, clear assignments, regular meetings during the organizing drive and periodic review of results.

WHERE THEY CAME FROM:

These principles are based on years of objective research in voluntary organizations. Effective committees have been compared with ineffective ones, and these are some of the major findings. These findings have been tested and you, as an organizer, can use them with confidence.

HOW TO USE THIS FACT SHEET:

Read it and study it to help you plan your work. Keep it constantly at hand and check it through before you start each activity. Refer to it to solve problems as they arise. Review it at least once a month and see how you are doing.

1. How do I get people to do a job?

   Ask them. Few people will volunteer their services. This does not mean that they don't want to be active, however. People wait to be asked. Asking builds activity.

2. Who should ask them?

   If possible, someone they know and trust; someone whose influence they respond to; a friend, a neighbor, a worker in the same department, a person with prestige in the union. But if you cannot arrange for someone else, do it yourself. Remember that the act of asking is itself important.

   After this has been done, be sure that the new recruit is welcomed by the leader of the group he will work with. The most effective combination is therefore being asked by someone he already knows and being welcomed by whomever is heading up the activity.

3. What do I tell them?

   a) Make clear what job you are asking them to do, and be sure it has a definite beginning and end. People do not want to sign up for life, so do not get them to over-commit themselves.

   b) Ask people to do things they can do well, especially in the beginning. People are more willing to begin things they know they can do. Later, when they are really a part of your group, they will be more willing to try new things.

   c) Tell each person how his job fits in with the rest. People want to understand things that they are part of, and they work best when they know that others are depending on them.

   d) Let each person know that his help is needed. If he feels that you are just "looking for people" he will also feel easily replaceable and less responsible for doing a job.

e) Discuss their own goals and how they fit into those of the union. People have their own reasons for volunteering, and you need to know them in order to lead effectively. Also, you must help people keep their expectations realistic; otherwise you will not be able to meet them.

f) Ask what they would like to know, and give them plenty of time and help in raising questions. Many people are reluctant to ask questions, but they will work better after they have done so.

g) Do these things in person; do not rely only on printed circulars, letters and phone calls. There is no substitute for talking face-to-face. It lets the person know that you consider the discussion important, and it gives you a chance to get acquainted with him.

h) You have a right to be enthusiastic about the importance of your work. Do not apologize or belittle it. Your mood will get across to the people you talk to, and they will respond to it.

4. How do I build an active committee?

a) Keep records; you cannot keep it all in your head. Have a list of members, with names and up-to-date addresses and phone numbers. Keep minutes or notes of jobs to do and decisions made. Keep a list of each person's assignments. Keep a list of each person's skills and "strong suits."

b) Keep your committee together. Call meetings regularly; do not just keep in touch with each person separately. People need to see and feel that they are part of something big, not just hear about it from you. Call each person before a meeting, to make sure he will be there, and knows you care that he comes. Give each member a list of names and addresses and special jobs or skills of committee members. People are interested in these things, and they will feel more responsible to each other. Give each member a copy of minutes or notes about what was decided at the meetings. It will remind him of his job, and he will know that the others are expecting things of him. Let members share in deciding what jobs to do, how they can best be done, and who can do them best. They know some things you do not, and they will work harder for things they decide on themselves.

5. How can I keep people motivated?

a) Set high standards of activity. Members will take their cue from you. And remember, you won't get more than you ask for.

b) For each activity get agreement on group goals. Achieving them will give you a real feeling of accomplishment. Where there are no challenging goals, members feel that activity is unimportant.

c) Get enough people to do the job. Overworked volunteers stop volunteering, and besides, the extra lift of the group really begins when you have at least 7 or 8 people involved.

d) Be sure each member knows his job, and position in the group. It is not enough for you to know; ask him and listen to make sure he knows, too.

e) Do things at meetings. Transact business; make decisions; review past work; plan new things. People will be more committed to things that have been agreed on in the group. They will feel on record with the others. Besides, they won't keep coming to meetings unless they accomplish something.

f) Invite union leaders to your meetings. People want to hear directly from them, and to make sure that their own views are carried to higher levels.

g) Make your meetings interesting. Hold the work and "mechanics" down to an hour or so. Use audio-visual aids such as AFL-CIO films and slides. Leave time for informal discussion and that cup of coffee.

h) Encourage people to help each other out on jobs. "Every man for himself" is not good committee work.

i) Pay attention to people who do not meet committee standards and expectations. If you ignore their failure, other members will follow them. If a member does not live up to your committee standards, speak to him personally, asking frankly what the trouble is, encouraging him, offering help. Encourage other members to speak to him, and show interest. Reassign his job, if necessary. This will show other members that the job is important.

j) Recognize good work, and reward it. What you can do will depend on the local situation, of course, but you can always: commend good workers at meetings, express your appreciation in person, and write letters of thanks.

AN EFFECTIVE COMMITTEE COMES FROM -
1/3 Inspiration
1/3 Participation - and
1/3 Perspiration

DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIZATION
NATIONAL AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
May, 1964

edc

DISCUSSION LEADERSHIP

Listening is an art...especially for union organizers. Closed mouths and open ears don't make it an art. That's easy. Finding folks and getting them together and talking...that's an art!

Many organizers listen well when it's "head-and-head" with an individual worker. But group gatherings often become signals for speechmaking.

Actually, listening is most important in group meetings. But getting people to talk is tough when there is a group. Keeping the talk organized is often even tougher. However, when it's done, and done right, its a great fact-finding experience for the organizer and a meaningful way for the worker to identify with the union campaign.

Often a worker will talk himself into a commitment that he would not accept as an assignment. Frequently, he will "volunteer" facts that the organizer could never get through interrogation.

Proper discussion leadership is very often the difference between success and failure in this kind of group activity. The skill of discussion leadership can be easily acquired and perfected through the understanding and application of a few simple rules. Once learned and used a few times they automatically become part of the organizer's "tool kit" and he finds himself using them frequently in his organizational endeavors.

The following outline is designed to aid in the development of the skill of discussion leadership.

Department of Organization
National AFL-CIO
Washington, D.C.

WHAT MAKES A DISCUSSION LEADER GOOD?

1. He knows the subject...but he doesn't have to be an expert. It doesn't hurt to be expert, but don't let it show too much. People who are not expert tend to "clam up" when confronted by an expert.

2. He guides the discussion. He's not the "answer man." Nothing shuts off discussion like an "expert" answer by the guy up front. There's knowledge and experience in the group. The leader's job is to bring it out. Never say, "I will explain the main points to you." Instead, say, "Let's see if we can get at the main points of the problem."

3. He's a relaxed conversationalist. He doesn't have to be an excellent speech maker.

4. He's not opinionated...or if he is he doesn't let it show. If his opinions become too important and well established the group will think he wants only "right" answers and fear of being "wrong" may silence them. Be careful not to give the impression of trying to improve any "pat" answers on the group. But don't try to make the group feel that you have no opinions. If you express opinion rather than a fact, say so. For example, say: "Here's my opinion on this. You're entitled to yours, of course, but I think it's only fair to let you know how I feel, too."

5. He's well prepared...and there's a difference between being prepared and being expert. A simple outline of the key points that the group should cover and a few supporting facts will be a guarantee against those dead periods when the discussion lags. He'll know what the next point is and when to move on to the next point.

PLANNING THE DISCUSSION

Following are important steps in planning a discussion

Set up the objectives to be reached.
Study the group with the objectives in mind.
Select the content to be used - the topic or problem to be discussed.
Arrange the content in orderly fashion.
Select the vehicles to be used to stimulate analysis and understanding the topic or problem:
Get ready the necessary materials, facilities, equipment.
Plan how to handle each detail of the session.

Set up objectives to be reached

Just what do we want this session to accomplish?
What changes in the members' attitudes or actions do we want brought about?
Shall the emphasis in the session be on knowledge and understanding, or the learning of skills, or developing attitudes, or some conbination of these?

Study the group, with the objectives in mind

How much knowledge does the group possess?

Are they already interested in the topic, or will they need a lot of warming up?
What differences are there among individuals in the group that need to be taken into account?
How hard can I push them?
Which portions of the content will be of most use to them, which of most interest to them?

Select the content to be used in the session

There may be many aspects of any one topic chosen for discussion.
What aspects will be covered in this session what omitted, and why?
What aspects of the topic will fit in best with what the group already knows?
How much can be included within the time available for the discussion?
What are the most important items? What can be left until a later session or omitted entirely?

Arrange the content in orderly fashion

Into what size pieces shall I break up the content?
What points should come first?
In what order shall I introduce the other points?

Select the vehicles to be used

Shall I use any of the following: the blackboard, mimeographed material, cases, role playing, buzz sessions, and if so, why?
Which of the above will fit this group best?
Which ones are available?
If I use a case, should this be mimeographed, or should I just state the case?
If I use the conference technique, shall I use a highly con-controlled conference or a loose one? Which type fits the topic and the situation best?

Get ready the necessary materials, facilities, equipment

What materials will I need for the various parts of this session?
What shall I use that is already available, or that I have used before?
What do I need to prepare especially for this session?
What help is available for getting the things ready?
Can I get everything ready in time for the session? If not, what can I leave out?

Plan how to handle each detail of the session

How shall the time be divided among the different points to be covered in the session?
What controlling elements do I face, such as the time required to write on the blackboard, for buzz sessions, etc.

How shall I introduce each point?
What questions shall I ask to stimulate thinking and participation?
What illustrations shall I use to make each item clear?
What shall I do if I have laid out more than I can cover in the time available? What shall I do if I get through before the period is over?
How shall I summarize?

By the way, good discussion leaders never get so confident that they fail to prepare. Each session is different. No matter how much experience you have, preparing each time permits you to capitalize on your experience. If you are unprepared a simple (unexpected) point may throw you and ruin an otherwise successful and productive session.

THE CONDITIONS FOR A GOOD DISCUSSION

1. The group shouldn't be too large. Tops is 25. More than this should encourage sub-discussions. Sub-groups can be assigned specific topics with a report of the conclusion reported back to a wind-up general session.

2. Sessions can be too long--and too short. It generally takes about 20-30 minutes for a group to warm up. More than two hours is tiresome.

3. Seating arrangements can help. Keep the people arranged so they can see each other. Small but adequate rooms help. If the room is too big this can be offset by seating the group in a semi-circle or around a table. Avoid a stage or platform for the leader. Everyone on the same level-figuratively and literally-is best.

HOW TO START A DISCUSSION

1. Explain that it's no lecture---and why. A pertinent joke or the recollection of a humorous incident can help break the ice...something that will help to emphasize that their ideas are the ones that count and "all of us," by listening to each other can learn. Make the opening live and meaningful but keep it short--or you'll be doing what you said you wouldn't do--lecturing.

2. Introduce the subject...informally and conversationally but in a way that they know what it is, what will be covered and the purpose of the session. If this is done effectively it will help greatly throughout the session in "keeping on the track" without offending anyone.

   Be sure that everyone understands the purpose (goals) of the session, its objectives. It may go a little slow at the beginning but its worth the time to get everyone tuned in on the same wave length as to why they are there and what the session is intended to accomplish.

   Also, it's good practice (where you are conducting a series of related sessions) to briefly recap the previous one and relate it to the current session.

KEEPING THE DISCUSSION GOING

1. Participation: Try to get everyone to participate. A running list of those who have spoken will help. When two or three want to speak at one time besure to get the others after the first has spoken. Try to call on people who haven't spoken --but do it in a way that doesn't embarass anyone.

   If discussion starts slowly and a question does not get any response, try another question or ask people about personal experiences relating to the questions.

2. Acknowledge contributions: Flattery will get you somewhere. "That's a good thought, Joe" will encourage Joe to continue to think. "How did you manage to interest John Kelly, Walter?" appeals to Walter's experience and pride and opens the way for him to join the discussion.

3. Stay on the track: it's probably the greatest test of discussion leadership skill. The "iron fist" technique won't work, yet no discipline often means chaos and an unsuccessful session which won't encourage many people to return. Just don't let it wander too far unless its a point in which there appears to be great general interest. Then try to relate that point to the subject at hand or "ear mark" it for a future session. When this happens or when the discussion is heading up a blind alley, bring it back by raising a question on a different angle of the subject.

4. Monopolists hurt: Don't let one person monopolize the discussion. Sometimes a carefully placed compliment can slow down the monopolist like "Joe, you've had some experience, I can see. You're gonna have to slow down a little while the rest of us catch up." Or perhaps, "that's a well thought-out idea, Joe, Let's see what some of the others think." Sometimes after you've slowed him down you may want utilize him to fill-in at a time when the discussion drags.

5. Self-solutions: When the session involves finding solutions or charting a course of action, bring forth the solutions and proposals from the group. If it's their solutions or their proposal they'll support it and follow through better than if it's yours. Try not to answer a question yourself, unless it's a request for information that no one else can provide.

   Where you, as the leader, are asked a direct question from a participant there are four techniques in handling the situation.

   a) Refer the question to the group as a whole
   b) Redirect the question to the person who asked it.
   c) Redirect the question to a particular participant, or
   d) Answer the question.

   Don't "duck" the question but try to get answered by the group or a member of the group. You can build discussion on his answer by putting your ideas into question form related to his answer.

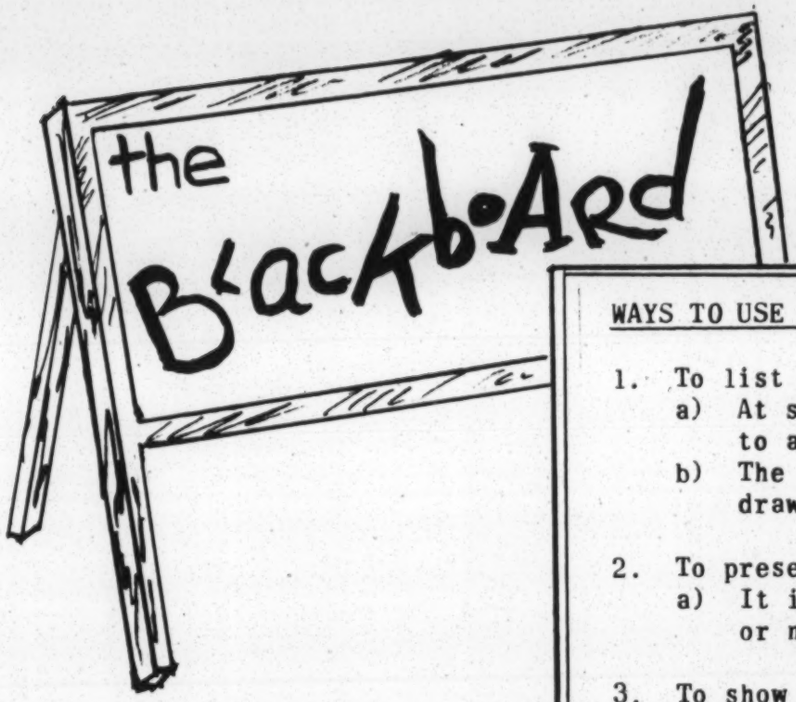
MAKE SURE THEY ARE LEARNING

1. Ask questions which show whether or not the major facts and ideas have been understood. Mistaking a conclusion can often bring discussion toward the correct conclusion. If a member of the group has trouble making his point, be patient and help him by restating or clarifying to his SATISFACTION.

2. Help to distinguish between fact and opinion. Don't duck controversy or disagreement between members of the group. Control it, clarify it, set out the points of difference clearly and let the group decide.

3. Be flexible. Your outline may have been over-ambitious. Better to sacrifice some of your outline points than skimp on discussion of points which group finds interesting and important.

4. Summarize: Try to give brief summary at end of each major point and at end of the session



an effective aid in discussion work

WAYS TO USE IT....

1. To list points to be taken up
   a) At start of session or when you shift to a new topic
   b) The list may be your own, or one you draw from group.

2. To present facts or other information
   a) It is important to write figures and or names

3. To show relationships
   Examples: Growth of union membership in a given industry to the level of wages in the industry.

4. To record points which have been made
   a) These may be used as a summary

5. To summarize
   a) This is particularly helpful where you draw the summary from the group.

HOW TO USE IT....

1. Avoid reflecting glare of lights.

2. Write big and clearly
   a) Print if your writing is not clear.

3. Start on left, use lots of room

4. Use words or short phrases, not sentences
   a) Make wording simple

5. Underline for emphasis

6. Erase what you are finished with
   a) But keep what you want for summary

7. Face group when explaining what is on board

8. Don't talk at board when writing, unless you say what you are writing, or compliment for good suggestion.

9. Don't write too much at once.
   a) If you have a lot you want on board put it there before class

Department of Organization
National AFL-CIO

THE LEAFLET

IT'S THE IMAGE OF THE UNION AS YOU HAND IT TO THE WORKER. IF YOU USE 'EM, MAKE 'EM GOOD!

INTRODUCTION

The best leaflet ever written --- by itself --- may not win anybody over. An organizer who has been through the mill can be successful at times with very little handbilling or even none. But as a campaign tool, a leaflet is a quick, flexible instrument for communicating with workers in the shop or in their homes.

The experienced organizer uses leaflets as an aid in highlighting and underscoring major issues. Bulletins and handbills can provide strong support to the organizing committee in the plant, giving them a chance to have their say in the language of the shop worker.

When they say the right thing in the right way at the right time, leaflets can back up home visits and build up the committee following.

Most ideas are easier said than written. However, by following a few rules, it is possible to present a written message clearly and attractively even if you never wrote a leaflet in your life.

SUMMARY: DO'S AND DON'TS IN LEAFLET WRITING

Part I: Presenting the Issues: Approach

Motto:

Lead Your Audience, Don't Fight It!

1. Be clear
   Stick to one --- at the most --- two issues.
   Don't confuse the reader by presenting too many problems at once.

2. Be accurate
   Check the facts. Don't rush into print on the basis of rumors.

3. Be timely --- not too late or too soon or too often.

4. Be helpful
   Suggest how the union would deal with the problem.
   Don't agitate the reader unless you show a way out.

5. Be firm
   Stick to the major issues.
   Don't let petty grievances divert you.

6. Be convincing
   Back up your arguments. Don't talk down. Give your readers credit for intelligence.

7. Give the workers a voice
   Don't speak for them when they are ready to speak for themselves.
   Let them speak for themselves.

8. Talk to the majority
   Don't aim solely at the militants. You have to win the uncommitted.

9. Anticipate the opposition
   Don't be caught unawares. Warn the workers to expect anti-union propaganda.

10. Keep your campaign on the offensive
    Don't be sidetracked. Take the initiative and stay there.

11. Keep hammering on issues and program
    Don't let the company take the play away. You call the shots.

Part II: Producing the Leaflet: Content and Appearance

1. Organize your thoughts. Don't ramble.

2. Put your best thoughts in the first and last paragraph. Get to the point and let the reader get the message in one reading.

3. Use words correctly. Say what you mean.

4. Keep your message brief. Don't overwrite. Your message will get lost.

5. Use familiar words. They are more accurate. But avoid overused phrases. They sound stale.

6. Use strong words. Don't be wishy-washy. But be tactful.

7. Use short sentences; usually they are clearer. But don't make them too short; avoid choppiness.

8. Be concrete. Don't be vague or general. Don't make the reader hunt for the meaning.

* * *

Organizational literature must be more than an "activity." Its use should be confined to a need and a purpose. When used, it should be attractive. Gone are the days when organizing efforts can succeed in spite of careless, improper, or sloppy handbills.

1. Use lots of white space. It is the secret of eye appeal.

2. Pay attention to the separate parts of the leaflet. Each part has to look as though you planned it that way.

3. Place the most important part where the eye falls naturally --- the optical center.

4. Give the page variety. Use headlines, sub-headlines, (printed or handwritten) illustrations, boxes, arrows, etc.

5. Guide the eye. Don't let it read right off the page.

6. Be neat. Use letter guides for printing. Have the typing well spaced. A solidly typed page looks messy and repels the eye.

7. If you use cartoons, make sure they are well drawn. Crude illustrations are insulting. You lose the reader's respect.

8. Use various forms, so your leaflets won't all look alike. Folds, questions and answers, bulletins and letters are some ways to change the appearance.

9. Use slogans. They furnish the punch lines.

10. Use a signature line. Don't leave your readers wondering who is talking to them.

Part I

PRESENTING THE ISSUES: Approach

The handbill has its own job to do.

It may carry the same message as a house call or a talk at a meeting but it will do it in a briefer, more concentrated way.

A good leaflet not only clarifies an issue; it suggests a way of dealing with it. The readers want to know how the union will help them deal with their serious grievances in a constructive way.

That is why an experienced trade unionist does more than expose the problem. His leaflets show a way out.

When you handle a leaflet in this way, you are actually explaining the program of the union. You are showing the unorganized workers how to move towards collective bargaining procedures.

Know The Issues ...

Ask your volunteer committee why they want a union. Their main reasons generally are the basic issues in the campaign. Any old hand at organizing will agree that knowing the issues is vital to successful communication.

A winning drive is centered on the main problems in the shop. Be clear on the issues and you have the first requirement for producing a helpful handbill.

How can you be sure of the issues? An effective organizer has the answer to that one --- get to know the workers well. Your leaflet will misfire unless it comes out of the actual experience and feeling of the workers. Listen to what they have to say.

Experience also teaches that the information must be accurate and represent a true picture of conditions in the plant. Check what you hear so that you are sure of the facts. In your committee you will have some people who are good at judging the sentiment and are well informed. Rely on them to help call the shots and you can hardly miss.

Convincing The Majority ...

Every experienced organizer has seen how a work force divides into a militant and a non-militant group during a campaign. Actually, before it's over, he has to deal with three groupings, for the militants in turn are of two kinds --- the active pro-unionists and the vocal anti-unionists.

The Uncommitted

The majority of the work force does not take sides at the start. A successful organizer knows he must guide the campaign in such a way as to help the in-plant committee win over the group in the middle. The final outcome will depend on their decision. You cannot win if this group remains uncommitted. You can only win when you help them make up their minds favorably.

This was nicely put in the 1959 report of the First AFL-CIO National Organizing Conference, in these words:

> "Don't pass up those who appear to be unfriendly. One convert among them is often worth many of the 'quick friends' in a campaign."

Sometimes good advice can come from the other side. Here is a quote from a book written for management that gives some insight into the thinking of the man or woman at the center:

> "When employees confront you with resistance and opposition, they are doing favors for you ... The objections tell you where the person is having trouble in making up his mind to go along. It is in those areas that you must do more influencing. In those areas lie the missing decisions that must be won before you obtain agreement...
>
> "Instead of looking on objections as interruptions that should be resented, instead of looking on them as unwanted interference that takes up your time and effort, you should see them as bits of conversational cooperation..."

The Fence-Sitter

The non-militant worker is the fence-sitter, the man or woman who says, "I haven't decided yet. I want to hear both sides." These people like to think of themselves as open-minded.

This group, however, is not a solid mass. It may contain men and women; people from different racial, national or religious backgrounds; or young, middle-aged or workers near retirement. Perhaps it is divided by language barriers. Included may be workers who are resigned to inferior working conditions and are slow to move towards change.

Many may be burdened with possessions not paid for and are afraid of the so-called high cost of belonging --- they fear they may have to pay exorbitant dues, assessments or strike benefits. Further, they may be worried about loss of jobs. Your approach must take all of these hesitations and doubts into account.

Attitudes of Women Workers

Women make up majorities in a number of industries and shops. One out of three women is working today. Many are supplementary wage earners. Their thoughts are on home and family first. A union campaign intrudes upon their routine and usually women are slower to get involved.

Because women, historically, are less experienced in industry and in unionism, fewer come forward as leaders. They can, however, produce militant leaders. With such women on your committee, you can develop a more sensitive line of communication with the uncommitted. Haven't you heard a man say to a woman committee member, "Please talk to so and so. Maybe she'll listen to another woman." It's a big help when you let the women on your committee guide your work in this area.

Women workers are likely to resent leaflets that go in for name-calling. They like a "dignified" approach. Slanders, threats and false charges repel them, whoever is at the source. Companies use these tactics in order to intimidate and their effect cannot be underrated. However, you can afford to be straightforward and deal with the real issues. These cannot be talked away.

In working with women, remember the motto of the effective public speaker: "Lead your audience, don't fight it."

Stay on the Offensive

Those in the middle often are more easily swayed by irrelevant arguments than the militant unionists. In a recent campaign, one of the most effective phony charges was that the union would take away the workers' uniforms. The organizer had to make sure this false charge was exposed, for the uniforms were especially important to the women.

This illustrates an occasion when you must take pains to expose a side issue. However, the rule is "Do not be diverted. Stick to the key issues."

Militant unionists want to hit back on nearly every minor question raised by the vocal anti-unionists. To this extent they, too, are influenced by false charges. It is not easy to keep them on the main track. This is because the strong pro-unionists ordinarily come forward early in a campaign and are likely to lose patience when it drags out.

Many are too anxious for action and they want those fence straddlers to make up their minds quickly. They may press for a leaflet on every petty issue that arises. An experienced organizer helps the committee to see how this only plays into the company's hands. Management purposely injects such charges in order to fight the campaign according to company rules. Keep fighting on the major issues and force the company to answer your charges.

Loyalty -- A False Issue

The true function of the "stooges" is to confuse the workers and to try to raise a smokescreen of disloyalty. Their argument goes, "a union may be a good thing, but we don't need it here. Loyal workers can settle their grievances without a union in this plant."

It is a sad day for workers when they let themselves be swayed by this tactic. It is not a matter of union versus the company. Employees can be loyal to the company and be pro-union. The best proof is that over 18 million workers are organized in thousands of plants in the United States, both large and small and relations between employers and workers have been remarkably stable.

Disloyalty is dragged into the campaign only to interfere with the right of the worker to organize and to hide the truth that the employer simply does not want to bargain collectively with his employees. Keep hammering away at the issues and the workers will understand this as well as you do.

Anticipate the Opposition...

No one expects to go through a campaign without opposition. Therefore, it is surprising that advance preparation gets so little stress. After discussion at the 1959 AFL-CIO Organizing Conference, these recommendations were made:

> "Anticipate last-minute block-busters. Plan for them. Educate against them. The facts are on your side. Sell them. Whirlwind management finishes usually feature strike scare, violence-and-unionism, high dues, bossism, etc. Meet these before the company raises them. The facts will do the job."

Now here is the advice from management's side:

> "...the best way to deal with resistance and opposition is to prevent it or at least reduce it as much as possible...
>
> "How is resistance prevented? By anticipating it. First, you should build into your presentations strong answers to all the objections employees raise ... just include the answer as a normal part of your own original story. Second, you should make certain to tell a clear, complete and convincing story.
>
> "The beauty of anticipating resistance is that it puts you on the offense and keeps you from being placed on the defense by the employee."

You cannot disagree with this approach. The writer knows what every seasoned battle commander knows: anticipate the moves from the other side of the lines. Seize the initiative and hang on to it.

Check your leaflets against this rule and you and the volunteer committee will find it easier to stick to the key issues. You will have a far better chance of getting the fence-sitter down on the union side.

Timing ...

There is no rule for deciding the timeliness of a leaflet. You have to go according to your organizing plan.

Sometimes, you may not use leaflets at all in the early stages, when perhaps it is not advisable to call attention to the union interest in a particular shop. At other times, you may use a handbill as the opening gun in order to introduce the union and invite the signing of authorization cards.

The frequency of distributions depends on the nature of the campaign, the urgency of the target and the response of the workers. A quick drive, by its very brevity, will not call for many leaflets. Timing becomes a problem when the campaign is longer and especially when it drags on.

As the campaign develops and issues emerge, distributions become more frequent. Problems keep popping up --- the rumors start --- misinformation gets around --- people are threatened, intimidated, fired --- the "stooges" and liars are busy.

You keep that old mimeo machine busy. The leaflets pour out.

Too Many - Too Late - Too Soon

One day, perhaps, someone at the plant gate says, "What, another leaflet?" Suddenly, you realize you have worked that mimeograph overtime. There have been too many leaflets; they are losing their impact.

This is one problem in timing. Very often this happens toward the end of a campaign. It's a common problem.

Another is getting there too late. There is an important issue but by the time you hear about it and get your leaflet out, no one cares anymore because something else has happened. Your leaflet is like yesterday's headline -- stale.

Or, you sense something is developing, you get it on paper and rush out to the gates only to find nobody knows what it's all about. You got there too soon!

How do you judge your timing?

Work closely with the in-plant committee. If the volunteer committee is really organized for two-way communication and you are in everyday contact, you will not be too late or too early or too often at the plant gate.

Better yet, let the workers help write the leaflets; encourage them to write their own. A testimonial, an open letter or simply a brief description of a grievance or an emotion can be very effective when it comes right from the shop.

If you and the workers are doing the job together, you stand a better chance that your timing will be right.

When The Workers Speak ...

When the union is talking to the workers, a leaflet has to say "you" and "your." This occurs when the union is making a commitment or is explaining its program or answering specific questions.

A leaflet that speaks for the in-plant organizing committee has to say "we" and "our." This happens when there is a genuine committee working

to organize the shop. The pressures, injustices and frustrations that come from being disunited and powerless are best expressed when the employees speak for themselves and for each other. They say "we" have urgent needs and the union is here to give "us" a chance to meet them.

A group of workers in a certain shop decided to hold a contest to choose a winning title for their bulletin. Several names sounded good but the one they picked was a simple one --- "We, the Workers." After the local was organized, they kept this title. It spoke for them.

PRINTED PAMPHLETS

Millions of workers today have no personal knowledge of the militancy and sacrifices of American workers who formed the great unions.

You can help give them some of this background by using pamphlets printed by your own International union or the national AFL-CIO.

Do not underestimate "canned" leaflets. Many good things come in cans --- for example, an illustrated booklet, "Why Unions?", issued in English and Spanish by the national AFL-CIO Department of Publications.

Very helpful also is the pamphlet, "The Hidden Cost of Not Belonging," which answers those who ask, "Why pay union dues?" It shows that <u>not</u> belonging can be costly.

"Look out Below," which prepares workers in <u>advance</u> for the anti-union campaign, can be broken down into a series of shorter leaflets if need be. When the anti-union "labor relations consultant" shows his hand, this leaflet exposes his union-busting tactics.

Use "canned" leaflets when you make house calls or to distribute to in-plant committees. With such material you can help the active workers understand their role as leaders and aid them in standing up under the pressure to come.

Part II

PRODUCING THE LEAFLET: Content and Appearance

Every writer wants to make a favorable impression on his reader and a leaflet writer is no exception. However, a writer of union handbills must go beyond impressions and get his readers to move in a pro-union direction. He tries to be just as convincing in written communication as he would be in face-to-face discussion. This is not too easy in the limited space of a leaflet.

The Outline ...

It helps considerably when you begin with an outline of the message. This can be a mental outline, but it must break down the leaflet into its basic parts. These are the headline, the body and the conclusion.

The headline serves to catch the reader's attention. If it does its job properly, it prepares the worker for the union message. Sometimes a headline is a brief summary of what the leaflet is all about. Other times, it asks a question. On occasion, a "gimmick" is a good idea, provided it relates the headline to the content of the handbill. A good headline will arouse curiosity and lead the reader on.

If you are having trouble hitting upon the right headline, don't worry about it. Wait until your message is written and chances are you will find the headline popping right out of your copy.

There are times, of course, when you might not even use a headline. This is infrequent, but it could happen as in the case of an open letter or when you are using a large drawing with very little copy.

The body is where you inform, explain or attempt to convince. It is where the main argument develops. Use your best paragraphs at the beginning and the end. The first paragraph has to be interesting enough to make the worker continue reading. Do this by getting to the issue right away. Make the reader ask himself, "What does this mean to me?"

The next paragraph may clarify the issue, elaborate upon it or emphasize it. Try to make the reader say to himself, "How will this help me?" This is the place for explanation. Or, if necessary, here is where you argue the point.

The last paragraph should show that the union has an approach to the issue and a means of dealing with it. Make your suggestion or suggestions in a positive manner, so that the worker will say to himself, "That's right!"

The conclusion is usually in slogan form. It can urge the worker to act -- sign a card, attend a meeting, join the union, vote yes!

A slogan can express a fundamental idea --- In Union There Is Strength; You are the Union; You Need the Union, etc., etc. A slogan gives the leaflet its final punch.

Finally, people want to know whom they are dealing with and the signature on a leaflet is for that purpose. Identify the source, whether it is an organizing committee or the union or an individual.

The Leaflet's Appearance...

Any written communication is helped or hindered by its appearance. A messy looking page is not inviting to the eye and neither is a crowded one.

A leaflet may carry an urgent message, but what good is it if no one reads it?

To catch the attention and hold it, your leaflet must have eye appeal. The rules and steps in achieving eye appeal come under the heading of layout.

Layout Defined

Layout is a technical term but it need not be complicated. It refers to arrangement of the page so that the important points stand out right away and the entire message is easy to read.

Because space is limited in a handbill, you must consider proportion, balance and shape so that the message will look right.

In the space available to you there must be room for the headline, the message, the illustration and sub-heading, if any. You must leave room for the slogans and the signature line. First, organize the leaflet into these parts and rate them in the order of their importance. This helps you to put the most important part in the best spot and to place the rest in the order of their urgency. (See Fig. 1 and 1a page 9)

Equal division of space is dull and does not attract attention. (See Fig. 2.) To guide the eye towards the most important part of your leaflet, place it at the optical center of the page. This is a point where the eye has a natural tendency to fall.

The optical center lies above the middle half of the page. (See Fig. 3) Here is where you put the part that is to get prominence. If it is a cartoon, place it in this area. If the headline is most important, center it here. Perhaps you want to give greatest importance to the first paragraph; let your beginning sentence run across this point.

Directing the Eye

If you have time, experiment a bit with dividing the space, trying out the headline, cartoon or illustration and copy in various arrangements. (See Fig. 4) This is to enable you to direct the path of the eye towards the rest of your message so it takes in the other parts in preferred order. The eye has a tendency to travel down the page and toward the right. (See Fig. 5) You can direct it over the page as you wish by your layout. (See Fig. 6 and 6a)

The eye also is inclined to move off the page and must be controlled to keep it from doing so. Have your drawing face into the page. (See Fig. 7) If the drawing faces left, place it on the right side of the sheet, looking towards the center. In reading copy, it is natural for the eye to go from left to right. By the time you get to the bottom line, your eye will move down and off the bottom of the page, unless you redirect it. You can control this by placing the copy on the left side of the page. or use a device such as an arrow or heavy line. (See Fig. 8 and 8a page 10.)

You can also use "gimmicks" like balloons, arrows, boxes, etc., to direct the eye. These devices help to lend variety to your layout. (See Fig. 9; 9a)

White Space

Lots of white space is the best way to achieve an easy-to-read page.

This means leaving plenty of room for the top, bottom and side margins, as well as between the typed copy, illustrations and headings. If you are going to keep your layout attractive and the eye moving as you want it to go, you will have to cut down on your copy. Make it as brief as you can without sacrificing the message.

The illustration can carry part of the load. A well chosen, neatly drawn cartoon does two jobs --- it lends eye appeal and tells part of the story. And it does it in less space.

Typing can help make an attractive leaflet or it can ruin its appearance. Nothing is less appealing than a solidly typed handbill.
The eye is lazy and turns away from a crowded-looking page. Break up solid typing by using capital letters for sub-headings, indenting, underlining key words and drawing "boxes." If you have no cartoon, these devices can help. Or use a handwritten sub-head or two. If you keep thinking of white space, you will find yourself writing shorter leaflets that people will read.

Varying the Form

Most leaflets are put out on a single sheet of mimeograph paper. Inasmuch as this form is apt to get monotonous, many organizers like to vary the shape and size of their handbills.

A common method is to use a fold. A sheet of paper can be folded once across the center, horizontally or vertically, or with the top down or the bottom folded up. It can be folded once and then again. Any of these folds can be employed but you must know how to use your stencil. With the use of scissors and stencil cement, it is not too difficult to produce neatly typed, attractive folded leaflets. (See page 11 for instructions for producing mimeographed folds.)

Still another useful handbill type is the bulletin. This is perhaps most effective in a long-drawn out campaign where you wish to issue general material on unionism as well as deal with current developments.

This can be done on an ordinary mimeograph sheet of paper using only one side. Have someone draw up a masthead for you and run off a supply in advance and use this form according to a suitable time schedule. In between bulletin distributions, you can still put out an ordinary type of leaflet. (See page 12 for illustrations of mastheads and suggestions for making up a bulletin.)

The Electronic Stencil*

This is an entirely new, attractive way of duplicating from a plastic stencil which is prepared on an imaging unit from your own material.

At a charge of $3.00 per stencil, either A. B. Dick Company or Gestetner Corporation will prepare an electronic stencil in 25 minutes. Some print shops and mimeograph shops also offer this service.

You prepare your original as a "paste-up," on thin paper. Use a carbon ribbon for typing, if possible. You can use your own drawings or "borrow" from newspapers, magazines or other leaflets as the imaging unit will copy what it sees. Use black and white only.

Use rubber cement for pasting and attach only the top of your layout. The bottom must hang free. Tightly pasted material is not flexible enough for the imaging unit. (For this reason, do not use cardboard.)

Ask your mimeograph company for instructions in the use of this process or for further information.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

It is recognized that various religious groups all over the nation have adopted policy positions concerning organized labor, unionizing, and the concept of collective bargaining. The leaflet "RIGHT OR WRONG" contains citations from the three major religious faiths of this nation, Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic. Attached are additional quotes and citations which may prove more effective in certain situations or in certain localities than those contained on the completed sample leaflet. In such cases it is a simple matter to make the more effective substitution as you prepare the leaflet.

* * * *

CATHOLIC

"Because social relations is one of man's natural requirements and since it is legitimate to promote by common effort decent livelihood, it is not possible without injustice to deny or to limit either to the producers or to the laboring and farming classes the free faculty of uniting in associations by means of which they may defend their proper rights and secure the betterment of the goods of soul and body, as well as the honest comforts of life."

--- Pope Pius XII, "Sertum Laetitiae",
November 1, 1939

"Labor can have no effective voice as long as it is unorganized. To protect its rights it must be free to bargain collectively through its own chosen representatives. If labor when unorganized is dissatisfied, the only alternative is to cease work and thus undergo the great hardships which follow unemployment."

--- Catholic Bishops of the United States
The Church and Social Order,
February 7, 1940

"Present circumstances render more pressing and more imperious the obligation for workers . . . to exercise this right (to join unions)."

--- Bishops of Quebec
Pastoral Letter, February 1950

GREEK ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

"The Greek Orthodox Church in America recognizes and is most appreciative of the prime right of both employees and employers to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining, in order to ensure ecnomic and social justice and equality in our beloved United States.

"The great strides labor has taken towards effective organization in the past few decades in this country have had the democratic support of the great majority of Americans, and of all employers who are far-seeing."

--- Archbishop Michael, April 1958

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

"The right of labor, equally with capital, to effective organization and the corresponding responsibility on both sides for the exercise of the power so attained in strict accordance with the moral law as serving this common good."

--- General Convention, Protestant Episcopal Church, 1922, endorsed the above principles.

"The right of employees to organize and to bargain collectively is necessary to maintain an economic balance between labor and capital."

--- Excerpt from a report of a committee on national problems adopted by the General Convention of 1934.

JEWISH

"The same rights of organization which rest with employers rest also with those whom they employ."

--- Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1928

"We believe that the denial of the right of workers to organize and form group associations so that they may treat as economic equals with their employers is tantamount to a curtailment of human freedom. For that reason we favor the unionization of all who labor."

--- Rabbinical Assembly of America, 1934

AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

"The Church recognizes the right of labor to organize for collective bargaining and mutual protection . . . "

"The Church is interested in employer-employee relations . . . because we as churchmen . . . are interested in human beings and in their material as well as moral and spiritual welfare . . . "

--- Board for Christian Social Action, 1955

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

"Labor has a right to responsible collective bargaining."

--- Minutes of the Convention, 1946

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

"We recognize the right of labor to organize and to engage in collective bargaining to the end that labor may have a fair and living wage, such as will provide not only for the necessities of life, but for recreation, pleasure and culture."

--- Southern Baptist Convention, 1952

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

"Economic groups having common interests, such as labor, employers, or consumers, have the right to organize to promote their legitimate needs and purposes."

--- Annual Conference, 1951

THE EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH

"We call attention to the fact that while many wage-earners have reached a gainful economic status, thousands of workers are still living below standards of economic and social decency; and we express our deep concern for them.

"We reaffirm the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively."

--- 1954 General Conference

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST CHURCH

"It is our conviction that workers should have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist in forming labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing and to engage in such activities as are within the limits of constitutional rights for the purpose of bargaining with employers and other mutual aid protection."

--- International Convention

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

". . . we affirm our convictions that labor unions contribute both economically and morally to our modern industrial society . . . We commend the vast majority of union members who have labored to make of their unions a force for economical justice, social progress, and democratic community life . . ."

--- Adopted by the Council of Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ at its meeting in October 1957.

CONGREGATIONAL-CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

"We believe that responsible and democratic trade unionism is both necessary and wholesome. The individual worker in an industrial establishment can seldom express effectively his needs and desires respecting his employment. By joining in a democratic organization with fellow-workers, he can present in an orderly way the demands which he feels must be made if his dignity as a worker is to be upheld. Management, for its part, is assured of a channel of communication, and is able to recognize and to make adjustment for needs of its employees."

--- Council for Social Action, Congregational-Christian Churches, 1950

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

"For most of the present century the official agencies of the Protestant churches have supported the right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing for collective bargaining.

"In certain industries we find that organized labor and collective bargaining have been accepted as necessary aspects of democracy in an industrial society. Socially responsible managements are no less committed than unions to the promotion of good industrial relations on a basis of mutual respect."

--- Report of the Commission on Christian Social Action, 1956

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

"Our Church, having stated its belief in collective bargaining as a social procedure, accepts her share of responsibility for creating an informed and favourable public opinion in regard thereto."

--- Board of Evangelism & Social Service, 1940

AUGUSTANA LUTHERAN CHURCH

"The Synod stands for the right of employee and employer to organize for collective bargaining; . . . "

--- Annual Convention, 1939

THE UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

"It is the right of every man to organize with his fellow workers for collective bargaining through representatives of his own free choice."

--- Board of Social Missions, The United Lutheran Church in America, 1944

THE METHODIST CHURCH

"We stand for the right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining; protection of both in the exercise of their right; the obligation of both to work for the public good."

--- Excerpt from the Social Creed of The Methodist Church, 1960

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

"One of the most significant elements in contemporary society is the labor movement . . .

"It cameinto being in response to the need for full freedom and justice for the working man . . .

"The forces of religion should realize that two of the mightiest forces in history are labor and the church . . .

"We believe that the worker should have the right to organize and bargain collectively . . . "

--- From Episcopal Address to 1952 General Conference

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA

"We recognize the value to our national economy of a progressive organized labor movement;

"We gladly acknowledge the material benefits brought to millions of laboring people through the labor movement . . . "

--- General Synod Meeting, 1957

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A.

"Labor unions have been instrumental in achieving a higher standard of living and in improving working conditions. They have helped to obtain safety and health measures against occupational risk; to achieve a larger degree of protection against child labor; to relieve the disabled, the sick, the unemployed; and to gain a more equitable share in the value of what they produce. These and other gains which labor unions have done much to win have reached far beyond their own membership and have benefited those who have not shared in the activity."

--- Report on "The Church and Industrial Relations", approved by the General Assembly, 1944

"The rapid growth of industry has brought management-labor problems to the fore in the south . . .

"This raises the question of the responsibility of the Church in relation to labor-management problems. Many denominations have made pronouncements pointing to the responsibility of the Church to claim both management and labor for Christ. Recognition has been made by several denominations of the right of labor to organize and of collective bargaining as a legitimate medium for determining wages, in which decisions are mutually and voluntarily reached."

--- General Assembly, 1950

"The right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively with employers is clearly an inalienable right in a democracy and has so been recognized by our Government."

--- Synod of Tennessee

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA

" . . . The Church must listen sympathetically to the leaders of organized labor and agriculture and the spokesmen of management and business."

--- General Assembly, 1950

"We consider it a duty for (union) members to attend union meetings and make their influence felt."

--- General Assembly, 1955

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

"We recognize the right of both employers and employees to organize for collective bargaining, and in connection with employees we believe that it is generally desirable to do so."

--- General Board, February 27, 1958

"We believe that collective bargaining can be and has proved to be a social instrument of great merit in preserving vital freedoms in our economy."

--- General Board, December 2, 1959

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

"We welcome the role of responsible trade unions in fighting exploitation and promoting a humane environment for workers, and also the growing cooperation between labor and management to increase the material resources available for human welfare."

--- Evanston, Illinois, 1954 Assembly

Representative_____

International Union_____

Address_____Phone_____

In the event of discharge in organizing campaigns the following information becomes tremendously important in order to complete investigation and the filing of charges with the National Labor Relations Board. Please complete and return to the above mentioned Union Representative.

UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICE CHARGES

I, _____, do solemnly state that my answers to the following questions are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

1. Print your name:_____

   Social Security Number_____Phone No._____

2. Street address_____

3. Name of Company involved_____

4. Address of Company_____

5. Name of Union involved in the case_____

6. How long did you work for Company_____

7. Date of your discharge, or lay-off; or last day worked_____

8. (a) What reason did Company give you for discharge or lay-off and what Company official gave this reason?

   (b) Was it in writing?_____.If so, attach the paper.

9. Record of your employment with Company:

   (a) When did you start work for Company?_____

   (b) What job did you start at?_____

   (c) How much pay did you get?_____

   (d) What shift did you work on?_____

   (e) Who was your boss?_____

   Who was boss over him?_____

(f) Did you receive any promotions and wage increases?_____

If so, when and why?_____

(g) Were you ever fired or laid off before by this Company?_____

If so, when and why?_____

10. At the time you were fired, laid off or demoted:

(a) In what department did you work?_____

(b) What was your job?_____

(c) What was your pay rate?_____

(d) What shift did you work?_____

(e) Who was your boss?_____

Who was boss over him?_____

11. Work record of person discriminated against:

(a) Did you ever act as foreman or boss?_____

(b) Were you ever chosen to do special jobs, new work, harder work than others, etc?_____. If so, describe the Jobs or work_____

_____

(c) Did your boss ever criticize your work?_____. If so, when, and what did he say?_____

_____

(d) Give the names and, if possible, the address of fellow employees who can tell about your work:_____

_____

_____

12. How many employees did the same kind of work you did?_____

How many employees belonged to or were active in the Union?_____

13. How many employees were laid off or discharged at the same time you were?_____

How many of those laid off or discharged with you either belonged to or were active in the Union?_____

14. (a) Is anyone now working on your job?_____

(b) If so, what is his name?_____

(c) Does he have more seniority than you?_____

15. Have any new workers been hired to do work similar to your work?_____

If so, about how many have been hired?_____

16. Is seniority followed by the Company in hiring and laying off?_____

If not, what plan is used in laying off and reinstating employees?_____

_____

17. Did you join the Union involved in this case?_____

18. If you joined the Union, when and how did you join?_____

_____

_____

19. Put a check mark opposite any Union work or activity which you did and give date. Check below--

_____Held Office Title of Office_____Date_____

_____Attended meetings How many?_____Date_____

_____Solicited members Whom, when and where?_____

_____

_____

_____Distributed Circulars Dates_____

_____Wore a union button. Date_____

_____Member of Shop Committee. Date_____

_____Handled Grievances. Date_____

_____Acted on picket duty. Date_____

_____Any other activities?_____If so, describe them:

_____

_____

20. (a) How did the Company or your bosses know you belonged to or were active in the Union? (Give details with names and dates involved.)

(b) Did you have any conversations with any of the bosses about the Union?_____. If so, give names and jobs of each boss, when and where it happened and what was said. (Give names and, if possible, addresses of anyone else who heard the conversation).

21. Did the company ever send you any leaflets and letters or make any speeches about the Union?_____. If so, attach copy of letter or leaflet, or give summary of what was said in speech describing when and where it was made and who heard it:

22. Did your boss ever criticize your union?_____

_____

23. Did any boss ever threaten you about your Union acticity?_____
If so, who was he and what did he say, when did he say it, and who heard it?

24. (a) Does the Union have an agreement with the Company?_____
(b) If so, when does the agreement expire?_____

IMPORTANT

If you have a copy of the agreement, send it in with this questionnaire. If you don't have a copy on hand but can get a copy, get one and send it to this office as soon as possible.

25. Did the Company practice any forms of discrimination other than lay-off discharge such as giving harder jobs to the Union workers or cutting their pay? (Give full details, names, etc.)

26. List the names (and addresses and phone numbers if you can) of any one else who can give information about the discrimination against you and the anti-union acts of the Company:

27. Since you were fired, laid off, or demoted, did you talk to any company bosses about your discharge, about being reinstated, or about the union?_____

If so, who was it?_____

What is his job?_____

When and where did you talk to him?_____

Who else was present?_____

What did the boss say and what did you say?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

28. Have you asked for your job back?_____

(a) When?_____

(b) Who did you talk with?_____

(c) What did he say?_____

29. Employment since discharge or lay-off:

(a) Where are you employed now?_____

(b) When did you begin work there?_____

(c) What kind of work do you do now?_____

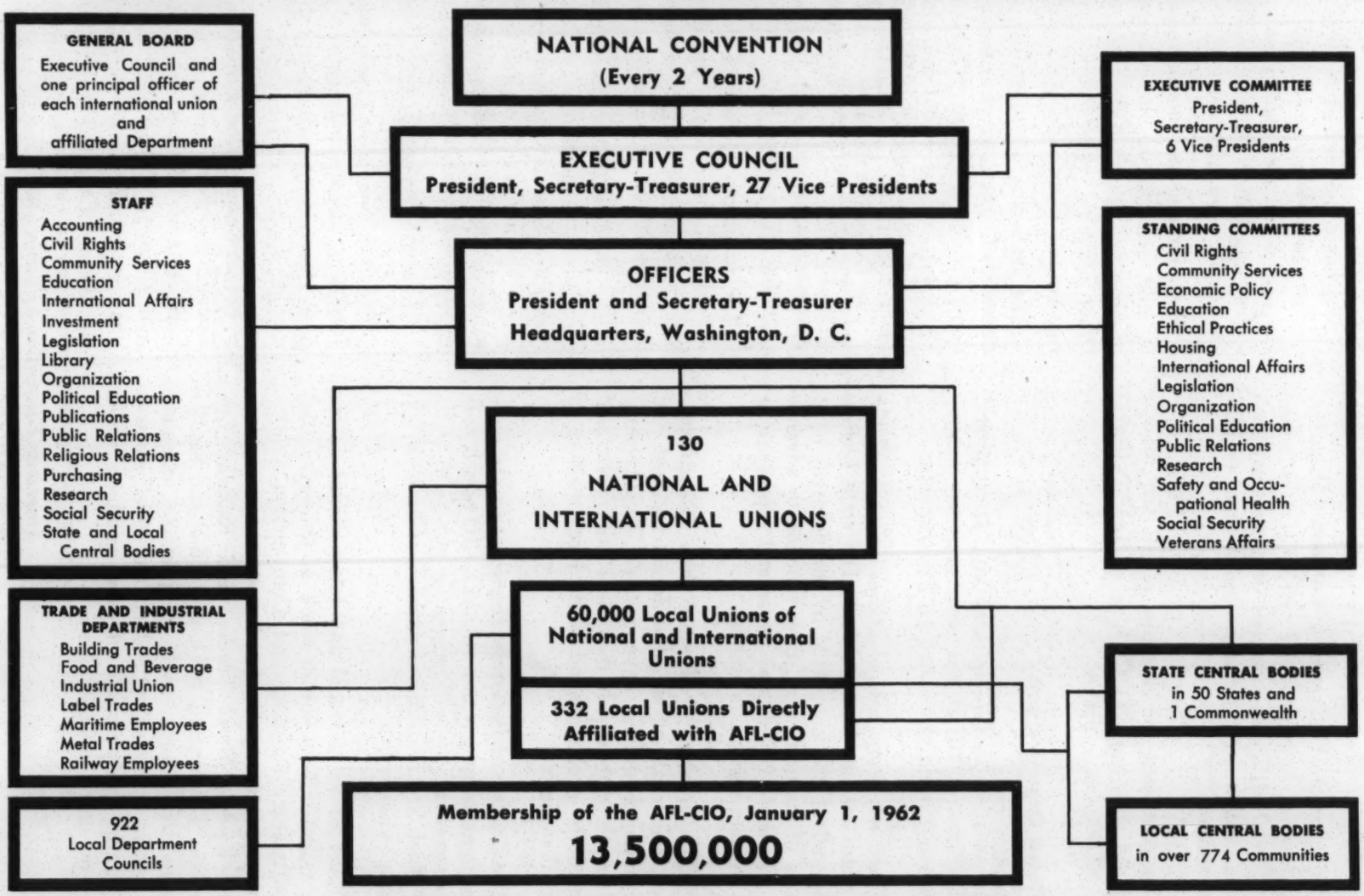
(d) What is your present rate of pay?_____

(e) Do you wish to go back to work for the Company against whom this charge is filed?_____

30. Give any other information that you think will be helpful in your case and <u>attach</u> all pay envelopes, pay vouchers, letters or any other papers connected with your job or discharge.

Date_____ Signed by_____

STRUCTURAL ORGANIZATION
of the
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS



April 8, 1964

MEMO TO: Ralph Huitt

FROM: Emory F. Via

I will be directing an institute for union staff members from the South, in Austin, Texas. The institute is co-sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education and the University of Texas (Extension Division and Economics Department).

I would greatly welcome your suggestions of persons in Texas, the South but especially at the University of Texas, who could do a first rate job in teaching political science type topics. Such courses would likely run to as much as a total of twenty hours split as seems best for topics and schedules.

The requirements that need to be met are not unlike our standards here: 1) that a person know something; 2) that he be able to impart it to adults; 3) that he understand something about unions. We further want such people to be conversant with general social developments in the South, especially in regards to racial relations.

Specific topics which may well be discussed include: political parties in the South; reapportionment; voting behavior; politics of minority groups; labor's role in politics; current appraisal of the presidential campaign; the role of pressure groups.

It would of course be beneficial to the institute to get as much teaching time from one good person as possible, but personal schedules are likely to cause us to use more than one instructor.

The institute will not be held until September 13 through October 9, 1964. However, the crucial planning for program and faculty will be done in the next week or two. An answer from you prior to that time, if at all possible, would be extremely helpful.

I would be remiss not to add that if you would welcome an expense paid week in Austin plus a nominal fee during this period (which I had not thought would fit your schedule), please let me know. Although I will be working through a committee regarding staffing, nothing would please me more if by some happy coincidence you would find it possible to participate.

Thanks for such help as you can give on this.

The University of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

June 5, 1964

Professor Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Ray:

Thanks for your letter. I am not sure from it, however, if you had a chance to discuss Olsen or anyone else with Bill Livingston. Could you let me know so that I will know whether to pursue Livingston's suggestions further.

Let's not make Olsen definite for the major course until we have had some word from Livingston.

I would think Powell and Weightman, if available, would be better on voting for our purposes than an "outside" political scientist.

Where can I reach you during June for phone consultation?

Sincerely,

Emery

Emery F. Via

EFV:skm

June 11

Emory:
I talked with Olson in terms of doing the major course and he agreed. However, he was reluctant to commit himself for that much time, so I am sure would agree to an alteration. I am going to be traveling over Mississippi and Louisiana during the rest of June — starting in about 30 minutes, so I suggest you contact Olson directly. I plan to return here July 1

Ray

June 22, 1964

Norris A. Hiett, Associate Dean
Division of Extension
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Hiett:

Thank you for your letter of June 17, and your approval of our plans for procedure on the selection of candidates for the Southern Staff Institute. As for the specific program, we hope to receive soon from Emory Via a detailed outline, including faculty. In the meantime, we have prepared, for promotional purposes, the enclosed preliminary program announcement, which I should have sent you earlier. I do appreciate your bringing this to my attention.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Enclosure

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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June 23, 1964

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
Extension Office - Stadium
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

I had hoped to hear from you before now about the final program and selection of faculty. How are you coming on this, and when will we hear from you.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter to Hiett. I trust you are in direct contact with him, and would like to suggest that you keep him informed just as much as possible.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
DIVISION OF EXTENSION
AUSTIN

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

BUREAUS
EXTENSION TEACHING AND FIELD SERVICE
INDUSTRIAL AND BUSINESS TRAINING
PACKAGE LOAN LIBRARY
PUBLIC SCHOOL SERVICE
VISUAL INSTRUCTION

June 26, 1964

Dr. Emory F. Via
School for Workers
University Extension Division
The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Dr. Via:

When you called me a few days ago you mentioned the possibility that you did want to have a reading improvement course as a part of the curriculum of the Southern Staff Institute. At that time I told you I did not believe we would find it difficult to find a competent person in Austin to instruct in this phase of the program.

It would be most helpful to me if you could let me know the specific objectives desired in the reading improvement program and the number of instructional hours you estimate it would take to meet these objectives. I will need this information in my preliminary contacts to secure an instructor.

If you have someone in mind for this assignment, do not hesitate to say so. If you prefer that I attempt to secure someone here, I will do so as soon as I have additional information from you.

I am looking forward to seeing you in September. If there is anything I can do for you prior to your arrival, please let me know.

L no word from Reg on Lib.

Sincerely yours,

Norris A. Hiett

Norris A. Hiett
Associate Dean

NAH:cw

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

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1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
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232-2770 232-2771

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JAMES E. NOE
JULES PAGANO
LAWRENCE ROGIN
BRENDAN SEXTON
GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

June 25, 1964

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
Extension Office - Stadium
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $158.73 to reimburse you for your trip to Washington in connection with the meeting of the Program Committee for our Southern Staff Institute.

I am slightly concerned about the delay in the final arrangements for our program. I will try to see George and Don today to put some heat on them in regard to their commitments.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Enclosure

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

Rec'd Hotel 7:30

A-C 202

Re: L.D. Wells, Jr.
TA 7 4760
Fisher Rd

June 30, 1964

Mr. Nat Wells
Mullinnux, Wells, ___, & ___ Law Firm
Dallas, Texas

Office
A.C. 214
RIverside 7 4656

Address

Dear Nat:

Emory Via is planning to follow-up on my phone conversation.

I hope you will let me know when in the next couple of weeks you are coming to Washington. I'll get ahold of Pollitt, Ellinger and we can have lunch together.

I really hope that you will move heaven and earth to clear your schedule so that you can teach.

Sincerely yours,

(dictated but not read)

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cmc
oeiu #2 afl-cio
cc: E.Via, University of Wisconsin

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 12

July 2, 1964

Dear Emory,

Just a note to let you know that I have returned from the Mississippi and Louisiana campaign. I must say that I went with fear and trembling but had very little difficulty. I have a note from Norris Hiett about books and secertarial services which I will discuss with him as soon as I can catch him. I am sure we can work out a satisfactory arrangment.

Best regards,

Ray

Ray Marshall

P. S. Did you get the matter of the political scientist straightened out? I still have not seen Dave Olsen.

July 6, 1964

Dr. Norris A. Hiett, Associate Dean
Division of Extension
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Dean Hiett:

We would still like to have you arrange for someone to teach a reading improvement course during the Southern Staff Institute. The course should be planned for ten hours during the first week of the Institute. I had been thinking of five two hour sessions; if it seemed more appropriate for the teaching techniques used to have ten one hour sessions, I am sure that this could be arranged.

We are not especially interested in producing speed readers. It is our hope through some concerted guidance and suggestions to improve the effectiveness of our students reading skills. I would underscore comprehension first and then speed only in so far as it is a concomittant of the former.

Our aims are relatively simple to state. Early in the institute we want our students to find out that they can read better than they thought. It is our hope that this lesson will be useful in getting them to read assigned and collateral materials throughout the Institute. It would be doubly useful if the materials used in the reading course could be related to the subject interest of the total program. I would suggest especially a consideration of a book in labor history such as Henry Pelling's American Labor, available in paperback from the University of Chicago Press at $1.25.

I think it will be important for the instructor to keep in mind that the participants will be adult union staff persons; they will probably have the equivalent of a high school education, but there will be great variety in this matter. Most of them will have been reading material directly related to their jobs, but on the whole probably very little else. I would not expect their reading skills to be high. However, I believe with the right course and instructor most of the students will show strong motivation for this kind of self improvement. Please let me know what you are able to arrange.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:nk
cc: Joseph Mire
George Guernsey

July 6, 1964

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director of NILE
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington 36, D.C.

Dear Joe:

The attached letter to Guernsey will let you know where we stand on the program. I've talked with both George and Don about pinning down the AFL-CIO instructors soon.

You will note that the amount budgeted for staff is now used up. I think we should have another several hundred dollars for leeway; this would be especially true if George is unable to come up with suitable people in the near future.

I cut Olsen's time in half. Marshall was reduced to 10 hours but will put in several more with Slaiman. Tibbetts will be paid only for the 10 hour course and not for any extra sessions. What we need mainly, if George comes through, is money for special speakers where compensation is required. Perhaps we will have an excess somewhere else in the budget. But both of us should be mindful of the problem.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:nk

July 6, 1964

Mr. George Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear George:

Enclosed is a tentative schedule for the Southern Staff Institute. You will note the program people who are not yet definite. In a few cases persons who have already been committed could be shifted, but our flexibility on this score is being cut rapidly. This will mean that we will have to offer fewer choices to members of the AFL-CIO staff as to when we would like to have them participate.

I am getting a bit antsy about nailing down the right guys from the AFL-CIO. Please let me hear some encouraging words on this front soon.

Look over the program and see if it meets our requirements in terms of pacing and balance in so far as practicalities will allow. Any suggestions for change should come to me right away. If we use all of the people indicated and for the amounts of time allotted, we would have fully used the money set aside for instructional costs. We will not have included such possible and worthy topics as "American Unions in Perspective" by Brendan Sexton; "Why We Can't Wait" (to give the gist of it), by a representative of a direct action group; and "One Community's Progress Report," by a school official from a desegregated school.

I would hope, also, that we might have a series of persons from the University talk for as much as an hour each on interpreting various fields of study in a lively and meaningful way. This could lead to visits to laboratories and other spots of interest. All this latter is by way of giving a feeling for what a university is as a palatable introduction to a variety of fields of inquiry. Perhaps we would not have to pay for any of these latter talks.

Hopefully, this letter will include copies of other correspondence of interest to you. Let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:nk
cc: Joseph Mire

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

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WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
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Area 202

July 8, 1964

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
Extension Office - Stadium
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of July 6. There are only two places we can draw on for additional funds for lecturers. One is Contingency, and the other is Scholarships. We are already drawing on the former for Committee expenses, which are in excess of what we had budgeted. I am hopeful, though, that we may not need the $500 we had set aside for scholarships.

George has been talking about a meeting in Chicago next Thursday of the four of us, that is you, Don, himself, and me. He may have been in touch with you by the time this letter reaches you. I have to be in Chicago on other NILE matters next Thursday anyway, and plan on going from there to Madison next Friday morning to see Bob, Don McNeil, and you, in case I don't see you the previous day in Chicago. Would you do me a favor, and check with both Don and Bob whether they will be able to see me on Friday of next week? I will be getting in there about 11:00 or 12:00 A.M., and leaving in the late afternoon of the same day.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe/bw

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 12

July 8, 1964

Professor Emory Via
Wisconsin School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

The enclosed letter is self explanatory. If you want to use Gray I suggest you contact him directly. I told him about the NILE Institute but have made no commitment to him.

Sincerely,

Ray

Ray Marshall
Professor

RM:gv

NORTH CAROLINA STATE
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT RALEIGH

July 8, 1964

SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE AND LIFE SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Dr. Emory F. Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Dr. Via:

I have had the visit with officials at Fisk University of which I spoke when you called a week or so ago. From all indications I am going to be pretty well tied up in a new program having to do with an "old" problem, namely, poverty. Thus, it will not be possible for me to participate in the program in Austin, Texas. I regret this very much but the timing is not good for me. Thanks very much for the invitation and best wishes for a good school.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian W. Henderson
Visiting Professor

VWH:ms

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

July 10, 1964

Professor Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin 12, Texas

Dear Ray:

I was glad to see a copy of your letter to Emory Via about reading materials for the 1964 NILE Texas Institute. You are right in that I certainly have a different opinion about how much our staff members will read and how clearly this has to be related to the class discussions. (Notice that I say that I have a different opinion and not a "lower" one.) I think that some of the earlier NILE institutes made serious mistakes in the reading assignments.

There is a good deal of work that needs to be done in finding the kinds of materials on the topics being covered at the Texas school that are not geared to college students but to adult working men and women in the labor movement. It may be that these materials have not been prepared and we will have to use the best we can get. We need to do much more work in the labor movement and in universities to get a proper set of readings in some of the basic fields such as economics, political science, sociology, and psychology.

I think I told you that I sent McGill's book, The South and The Southerner, to all of the delegates who attended the North Carolina Institute, asked them to read the book and return to me three questionnaires which dealt with different chapters in the book. Then we used McGill at Atlanta with the delegates to discuss his book. I felt that all of them had read at least half of the book and half of the delegates had read the whole book. I don't think that one member in ten selected for the Texas Institute would read The Mind of the South. *

I was glad to see that you'll be starting off our program at Texas. I plan to be there at that time, and I'm looking forward to working with you.

continued . . .

* without the kind of planning.

Again, thanks for a copy of your letter.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education, AFL-CIO

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio
cc: E.Via, University of Wisconsin

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
DIVISION OF EXTENSION
AUSTIN

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

BUREAUS
EXTENSION TEACHING AND FIELD SERVICE
INDUSTRIAL AND BUSINESS TRAINING
PACKAGE LOAN LIBRARY
PUBLIC SCHOOL SERVICE
VISUAL INSTRUCTION

July 13, 1964

Dr. Emory F. Via
School for Workers
University Extension Division
The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Dr. Via:

Your letter of July 6 provides exactly the information needed to make arrangements for the ten-hour reading course. I have checked with Mr. Arthur J. Edwards, Assistant Director of our Industrial Education Department, who (along with members of his staff) has taught this course, and ascertained that the standard fee is $12.50 per student. Thus, if we had 25 students, it will be $312.50. This money would go directly into our Industrial Education Department, which is conducted, as you know, on a non-profit basis. I strongly recommend that we do this as these men have considerable experience in working with adult male groups.

If you will let me know if you approve this course of action, I will so advise Mr. Edwards, and we will secure a copy of Pelling's American Labor so that specific preparation may be made for the course.

Sincerely yours,

Norris

Norris A. Hiett
Associate Dean

NAH:cw

July 28, 1964

Professor Sam Cook
Department of Political Science
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cook:

We talked sometime ago about your participation in a Southern Union Staff Training Institute to be held in Austin, Texas. I would have been in touch with you again but we have been in the throes of deciding to postpone the Institute until after the general election. As of now it is hoped that the program can be rescheduled for January or February. A final decision on dates will be made before too long.

There is some chance that my own schedule will be such that I will not be able to direct the program at a later date. However, I am sure that your talents will be wanted in the new program as well. I hope that you will give a further invitation to participate in the Institute your most favorable attention. Those persons working on the new program for the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO will know that you and I discussed two sessions on Southern politics one of which would have been largely on the G.O.P. in the South.

I trust that it will not be too long before someone will be in touch with you and that you will be able to take part in the new program.

I'm still looking forward to meeting you either in Atlanta or elsewhere.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director for N.I.L.E. of the
Southern Union Staff Institute

cc: George Guernsey
Joseph Mire
EFV:skm

July 28, 1964

Dr. Norris A. Hiett, Associate Dean
Division of Extension
The University of Texas
Austin 12, Texas

Dear Dean Hiett:

I trust that the postponement of the Southern Staff Institute has not upset your arrangements too greatly. I wanted to write so you would understand that the decision to postpone had delayed my response in the matter of a reading instructor. We might wish to modify the original request so that the reading instruction could be spread over two weeks -- ten, one-hour sessions. But we will not make final arrangements until the new schedule is set.

Your letter raised one question of some embarrassment to me as director in charge of securing faculty. Some of the people whom we have hired would normally charge substantially more for their services than the fee of $25.00 per hour set by the University. This is especially true of those coming long distances. However, their interest in the program and my explanation that we are "stuck" with a flat fee from the University has been enough to secure them in most instances. I would find it most uncomfortable then to turn around and pay a University program person at a higher rate. Can something be done about this? I make this request even though I know the fees charged are on a non-profit basis. For all my knowledge of the practicalities of extension programs and their financing, I do not believe that I could justify this discrepancy.

I trust that the new arrangements and schedules will soon be worked out and that a really worthwhile institute will emerge soon after the first of the year. Thanks for your cooperation and help during this first round.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director for N.I.L.E. of the
Southern Union Staff Institute

cc: George Guernsey
Joseph Mire
EFV:gab

The University of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

July 29, 1964

Mr. John G. Field, Director
Community Relations Service
United States Conference of Mayors
1707H Street, N.W.

Dear John:

It is with real regret that the decision has been made to postpone the Southern Union Staff Training Institute which was to have been held in Austin during September and October of this year. It was the considered opinion of the participating unions, the AFL-CIO education department, and N.I.L.E. that the Institute be held at a later date. I fully concurred in the decision. The Institute is now being planned for either January or February -- long enough after the election to allow for its evaluation in the context of the interests of the Institute program. A final decision is dependent upon satisfactory physical arrangements in Austin. Firm dates should be set in the near future. I wanted you to know as soon as possible that we would not be using your time this fall.

It is our hope that we will be able to keep the same faculty intact for the rescheduled sessions. We feel that the program and faculty already arranged are excellent. I trust that you will do everything possible to make yourself available when the new schedule is announced. Someone will be in touch with you representing the National Institute of Labor Education regarding your participation. I feel you agree with me that the Institute is an important undertaking for the labor movement in the South.

I am very sorry for any personal inconvenience that this schedule change may have caused you. I was delighted to have had you agree to be with us in Austin and it is my sincere hope that nothing will now prevent your participating in the Institute.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director for N.I.L.E. of the
Southern Union Staff Institute

cc: George Guernsey
Joseph Mire
Emory Via
EFV:sim

Copies of the attached letter were sent to the following persons:

Mr. John G. Field, Director
Community Relations Service
United States Conference of Mayors

25¢, inform

Mr. L.N.D. Wells, Jr.
Mullinax, Wells, Morris and Mauzy

Mr. Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas

25¢, inform

Mr. Dave Olsen
Department of Political Science
University of Texas

25¢ inform

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

25¢ inform

Mr. Norris Tibbetts
Associate Professor
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin

25¢ inform

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July 31, 1964

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
Extension Office - Stadium
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is a memo on the change in dates for the Southern Staff Institute.

As you know, we are all very anxious to have you continue as the Staff Director. Please let us know at your earliest convenience whether there is any chance that you might at least be with us for half of the time - that is, two weeks. I also wonder, since you have already almost completed the program and staff arrangements, whether you would be willing to continue getting both in shape for the new date.

If there is anything we can do here to bring about a positive decision at your place, I trust you will let us know.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw
cc: G. Guernsey

Enclosure

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

August 7, 1964

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

I'm going to talk to Don Slaiman on Monday about coming out to Madison on Tuesday or Wednesday. (Right now I feel that it probably is not worth it.) Joe Mire and I had lunch together and talked over problems that have originated out of the change in the date of the Institute. I certainly hope that you will agree to this minimum of follow-up on completing the program (I'm getting a memo around to all of the labor people involved.) and being at the Institute for at least the first two weeks. If this isn't possible, I think we are in the soup.

If after talking to Don on Monday I change my mind, I'll call you to see when we could meet in Madison. I'm also going to call Vivian Henderson and give him an extra push in trying to participate in the Institute now that the date has been changed. If we don't meet next week, I think we should try to meet sometime in September; I assume that this would be easier for you and for me, but I don't know about Don.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio
cc: Joe Mire, NILE

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

August 6, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO : AFL-CIO Education Directors (State Body & International Union)

FROM : George T. Guernsey, Assistant Director
AFL-CIO Department of Education

SUBJECT: 2ND NILE SOUTHERN STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

The NILE Southern Staff Training Institute, which was to have been held September 13 to October 9 at the Austin Hotel, Austin, Texas, has been changed to January 31 through February 28, 1965. (The program will still be held at the University of Texas. Delegates will be housed at the Stephen Austin Hotel.) The date of the Institute was changed because of the National election.

If any of you are interested in more information than you have already received, please write me.

All applications from Southern staff members have to be in by the 1st of December, 1964.

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

September 15, 1964

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

I spoke to Vivian Henderson about a week ago. He thinks it will be possible for him to participate in the NILE program in Texas. I left it that someone would get in touch with him around November 5th.

I also spoke to Nat Wells who was in Washington last week for some meeting. He understands that the program will be revised and that he may teach the second or third week, depending on what we need. Hank Brown was at the lunch table with Nat when I spoke to him and expressed a great interest in the staff training program.

I'm sorry I didn't get a chance to see you on Monday, August 31st, in Washington. However, I'm sure we can get together after you have heard from the University of Chicago and some of my pressures have lifted.

Fraternally yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cme
oeiu #2 afl-cio
cc: Joe Mire, NILE

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BRENDAN SEXTON
GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

September 23, 1964

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
Extension Office - Stadium
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of September 18. In the meantime, George sent me a copy of his letter to you which crossed in the mail with mine. I talked briefly to Bob Ozanne in Chicago about this matter, and he assured me that the School for Workers will make every effort to make it possible for you to be with us at the Institute for at least two weeks. I know how you feel about this matter, but trust it can be arranged without impairing staff relationships at the School for Workers.

Let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw
cc: George Guernsey

September 29, 1964

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
Suite 300
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

You are correct in surmising from conversations with Bob that it would be possible for me to work out my schedule problems for the Texas institute. However, I am wholly unwilling to commit myself to any further time whatsoever until it is clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that I am completely out of the woods regarding my own degree responsibilities.

I state the problem this strongly because this matter must take precedence over all others except my responsibilities to the University. I let the first round of planning for the Southern Institute interfere with my paper far more than was wise. I still would not expect to even guess at the possibilities until after the election, if then.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:bjr

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JAMES E. WOLFE

October 12, 1964

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

I can't, in all honesty, say that I enjoyed receiving your letters of September 29 and October 9. Soon after we decided to postpone our Institute I wrote to you (July 31) and asked you for a specific reply to two questions:

1. Could you complete the arrangements for program and faculty; and

2. Could you spend at least two weeks at the Institute.

You did not reply to my letter until September 18. As for the messages passed on to me through Slaiman and Guernsey, they all seemed to focus on one point; namely, that your major problem was your own staff relations at the School for Workers. It was only last week that I learned from George Guernsey that you were concerned about getting your academic work at Chicago out of the way. Of course, I appreciate your situation, and of course, we shall now make other arrangements for the Institute.

I will be in touch with you, I hope soon, to settle our financial obligations.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

cc: George Guernsey

October 16, 1964

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director of NILE
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Suite 300
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

I guess an attempt on my part to clarify the differences between our understandings of my situation re Southern Institute runs the risk of aggravating matters further. I will take this risk in the hope for a better understanding all around. I will attempt only to clarify a part of the unwritten record, because I suspect that it is here that our perceptions differed about what was happening. We discussed my availability at length when you were in Madison and during the time when the decision was being made to postpone the Institute. I never committed myself to any further time in Texas, but did say that I would advise and do what I could to help out. I later said that I would consider the two weeks proposal but could make no definite committment. As to program, I thought we later had come to a three-way agreement, but perhaps it was only between George and me, that the program was far enough along that he could pretty well finish up without too much trouble.

Joe, I thought the discussion about money, on the way to the airport, made it clear that we were each free of formal responsibility to the other unless some further arrangement was made. I said that N.I.L.E. would have no monetary obligation to me except for expenses. Later you suggested that if there was some money left over, N.I.L.E. would like to reimburse me for services rendered. I do not think that N.I.L.E. now owes me anything - technically or morally - for my services. I do have about ten dollars of unclaimed expenses.

The tone of my letters was strong because it seemed to me that it was being assumed I would be able to perform, when I thought I had made it crystal clear that my situation was such that I could make no firm committment. Your letter of September 30 looked like a new expansion of responsibilities beyond what I said I would <u>consider</u> but to which I could not commit myself until sometime in November. What I did not realize was that our letters crossed in the mail. Of course, if you had seen my letter of the 29th or had my view of my position, you would not have written the letter of September 30th. Your letter of the 30th was received quite late. Perhaps, in the meantime, you received some word from George.

I am sorry, of course, if there were misunderstandings of reports brought back by Don and George. We are all busy people with many pressures on us at a given time - a recognition which perhaps should have led me to get some written memo to you summarizing what had been said. I had always thought we were only discussing - when School for Workers schedule was being considered - my availability <u>on the grounds</u> in Texas. Any committment to program planning was either voluntary or

wholly conditional upon my actually being available, which could be determined only well into the fall.

Joe, I hope this letter helps clarify matters -- at least how I arrived at my own understanding of the situation. A cloud of misunderstanding between us would disturb me very much. I had hoped all along that I was making my position known so that relying on my availability would not jeopardize the program. Certainly, I must have been a part of this failure in communication, but I do not think the program will be jeopardized in fact, but will emerge as another very worthy N.I.L.E. project.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:bjr

I hope for no more than our mutual understanding of how we could come out to such different positions. I don't think we need to prolong the discussion further.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

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EMORY VIA, SCHOOL FOR WORKERS UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

825 EXTENSION BLDG MADISON WIS

POSSIBLE TO MEET ON NILE INSTITUTE PROGRAM IN CHICAGO ON NOVEMBER 19TH? CALL ME AT CARILLON HOTEL, MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

GEORGE GUERNSEY AFL CIO 815 16TH ST NW WASHINGTONDC

19 815 16 NW

(55).

262-2111 Je

R By AVZOP To be Med

D- 17866

I am sure that each of the other members of the faculty will have some suggestions that will fit in with what they want to do. Unfortunately, there are no brief statements of economic development in the South. I think one of the most readable and best works by a reputable economist is W. H. Nicholls, Southern Tradition & Regional Progress, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, though this is a hardback, and sells for $5.00 C. Vann Woodwards Origins of the New South, Louisiana State University Press is real good, but is also expensive and perhaps too formidable. Lucy Mason's To Win These Rights is good and readable and mainly about her experiences with the CIO in the South.

I am sure George Guernsey would disagree with me about many of these things and make other suggestions. He seems to have a somewhat lower opinion than I do about how much the participants can absorb and at what level. He, of course understands much more about these matters.

Let me know if I can be of additional assistance. I will be back in town in July and here for most of the remainder of the summer.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Ray

Ray Marshall

P.S. I will write you again only if Olsen declines. RM

January 3, 1965

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 36, D.C.

Dear Joe:

Each of these except Frank Wallace and John Early has been sent (1) my letter, (2) map, (3) transportation schedule, and (4) folder on the University of Georgia Center.

Early's letter is enclosed and can be sent out if you and George agree.

Enclosed are 10 copies of the enclosures and a copy of my letter.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

April 19, 1965

Professor Clara Penniman, Chairman
Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin
Campus

Dear Clara:

I mentioned to you the other day that I was actively considering requesting leave for one year to direct a labor education-race relations effort in the South. I have now decided to request such a leave to begin on September 1, 1965. Official action will not be taken on my request for at least two weeks; however, I know of no obstacle to its being granted.

This decision has not been easy to make for I genuinely looked forward to the prospect of teaching in the department next fall. I am more than a little embarassed at the turn of events since I initiated the discussions in the first place. Your assurance that you had someone coming in to cover the constitutional law area eased things for me a bit.

I greatly appreciate your interest in this matter and your cooperation in attempting to work out a teaching schedule. Let me say for the record that I hope that an arrangement can still be worked out at some future date.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor of
Labor Education

EFV:bjr

April 20, 1965

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director of NILE
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Suite 300
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Enclosed is a copy of my request for leave. I know of no obstacle to its going through, but it will be two weeks before the department takes official action. I would assume the remaining steps are simply procedural.

I have written to Les so that he knows where the matter now stands.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:bjr

Enclosure

May 19, 1965

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
Suite 300
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

I was sorry to hear about the Stern Foundation action.

The department here has approved my leave request. I understand that the Extension administration will be no obstacle. It should go routinely through the Regents, I would suppose.

I will be interested to hear what took place regarding the building trades and the training project.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:bjr

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May 24, 1965

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
University Extension Division
The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your note of May 19. There are still one or two places we haven't heard from yet and therefore I wouldn't give up hope. I'm pleased to know that prospects for your leave of absence look good.

I had to postpone my trip to Atlanta and shall now meet with Les and Paul June 1.

I suppose your query on the building trades and the training project refers to the story in the New York Times. Actually, this is "old hat" because the action referred to in the article was taken last November. As you know, vocational education really has never been considered a part of labor education and we went into this project only on specific request of the Building Trades Department. The end came when the electricians, and especially the plumbers, unions refused to participate in the program, primarily because they strongly feel that the Government should not interfere in any manner in the apprenticeship program.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:d

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JAMES E. WOLFE

June 30, 1965

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Just a brief note to say that our Board meeting, scheduled for next week, has been canceled, and I will therefore be able to meet with you in Atlanta. I have to go to Athens for a final meeting on finances anyway, but would like to meet with you and Les first. Please let me know at your earliest convenience when you are planning to be in Atlanta.

I am sending you tomorrow some of the correspondence we have had with the University of Georgia, and also a copy of a memo on a meeting held here two weeks ago with Don Slaiman and George Guernsey.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

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JAMES E. WOLFE

July 1, 1965

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Enclosed we are sending you the following:

A copy of my memo to the files April 15 on my first visit to Athens;

A copy of Chester Leathers letter to me of April 16;

A copy of my Memo to the Files of June 17 on the meeting with Don Slaiman and George Guernsey;

A copy of my letter to Chester Leathers of June 16; and

Finally, copies of two letters from George Guernsey dated June 18.

I trust you got my letter of yesterday, and look forward to hearing from you about the date of your trip to Atlanta. I have a meeting here at American University in the morning of the 7th, but could leave later in the day and be on hand for a meeting on Thursday, July 8.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Enclosures

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JAMES E. WOLFE

July 12, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Enclosed I am sending you a copy of my letter to Paul Anthony. I hope it jibes with your recollection of our discussions.

It does not look good for a reduction of the registration fee which the University of Georgia wants to charge. We expect to have final word within the next two weeks. If we have to pay the $800, the money will have to come from the Scholarship Fund ($500) and other savings. As soon as we hear from the University, we shall draw up a line item budget for the Southern Staff Institute. You will have to watch expenditures, including those of Committees; e.g., Ray Marshall is a very busy man, and may well prefer consultation by mail to traveling East.

No word yet from Taconic. According to a letter from the Whitney Foundation, our proposal for Disadvantaged Unionists will be considered by them late in the fall.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Enclosure

NILE 1965-1966

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
232-2770 232-2771

DEAD

NILE

SSF

July 12, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here is a summary of my discussions with you and Emory Via of last Thursday and Friday:

1. Southern Staff Institute:

You have agreed to have Emory Via function as Director of our Institute scheduled for January 9, 1966 to February 4, 1966, at Athens, Georgia. His responsibilities will include making arrangements for program and faculty, discussions with the University of Georgia, full-time attendance at the Institute for at least two weeks, and the writing of an evaluation report.

?

NILE will reimburse the Southern Regional Council for released time in the amount of $1,500, with the understanding that this money be added to the $18,000 already on hand for our Southern Union Education Project (Disadvantaged Unionists).

?

We shall, of course, expect to reimburse Emory Via directly for cash outlays, that is attendance at Committee meetings, travel to and from Athens, and room and board during his stay at the Institute.

2. Southern Union Education Project: (Disadvantaged Unionists)

We have agreed to have this project, for which we received a grant of $18,000 from the Stern Foundation, implemented jointly by NILE and SRC, the project to be located at the headquarters of SRC and directed by Emory Via. SRC will assume complete responsibility for program direction and execution while NILE will assist to whatever extent necessary in contacts with unions, with the Office of Economic Opportunity, and other consultative services. We expect to receive a report from you at the end of the project.

The following budget has been tentatively agreed on:

Salary of Project Director:	$10,000 to $14,500	
Secretary (half time):	$ 2,500	
Social Security and Employee Benefits:	$ 1,000 to $ 1,360	
Travel:	$ 4,000	
Office Supplies, Telephone, and Office Equipment:	$ 1,000	
* Scholarship Fund:	$ 3,000	
	$21,500 to	$26,360
Grant Received from Stern Foundation:	$18,000	
NILE Reimbursement for Southern Staff Institute:	$ 1,500	
	$19,500	$19,500
BALANCE NEEDED FOR ONE YEAR OPERATION:		$ 6,860

*While unions and the individuals involved will be expected in most cases to defray the costs of materials and instruction, this fund will enable us to help in meritorious cases where neither the union nor the individual student is able to participate in the program without outside help.

The above budget is tentative, and will be replaced if:

a) we should succeed in raising additional funds for this proposal. (NILE still has applications pending with the Wm. C. Whitney Foundation - which will be acted on late this fall - and with the Sloan Foundation; or

b) the grant for our proposal on Human Relations Institutes comes through and if it should be considered desirable to combine the two projects under the direction of Emory Via.

As for the fiscal arrangements, we have considered the following alternatives, without, as yet, arriving at a final conclusion:

a) For NILE to make a grant to SRC in the full amount, that is $18,000, minus some cash expenditures which we have incurred for travel and telephone in the amount of approximately $170.

b) For NILE to handle all financial matters, and make payments in line with requisitions from Emory Via and/or you.

c) For NILE to make a grant to SRC covering all items except Scholarship Funds, the latter to be disposed of by NILE in line with recommendations from SRC.

I want to reiterate that as far as we are concerned we are willing to entertain any of the three alternatives listed above.

As you will note, we have omitted any overhead from the tentative budget. We have done so in view of the reduced size of the grant, and the need to stretch the funds as far as possible. Obviously we shall reserve the right to reconsider this matter if we succeed in raising additional funds for the project, or if we decide to combine the project with the Human Relations Proposal.

We may have to clear our understanding with you on the Southern Union Education Project with the Stern Foundation, depending on the financial arrangements which we finally agree upon.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

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July 26, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

1) Enclosed is a copy of the letter received from Dick Leathers. Obviously we will have to pay the $800. I am still negotiating with him on making the $800 the maximum charge, so that we don't have to pay even more if our enrollment should exceed 20.

I just wonder when we should start on publicity for the Institute - presumably not later than early September. However, it would help if we could give some ideas on the program in our first letter. For this reason, we might first need a meeting of the Program Committee. I believe I told you that I will be leaving September 6 for Europe. Is there any chance that you could call a meeting of the Program Committee for say August 26 or 27th? We could hold it either here or in Atlanta, whichever is more convenient for you and Leathers. (Slaiman is available on the above dates, and he doesn't care whether the meeting is held here or in Atlanta.)

2) We still have, as you know, an application with the Whitney Foundation in New York on our Southern Union Education Proposal. I saw the Executive Director of the Foundation last Friday, and we should have final word from them within two weeks or so. I am slightly encouraged by his response.

No

3) I also spoke to Mrs. Eddy of Taconic over the phone, and finally learned that they approved $15,000 each for two years towards our Human Relations Education Proposal. We should receive the formal letter, she said, within a few days.

After Sept

I used this information to write another letter to Leslie Paffrath (see enclosure).

Do let me hear from you soon on the meeting of the Program Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw
cc: P. Anthony

P.S. I just spoke to George Guernsey. He isn't sure he can make a meeting on the 26th or 27th of August, but suggested instead August 30. He has talked to Slaiman about it. How would that work out for you? Will you check with Leathers on it?

I talked to George about Ray Marshall, and he fully agreed that we need not have him on the Committee, but rely on consultation by phone or mail.

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ALBERT J. HAYES — JAMES E. WOLFE

July 26, 1965

Mr. Leslie Paffrath, President
The Johnson Foundation
Racine Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Paffrath:

On March 16 we sent you a copy of our proposal titled "Human Relations Education within Labor Organizations". In the meantime, there have been two important developments:

1. Professor Emory Via of the University of Wisconsin, who will be on leave of absence beginning September 1, 1965, has agreed to direct the program. He will be located at the headquarters of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. As we have indicated previously, the SRC is jointly sponsoring the project.

2. The Taconic Foundation has agreed to contribute $15,000 a year for two years towards the cost of this project, which means we need a grant in approximately the same amount to operate the project for two years.

We would appreciate very much hearing from you at your earliest convenience as to whether our proposal is still being considered by your Foundation, and what the chances are for a favorable consideration. If you need any additional information, we shall be glad to furnish it.

We shall be grateful to hear from you soon.

Very sincerely yours,

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 3, 1965

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
Suite 300
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 36, D.C.

Dear Joe:

Since your letter of July 12, I have given considerable thought to our various plans, or possible plans. This is to react to your letter, our conversations, and the programs in general. But, I should still like to consider all suggestions tentative until the fund situation becomes clearer and until we have an opportunity to install Emory here and get the full benefit of his thinking.

Most important, the program about which I have the greatest concern and in which SRC is most interested and committed to is the one which NILE and SRC have agreed to co-sponsor: the Human Relations Project. With the Taconic grant and other possibilities -- including Johnson -- we can be reasonably certain of at least one year of full operation. All of our considerations should be based on this fact.

The arrangement for Emory to direct the Athens program seems to me good. However, it should be clear that the agreed upon $1,500 is the payment to SRC for these services. These funds might go toward supporting the Disadvantaged Unionists Project or into the budget of the Human Relations Project, or into some related labor needs. But I think the agreement for Emory to direct the project and the compensation to SRC should be clear and separate from any other program, and a matter to be considered after other plans are made.

We should continue to explore the idea of our directing the Disadvantaged Unionists Project. Now obviously it should be thought of in cooperation with the Human Relations Project. Also, after considerable reflection, I think that we cannot undertake any commitment

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

to the Disadvantaged Unionists Project which exceeds the amount of money which NILE can provide. It would be endless trouble for us to have any fund-raising responsibility here (we have too much of that now and have to look for ways to cut costs, not make additional commitments). And, it would be just as bad for us to undertake a project expecting you to raise additional funds. Our role here should be that of a contractor: you telling us how much money is available and we reacting with a program we can offer for that amount.

On the other hand, over one-half of your proposed budget for the DUP is for the salary of the project director. Obviously, there can be an opportunity here for economy, because Emory will be directing both. This opens up many possibilities for us.

I hope that shortly after September 1, you, Emory, and I can get together to move these considerations along and that soon thereafter we can complete them.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Emory Via

Emory: Get the devil in Jim here & straighten out all this. Please!
Paul

August 4, 1965

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Could you please send me a copy of the evaluation and report on the last N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute. I do not believe I received one and I am sure it will assist our planning for the next round.

I hope to talk with Slaiman today here in Madison.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Associate Professor
of Labor Education

EFV:bjr

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
232-2770 232-2771

August 9, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of August 3. I fully appreciate your concern and have no quarrel with the suggestion that we consider all current recommendations and agreements as tentative understandings for the time being. Some of the uncertainties may be cleared up within the next two or three weeks and allow us to arrive at more definite conclusions. I have been trying to get a reply from the Johnson Foundation, but Les Paffrath, the Executive Director, is off on a vacation, and is not expected to return until August 15. I shall get in touch with him over the phone then. I also hope to hear, perhaps before the end of this week, from the Whitney Foundation. Did Ford take any action on your program at the last meeting?

I will be available for a meeting as late as September 3, although, of course I would prefer August 30 or 31. I am in contact on this with Emory Via, since we also need a meeting of the Program and Faculty Committees on the Southern Staff Institute before I leave on vacation.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw
cc: Emory Via

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August 9, 1965

Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

This is in reply to your letters of August 2 and August 4, which must have crossed in the mail with our letter to you of July 30. I trust you have received, in the meantime, our budget recommendations for the third Southern Staff Institute as well as Doris Gibson's report. You have probably also received a copy of Paul Anthony's letter to me dated August 3. I am enclosing a copy of my reply, mailed today. There is, I trust, no reason why we couldn't try to combine the two meetings and hold them both in Atlanta. Slaiman and Guernsey are both willing to make the trip, and both are available on August 30, or if necessary, on the 2nd or 3rd of September.

F. Upchurch?

Christopher
Brewer
Becker
Ramsay

Don Slaiman spoke to me last week about the Human Relations Project, and the one for Disadvantaged Unionists. He has some concern about our plan to have the labor members of the Southern Regional Council function as an Advisory Committee to these projects. Barney Weeks and Hank Brown are both elected officials, and he wouldn't think they would have the time or the knowledge to contribute too much. He also says that Kehrer is no longer on the Board. Will you give this matter some consideration? It could be handled in two ways:

a) SRC could co-opt some good labor educators to serve on their Board; or else

b) establish jointly with NILE a separate Advisory Committee.

We can, of course, discuss this with Paul in Atlanta.

Please let me say in conclusion that I fully appreciate your current predicament, and hope you won't worry too much about the pressure we are putting on you. It is a real satisfaction to know that you will be in charge of these programs which are of such crucial importance.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw
Enc.

October 7, 1965

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director
National Institute of
Labor Education
Suite 300
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Welcome back! I trust that the trip abroad was a great success.

I think that the staff institute is coming along in good shape. George is at work on recruitment and can give you a more refined report in that area. Al Kehrer and I have visited Athens to firm arrangements for particular rooms and to meet with faculty persons there. The arrangements generally look to be quite good. The program is not set except for several key commitments by faculty that they will participate or that they will if matters of timing can be ironed out. The program will be in substantially better shape early next week.

I do not recall saying that I would develop an operational plan for discussion on "the two other programs." I take it that you are referring to the intermediate union leader-human relations project (Taconic and matching funds) and the disadvantaged unionists proposal (Stern Family Fund, etc.).

I am working steadily on the human relations project but think it would be unwise to lay out any detailed plan of operation at this juncture. Of course, ideas and leads are most welcome, and I feel sure that

there will be many opportunities to discuss programs and procedures with appropriately concerned individuals. I have been in the process of becoming re-acclimated and developing contacts.

It is my hope that we will have one seminar of some sort prior to the staff institute. My feeling is that it would provide us with a certain amount of experience which we can use with the staff group. But you will hear more on this as matters progress.

As to the disadvantaged unionists project, you will recall that the Council's response was that it would entertain any concrete proposal from NILE which indicated what was wanted and how much money was available. The Council would then say how much and what kind of program it would undertake. For many reasons, this would need to be more on a "contract" basis than on the basis of a joint undertaking.

Two other factors, you may remember, enter into this picture. The Council is not in a position to engage in a joint fund raising project for this program. Secondly, the Council has not had a policy of accepting federal funds. The situation might be different if the money, no matter its origin, came to the Council on a contract with NILE. You will recall further that I told you that the Council's role would have to be restricted to southern projects. There would perhaps be an outside chance that I could personally give you some assistance in coordinating and evaluating non-southern projects. But I would not be able to assume program responsibility nor assist in any substantial way in the recruitment of personnel. You would, of course, be better off not to have to rely on me for the non-southern portion of the project.

In any case, our response on the disadvantaged unionist project will have to await a definite proposal from you. Personally, I think that the original proposal which Stern underwrote had much merit. I like the possibility of offering a wide range of labor educational services as a way of getting group interest and meeting the problems at hand.

The Council should have official word from Ford soon. I believe that this is a matter about which you can feel relaxed. However, I urge you not to spread my opinion on this. We should hear on this before long.

We certainly look forward to word from you about the Johnson Foundation.

I will keep you informed of developments here. Let us know what you want to do about the disadvantage unionists project. My own opinion, which you have heard before, is that Stern would be happy to see the project materialize without matching funds so long as they knew that the envisioned programs were being executed. In case the OEO proposal goes badly, you might wish to keep this in mind. I take it that you should wait until after you hear from OEO before propositioning the Council. If you feel that I can be of any assistance in this matter, I would of course be happy to help out.

Best wishes in your return to work.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

PA
EV

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General

October 11, 1965

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of October 7. I am pleased to know that the Southern Staff Institute is moving along well on your side. I am disappointed, though, with the delay in our publicity here, that is to say, the letters to union presidents and union education directors, which according to our original schedule should have gone out by September 15, will, I hear, go out early this week - almost a month late. I hope this won't hurt the recruiting.

You are correct on the proposal for Disadvantaged Unionists. We shall make a definite proposal to you on this as soon as I know the fate of our application with OEO. They have had a chance now to review our proposal, and have scheduled a meeting with me for this Wednesday. I shall keep you informed.

We do need a similar understanding on the Human Relations Proposal, since this, too, started as a NILE project. I remember asking you for a recommendation on how this project could best be conducted, and my recollection is that you said you might send one. We need some understanding before we proceed too far. We shall be happy to consider any recommendation which assures the efficiency and success of the project. The financial arrangements also have to be agreed on, including the question of how to divide the overhead. Will you please give this matter your kind and immediate attention.

Lest there be any misunderstanding, let me state again how pleased we are about the association with you and the SRC in the conduct of these two projects, but we should not neglect certain formalities, in order to avoid difficulties later on.

I hope all is well with you and your family.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

SSH

JM:bw

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November 3, 1965

Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

George just told me of his discussions with you. Since he and Don want to meet with us at noon, and in the afternoon, on Wednesday, I suppose the two of us could get together in our office in the morning. However, if you prefer to meet with me on Tuesday evening, I am willing, and suggest that you give me a call after you get into town.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe/bw

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

November 8, 1965

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
Suite 300
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

The Ford grant does allow us -- if necessary -- to match the Taconic grant and meet the full proposed budget of the Human Relations Project, assuming these funds are not forthcoming from the Johnson Foundation or elsewhere. So the full program is assured.

I have asked Emory to work with you on final arrangements with NILE as to share of overhead, supporting services, etc.

Both because of demands here and because of my complete reliance on Emory, I am leaving all final arrangements to him. But, I do hope to see you soon.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm

17 December 1965

Mr. Roy Wilkins
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

I was delighted to hear from Don Slaiman that you will be able to speak at the University of Georgia in January. The program which is being conducted at the University is sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO departments of Education and Civil Rights. The Southern Regional Council is cooperating in providing resources and materials and in making me available to serve as director of the institute. The institute itself will attract about twenty full-time union staff persons working in the South. It will be an intensive program of study in such areas as economics, political science, labor law, arbitration and civil rights.

As I am sure Don told you, we want you to participate at two points in the program. One will be with the smaller group of twenty in a fairly informal session of comment and give-and-take. Don will have further suggestions on this. The other point of participation will be to make a public address attended by our institute and by faculty and students from the University. The topic for this ocassion has been tentatively entitled "The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights", but feel free to suggest another topic if it would be more compatible.

The institute sessions and the public meeting will be held in the University's Continuing Education Center on the Athens campus. The public meeting will be in an auditorium which will accommodate about four hundred and fifty persons. I might add that the Center itself seems to be quite interested in having you on the campus. I believe it will be the first time that a national civil rights figure has appeared on campus for a public presentation.

We are scheduling your public appearance for the evening of January 18. The other meeting, with the union staff people attending the institute, could come either on the morning of the 18th or the morning of the 19th. Would you let me know at your earliest convenience which of these times would suit your schedule best?

All of us connected with the planning of this program look forward to having you with us. We know you will make a significant contribution to the institute and to the life on the campus.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
cc: Don Slaiman

NILE

December 17, 1965

REPORT ON NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

1. NILE has reached an agreement with American University to transfer headquarters to their downtown Center at 1911 F Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. The transfer will presumably take place on or before January 15, 1966.

   The terms of the agreement are quite favorable to NILE and will also add up to some saving in the operating budget. The transfer also gives NILE the back-up facilities which a university can provide, and last but not least, hopefully ease the problems of raising funds from foundations.

   NILE, in turn, will assist the University in the establishment of an Industrial Relations Center with adjunct services to business and labor groups.

2. The AFL-CIO has underwritten operational support for NILE for the next three years in a total amount of $50,000.

3. Two large NILE programs were terminated in 1965, namely, the Youth Employment and the Mental Health projects. Copies of the report on the former are available from NILE. The report on Mental Health is still being written.

4. The third and final Southern Staff Institute sponsored by NILE will be held at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, from January 9 to February 4, 1966. Emory Via and George Guernsey serve as Co-Directors and present indications are that the enrollment will be between 18 and 22 students.

5. A three-year program of Human Relations Institutes is about to get under way, to be conducted jointly by NILE and the Southern Regional Council. It is financed by two foundation grants. Its major purpose is to train union staff and local union officers in dealing with human relations problems, whether they arise in the plant, in the union, or in the community. The preparation of case studies on handling of minority problems and training of speakers is also anticipated.

6. Another proposal of NILE dealing with Education of Disadvantaged Unionists in the South is near realization. A partial grant has been received from a foundation and NILE is now endeavoring to secure the balance from the Office of Economic Opportunity. The project provides for the development of educational activities in the South ranging from literacy classes to leadership training. Major objectives are participation and leadership in community life, and improvement of job opportunities and earning power of unemployed or underemployed workers.

7. Finally, NILE has received permission to use left-over funds in the amount of close to $40,000 towards the cost of a Labor Education Information Center which, tentatively, would have the following functions:

   a. provide a central information and advisory service on programs, materials, techniques, and other pertinent experiences in labor education;

   b. publish a monthly bulletin;

   c. publish a semi-annual periodical on labor education covering both domestic and foreign developments.

   A balance of some $70,000-$75,000 is needed to assure the operation of the Center for a minimum of three years, and the Center will not get under way until this balance has, in fact, been raised.

8. As we have informed you previously, Joe Mire is resigning as of June 30, 1965. A Committee to select a successor has been appointed composed of the following: Ralph N. Campbell (Chairman); Phillips L. Garman; Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.; and Gus Tyler.

   If you are interested, or have any other names to suggest, please write either to the Chairman of the Committee or to any other member of the Selection Committee.

January 4, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 36, D.C.

Dear Joe:

Enclosed is a copy of the final program; I expect only minor changes. Also enclosed is a copy of a letter to George indicating a few items in each week that require attention.

Let me know what you think.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

NILE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

January 12, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your letter of January 8, and I appreciate the additional information there together with the map.

My problem is that when I talked with Don he stated that he was certain that arrangements could be made for me to remain overnight in Athens. Since I have had no direct correspondence with the University itself or with any student group I know nothing about the evening meeting or about the possibilities of overnight accommodations. I assume that they can be arranged without any difficulty. As usual, the AFL-CIO and the Southern Regional Council are precision-like in their arrangements, but I am more than a little hazy on the other part of the plan. I would appreciate any information you can furnish. I will need to have it before the end of the week since I will be leaving New York Monday afternoon.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Director

RW:erb

A re-reading of your letter of December 17 clarifies the matter of the public meeting. As I understand it, the sponsorship will be that of the Center but it will be open to faculty members and students. The only remaining question then is overnight accommodations for the night of January 18. I am scheduled to leave the next morning at 8:47.

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Official Organ: The Crisis

January 8, 1966

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

I understand that you have talked with Don Slaiman regarding your schedule at the Southern Union Staff Institute and that you would prefer to have your session with the union staffers on the same day as the public meeting. This suits us fine. Your session with union staff will come at 1:30 of Tuesday, January 18. The public meeting will be that evening.

I am enclosing two items giving information on the University of Georgia's Continuing Education Center where we will be meeting and on directions for getting there.

We look forward to having you with us.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff
Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
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1911 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
February 15, 1966

Professor Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 3 0303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of February 10. We are taking care today of the expenses for Russ Allen, Vivian Henderson, and Ramsay. We shall also send instructor's fees to Dan Pollitt, Hazel Simpson, and William Collins. However, you did not enclose with your letter the expense accounts for Dan Pollitt and Aaron Henry. We shall take care of these bills as soon as we receive them from you.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

b

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1911 F Street, N.W.
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February 21, 1966

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Rec'd 2/23/66

EV
MJ

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of February 15. I very much appreciate your sentiments.

Emory Via did an excellent job and we are much indebted to you for loaning him to us.

I am pleased to know that the Institute has had some value to your own staff.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

~~Ack~~
Commendation File

SSX

March 7, 1966

Mr. Joe Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

The enclosed statement attempts to do three things: (1) state briefly the background, development, and purposes of the SRC Labor Program; (2) give details on the actual operation of the program; and (3) summarize the various understandings reached between NILE and SRC relative to the human relations institute proposal.

Please let me know if you have any questions. I trust that it will serve as a basis for informing your board of the current status of the program.

I will get an evaluation of the Southern Union Staff Institute to you during the week of March 14.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: "The Labor Program of the Southern Regional Council"

THE LABOR PROGRAM
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Brief background

Funding and staff. During the spring of 1965 the National Institute of Labor Education and the Southern Regional Council cooperated in seeking foundation funds for sponsoring educational programs with intermediate union leaders in the South. A proposal went from the National Institute of Labor Education, with SRC as the cooperating and executing agent, to the Taconic Foundation. On August 2, 1965 SRC received a grant of $30,000.00 for the performance of this program over a two year period from Taconic. Subsequently, on November 9, 1965, further monies were allocated by the Ford Foundation for a similar program as a part of an over-all project grant to the SRC. The basis of the proposal to Ford for union educational work was similar to that embodied in the original NILE proposal.

Prior to knowing that special labor project funds would be available, the Council had agreed to hire Emory Via for one year so that committment could be made and arrangements completed for securing his leave from the University of Wisconsin. It was then envisioned that Via would perform duties related to a general labor program and other Council functions until special funds were available.

In September of 1965 Via came to the Council. The Taconic funds were then available if matching funds could be secured. The Ford grant, later in the fall, provided the matching funds.

What was proposed. In general terms, it was proposed that human relations institutes -- short run labor education programs -- would be run with intermediate union leadership in the Southern states. The allocated funds were primarily for administrative and promotional costs. Other costs were to come from the labor movement, fees charged, or other sources. Further provision was made for materials preparation and for speaker training programs.

The Program in Operation

Staff. The program is under the direction of Emory F. Via who is on leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers. Mr. Via served as labor consultant to the Council in 1957 and 1958. Miss Joan Browning serves as administrative secretary to the Labor Program and performs some research and related duties. A list of ad hoc teachers suitable for use in the program's activities is being developed. The SRC staff and research materials are available to the Labor Program.

Advisory Committee. An advisory committee is being established. It will consist in the first instance of the members of the Council who are labor connected, a representative from NILE, and the head of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office. The committee may be expanded to include others who can serve effectively the needs of the program. Such expansion will come through consultation with the Committee and the approval of the Council's director. The labor connected members of the Council are:

William Becker, President, Arkansas AFL-CIO,

Hank Brown, President, Texas AFL-CIO,

Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO,

Paul Christopher, Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO,

and James Youngdahl, labor attorney, Little Rock.

To this group would be added Joe Mire, Executive Director, N.I.L.E. and E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's southern office.

Program promotion. The first line of approach to program is through the various state labor bodies. The attempt is to sound out their interest in sponsoring an institute of human relations, to get their suggestions of local labor bodies who have needs or interests that might be served by an institute, to get suggestions of local or regional unions that might be receptive to the institute idea. Each of these groups will also be solicited for the kinds of problems which they feel they face with which the project might offer assistance. Similarly, they will be asked for important happenings involving racial relations, negative or positive, which might be suitable for case studies.

Beyond the above, contact will be maintained with national union offices. Special attention will be paid to those with education and civil rights programs. Close relations will be maintained with the Education and Civil Rights departments of the national AFL-CIO.

Program content. In general, the subjects covered by the various activities of the Labor Program will contain some mixture of the following areas: background and perspectives on the South; civil rights laws; civil rights movement; union and community racial relations; understanding the nature of prejudice and concepts of "race"; Southern economic, social, and political developments; Southern union history; and regional problems and

prospects for organized labor.

It is intended to gear the instruction to the level of understanding and experience of those participating in a given program. Among the primary purposes of the program are the following: to create new understandings; to shore up the good positions held by many Southern unionists; to explore and demonstrate techniques for the solution of problems; to assist unions and their leaders to come more fully into a constructive, contemporary democratic society. Informed and sensitive instructors will make the judgement as to when to rely on simple facts, human interest interpretations, the requirements of self interest, coaxing, or forthright challenge.

Program format. The educational approaches used by the Labor Program are varied. A main emphasis is placed upon developing one to five day human relations institutes (perhaps usually going by some other name). In the main these institutes will concentrate almost exclusively on the kinds of subjects detailed in the preceding section. But we will attempt some general interest institutes into which the human relations content is introduced as an integral part. Such institutes may be either residential or non-residential, drawing from a local area.

The program utilizes activities sponsored by the labor movement, or others, where our interests can be built beneficially into what has already been planned. Two such examples come readily to mind. One is participation in a week long staff training program for the regional I.L.G.W.U. in January, and the other is teaching in a summer school such as the Kentucky Labor School scheduled in July. Other programs of this sort include participation in the Fisk Race Relations Institute in July and in weekend educational conferences such as those to be sponsored by the Virginia AFL-CIO in March and April.

The labor program will assist, where feasible, in relating unions and civil rights groups to each other. This process is underway. The activities which support such an effort may be as varied as the recent assistance to a union and a local N.A.A.C.P. branch in finding a workable solution to a mutual problem, to relating to student groups or to working with local or state councils on human relations. Specifically, on this latter point work has been done with the Atlanta, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama Councils.

Programs run by government and related agencies provide a further way of involving union leaders in existing programs. Such activities at times can be encouraged by the Labor Program. They can prove to be a valuable means of educating through information and exposure. Conferences in the fall in Atlanta and Savannah relating to Title VII provided a beginning opportunity for such activity. A workshop session in Atlanta in January with national and regional staff from the EEOC was also useful in this regard. In these particular efforts, and others, the Labor Program has cooperated with the southern office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Later in March a regional program by the Labor Department will explain the training, enforcement, and technical programs of the Department as they related to disadvantaged persons. The program will be attended by civil rights workers, representatives from disadvantaged groups, and trade unionists. It will provide an opportunity for questions and criticism in extended workshop sessions. The conference has been developed in cooperation with the Labor Program.

Functions sponsored by other agencies at times provide a good opportunity for expanding the experience or information of local or regional labor leadership. The same is true of activities sponsored

by the Council or one of its other projects. For instance, in February seventeen regional labor leaders attended a lunch featuring Attorney General Katzenbach in a speech on voter registration and participation. The labor leaders not only heard the speech in a Southern setting but had an opportunity to meet with local and regional civil rights leaders and others concerned about voting rights.

The development of materials will come as a natural outgrowth of program activity. The various educational efforts will make the need for certain kinds of materials quite apparent. And the pursuit of program and program resource people will lead to useful ~~xxxxx~~ materials which can be edited for our use. We are currently seeking such materials. In some cases we will be able to use materials in programs and give them a pre-publication test. Possible case study situations are being collected. Several ideas for publications are now in hand; one is in manuscript form. On a modest scale we have already distributed some of the Council's materials which seemed to have special relevance to a given selection of labor leaders. This activity will continue to expand.

In many instances the training of speakers should be a by-product of much else that is done through the Labor Program. In some cases it may be advisable to make speaker training a formal adjunct to another program. Some of the materials prepared under the program's auspices will be especially aimed at persons who are potential speakers. We are currently considering a proposal to run a pilot teachers of stewards training program in which about one third of the material to be covered would be directly related to the interests of the Labor Program. It could be that this form of teaching within the context of on-going union activity will have more meaning and get a better response than more direct approaches. Similar teaching

and training situations will be tried experimentally.

SRC-NILE relations. The Council has appreciated the opportunity to work cooperatively with NILE on this and other programs and hopes that such cooperation will be expanded in the future where it is to the mutual benefit of the two organizations. It is mindful of the need and propriety of continuing contact with NILE regarding the human relations institutes and related programs for the two years of the Taconic grant. As agreed between SRC and NILE and stated in the request to Taconic, the direction of the program and its day-to-day decisions will be in the hands of the SRC Labor Program. NILE will be used consultatively and may be involved in relations with national unions and in materials preparation where these activities are appropriate.

The Council recognizes the contribution already made by NILE to the program and will send to NILE funds totaling $3,688.00, representing the amount agreed to between NILE's Executive Director and the Director of the SRC Labor Program as appropriate for covering NILE's overhead costs in the development of the program. The SRC will not make a similar tap on the available funds. Services performed by NILE which go beyond what it deems a part of its overhead operation will be compensated by the project on a fee-for-services-rendered basis to be worked out in each case between the parties where such services are requested by the Labor Program Director.

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

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March 9, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of March 7, and the enclosed recommendation on the operation of the human relations institutes project. Your recommendation accurately reflects the informal understanding reached between you and me in our previous discussions. The one aspect I am still not quite satisfied with concerns the responsibility of NILE.

As I read your document, we will have a project director responsible to the director of the Southern Regional Council on the one hand, and an advisory committee--on which NILE is going to be represented--on the other. Somehow we ought to find a stronger role for NILE; something below the director of SRC (who will have the major responsibilities because of the location of the project) and above the role of the other consultants. I don't really know myself quite how this could be accomplished. Perhaps you can give this matter some further thought.

In the meantime, I shall report to the NILE Executive Committee on our present understanding, which I trust will be acceptable to them. By the way, the meeting has been postponed from March 11 to March 25.

Bob Fleming was in town with his wife on Monday, and came out to the house. He didn't know that you were on leave, and I hope I didn't give away any secrets.

Thank you for your continued cooperation.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

March 15, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

It is understood that both SRC and NILE will operate in a cooperative spirit befitting a joint undertaking. This was originally, and still is, the understanding. However I think the reality and practicality, be they the same or different, argue against attempting to formally define a role for NILE in the human relations institutes which goes beyond what I have spelled out in my memorandum of March 7.

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I have no hesitation in saying that for our part we will continue the close cooperative relationship between the two organizations and that SRC will want to make every practicable use of NILE's good advice, offices, and services. But to say formally that there will be some direct policy role sharing between the director of NILE and the director of the Labor Program is asking for, I think, an administrative impossibility.

I do not think that the proposal to Taconic, their response to the proposal, or the oral agreement between the parties indicate a special NILE administrative or policy role beyond what I have outlined. This does not mean any lessened role for NILE, that it will be cooperated with less, or that it will suffer in its signfficant and fair share of credit for what the Project is able to do.

I trust these additional comments serve to shore up our original understanding and to make our mutual roles clearer.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program
EFV:jb

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

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1911 F STREET, N.W.
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TELEPHONE: 737-1366

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March 9, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of March 7, and the enclosed recommendation on the operation of the human relations institute project. Your recommendation accurately reflects the informal understanding reached between you and me in our previous discussions. The one aspect I am still not quite satisfied with concerns the responsibility of NILE.

As I read your document, we will have a project director responsible to the director of the Southern Regional Council on the one hand, and an advisory committee--on which NILE is going to be represented--on the other. Somehow we ought to find a stronger role for NILE; something below the director of SRC (who will have the major responsibilities because of the location of the project) and above the role of the other consultants. I don't really know myself quite how this could be accomplished. Perhaps you can give this matter some further thought.

In the meantime, I shall report to the NILE Executive Committee on our present understanding, which I trust will be acceptable to them. By the way, the meeting has been postponed from March 11 to March 25.

Bob Fleming was in town with his wife on Monday, and came out to the house. He didn't know that you were on leave, and I hope I didn't give away any secrets.

Thank you for your continued cooperation.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

March 18, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute for Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

The Institute evaluation report will not get in the mail by the end of today. But soon!

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

March 22, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

On re-reading my letter of March 15 to you I see that my attempt at clarity failed. I will blame a gremlin. I don't know if it will make things clearer for you, but it will come much closer to what was intended if we make the following revisions:

> Paragraph 1, line 3: "I think <u>that</u> reality and practicality ..." not "the reality ..."
>
> Paragraph 2, last sentence: "But to say formally that there will be some direct policy role for NILE that comes between the director of SRC and the director of the Labor Program is asking for, I think, an administrative impossibility." <u>Not</u> "But to say formally that there will be some direct policy role sharing between the director of NILE and the director of the Labor Program ..."

I am very sorry for this goof.

I may be in detroit for the meetings at the end of the month. Will I see you? Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Sidney F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

1911 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: 737-1366

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April 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(4)

Dear Paul:

Our Executive Committee met March 25 to consider Emory Via's recommendations for the conduct of the Human Relations Project. After considerable discussion, the Executive Committee found it unwise for NILE to proceed with co-sponsorship of the project.

It is apparent that the way the project is to be conducted will impose upon NILE a co-sponsorship without any commensurate say in the formulation of policy or the actual conduct of the project. The Executive Committee therefore recommended that NILE withdraw as a co-sponsor of the project. The resolution adopted by the Committee states as follows:

> "It was moved and seconded that although the project was in fact initiated by NILE, and both timely and important, the future role of NILE in the project should be essentially an advisory one, and not involve its joint sponsorship and responsibility. The Executive Committee indicated, however, no objection to having the Executive Director of NILE serve as a consultant to the project, under conditions to be worked out between SRC and the Executive Director."

I discussed the matter with Emory Via in Detroit, and want to assure you also that the decision of the Executive Committee in no way implies any ill feeling or lack of confidence in SRC. We are genuinely convinced that under the circumstances it would be much more efficient and economical to operate the project solely under SRC auspices.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

file
Labor
NILE

May 2, 1966

DRAFT

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University
1911 F Street, N. W.
Washington. D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

Finally, this will acknowledge your letter of April 7 transmitting the resolution of the committee concerning NILE, SRC and the labor project.

While I am grateful for the fact that this decision implies no real feeling or lack of confidence, I am still somewhat uneasy that it was felt necessary for this action to be taken. It had been my understanding that both agencies were completely comfortable with the idea that SRC would administer this project and have all final administrative responsibility but that we would closely cooperate with and lean heavily on the advice and the assistance of NILE. I trust the action of the commitee still leaves open this possibility.

Joint sponsorship of programs is always both highly desirable and most often somewhat complicated. Perhaps we are sometimes less sensitive to the complications that we should be. If so, I can only say that we proceed on the honest to goodness notion that cooperation is a highly desirable thing, that we need the advice of others, and that things can all be worked out for the benefit of the program envisioned. I am certain this continues to be the case with our cooperation with NILE.

Unless we hear from you to the contrary we shall continue to refer to the project as one developed jointly with NILE and one in which NILE continues to have a very special role in an advisory capacity.

With all best wishes.

Carolina Labor News

4/8/66

Natl. Labor Education Center Planned For American University

WASHINGTON—The National Institute for Labor Education is cooperating to develop a national center for labor studies at American University in Washington designed to serve the national needs of universities and unions in the fields of labor economics and labor education.

Dean W. Donald Bowles of the university's' College of Arts & Sciences and Dean Richard Bray of the College of Continuing Education have been elected to the NILE board of directors, and the NILE offices have been re-located on the university's downtown campus.

Announcement of the program was made by the NILE director, Dr. Joseph Mire, following a meeting of the executive committee. Mire has been appointed a part-time research professor in economics at AU and will work to develop the center.

The proposed center will be concerned at the start with developing major programs in the College of Arts & Sciences' Dept. of Economics and in the College of Continuing Education, although all of the university's facilities and faculty will be available to it. The institute will continue other labor education programs it has been carrying on under federal and foundation grants. Bray saw as the center's first task the establishment of a national information center on labor education, followed later by "broad educational programs for full-time union staff, local elected officers, and rank-and-file union members."

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

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May 26, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Can you give us a date on the report?

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

J. Mire /bw

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Schlack

Madelin Onion Skin

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 12, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University
1911 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

I have read and re-read your letter of July 1.

You say in it that there would be very tough problems in doing the institutes in one city. Reading through the lines of your letter, it seems to me that you are saying that you would have to confront just the kind of problems with which the institutes are concerned. If so, this strengthens the case for the one city approach. (Presumably, you are not going to pay any price.)

It would be a mistake to read this letter, or to interpret any of our earlier communications, as indicating that we would support a one-city plan. I am far from knowing what would be the case on that.

I am glad to hear about the University of Illinois project.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

BCC - Mr. Emory Via

Schlack

File - Les Dunbar

July 20, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

I have your letter regarding the NILE proposal and agree that it presents difficulties. I think you deserve some clarification where they respond to your suggestion of concentrating on fewer cities by remarking on the difficulty and inevitability of working through the local power structure.

Your remarks indicating that they imply facing the great problems of one city would mean confronting the problems which occasion the institute are well taken. I think that a realistic effort in this field must come to grips with what you suggest. I would be hesitant, however, to decide now that the total effort should go into one or to several cities. But it seems to me there is no escape from dealing with the hard facts and to deal with them openly as far as all interested parties are concerned.

On the practical side, I recognize that there would be serious recruitment problems if what is envisioned is an institute restricted to staff persons in one urban area. You might well decide not to have a resident school but this might raise other problems. Further, it might be argued that a too substantial proportion of the labor leadership in a given area would be required to take out a month's time for study. It would still be appropriate to ask whether or not the proportion of union staff, compared with the total union membership or number of unions involved, would be greater than in the regional program sponsored in the South.

It could be that part of their concern is not just with the general power structure but specifically with the labor power structure in any given urban area. I would be among the first to admit that this would be a very tough problem indeed. This does not foreclose, however, a consideration of how to come to grips with it through privately sponsored educational programs.

I would guess that what is meant by the price to be paid is largely in terms of watering down the content of the program in some way. If this means the real problems cannot be discussed then all parties should be ready to forget the whole affair. If it means that the proposals for change or action have to deal realistically with the existing forces in the community, including the labor movement, then perhaps this is the only way to proceed. Part of the feeling behind the NILE response must be as simple as recognizing that a concerted effort in one city is likely to have political consequences internal and external to the labor movement. On the other hand, to unleash individuals who now have an increased sensitivity to urban problems in separate urban communities would be a good thing in the general cause of spreading education but would not so likely run afoul of the powers that be. Which way to jump in this matter is, I would guess, a problem which could cause the Foundation as well as the labor movement some pause.

I don't think that I saw the original proposal although I have some idea of its general content. The idea of national sponsorship and national recruitment is easier to handle because it gives the unions more options in terms of who they pick to attend; this relates not only to the ability of the individual, but to his availability, to internal politics, and to the geographic area to be affected. Further, my guess is that many of the persons working with NILE, either on its Board or as advisors, would have serious doubts about the feasibility of a local institute without firm and friendly local labor movement support even though some national sponsorship had been obtained.

Friend, I don't really think all this helps but this is what I make out of it. I would hope that at this stage of the game that NILE could be quite candid with you about their thinking. There are certainly some very real practical problems to be overcome. I would guess that in many instances Field would recognize them as problems and would have a sympathetic interest in either finding a solution or circumventing them if necessary.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 12, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

What does all this mean?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc. (NILE letter and
LWD's reply)

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

1911 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: 737-1366

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July 1, 1966

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Les:

George Guernsey, Larry Rogin, Don Slaiman, and I met here this week, and again went over our proposal for Northern Staff Institutes, in the light of the questions which you raised by letter, as well as during the meeting which Don and I had with you in New York.

We all recognize the merit of your suggestion--that is, the advantage of a more sustained effort, and perhaps of blanketing one or two large cities with a series of staff institutes, rather than the same number of institutes spread over the whole country. However, your plan raises some serious problems in terms of organizational structure and recruitment which we would find very difficult to overcome. If we try to cover one or two large cities, we would inevitably have to go through the metropolitan power structure; whereas if we hold six to eight institutes in various geographical locations, we could organize them on a national basis, and with national sponsorship. If we did the former, we would have to give the local power structure a substantial voice in the planning, content, and conduct of the institutes. This could presumably be done only at a price which neither you, nor we, may want to pay. As for recruitment, the case for nationally sponsored institutes as against locally sponsored institutes is equally strong, as suggested by our experience with the Southern Staff Institutes. To secure local sponsorship and local recruiting means taking on a number of institutional headaches, and possibly also accepting a watering down of our objectives.

How to get to bodies

Perhaps also Union power structure

means water down

The potential importance of the program which we have suggested can not really be exaggerated. The labor movement in the North is as inadequately prepared for their manifold responsibilities in urban affairs as is the union staff in the South. There can therefore be no question that the pilot projects which we are suggesting would make a significant contribution to the education and training of Northern union staff as well as to labor education generally.

You will also be interested to know that the AFL-CIO recently has indicated formal approval for a similar proposal suggested by the University of Illinois.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

The latter, incidentally, knows about our discussions with your foundation, and has left the door open to join their efforts with ours, should we succeed in securing a favorable decision from you on our request.

I expect to be in New York the week after next, and if you wish, would be available for further discussion.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

July 26, 1966

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

I am sorry not to have the figures for NILE's outlay in the development of the human relations workshop proposal. Does this mean that you want us to wait until your secretary returns before making any payment? This would suit us all right even though we would like to clear the matter up as soon as possible. I still feel apologetic about the delay because it was occasioned in large measure by my thinking a check for the full overhead had gone to NILE and that SRC was due a return.

Perhaps you would prefer to make a rough estimate of your costs so that we could reimburse you now.

Regarding a proposal for using NILE on a consultative basis, I don't know that any formal action is required beyond what has already been said. We would simply like to know that NILE would entertain a request for specific assistance from the labor program. In each case we would work out the details of what was expected and the appropriate reimbursement. This would be essentially a contract for services arrangement. It seems to me that this gives a maximum amount of freedom to both organizations and fits comfortably into the action already taken by your board. We would not think it advisable to propose at this time a continuing, or some sort of consultant or retainer, arrangement.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

1911 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: 737-1366

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Mr.Emory Via,
Southern Rgional Council
Atlanta,Ga.

July 21,1966.

Dear Emory:

We have not received as yet the promised report on the Southern Staff Institute,which you had hoped to get to me by July 8th. Please let me know when we can expect it.

I can not send you the promised figures on our cash outlays on the Human Relations workshops,because we have not seperated these expenditures from our operational account and my secretary is gone for two months. I am not sure we need it? If SRC wants to make an offer to Nile,i.e.reimburse it for our consultant services in connection with the project,we would like to hear from you sometime early in August since our Executive Committee will hold an August meeting and could then take action.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours

Joe

Jospeh Mire.
Executive Director.

August 12, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University
1911 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

I have your note regarding the report and have made the suggested changes in the draft. We would be pleased to take care of the secretarial work in seeing that the report is mimeographed. However, I am not sure that this can be done prior to September 1st unless we hear from George right away. I would greatly prefer to have his comments before duplicating the report.

If your deadlines are tighter than some time after Labor Day, please let me know right away. My alternative suggestion to you and George would be that we proceed with the first 23 pages so that they will already be stenciled. My guess is that George may wish to make most of his changes in the latter part of the report.

I will send a copy of this letter to George so that he can at least give us a signal as to when to go ahead with the first 23 pages and tellus when he might expect to have his comments available. I know that this is not an especially good time for him.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
cc: George Guernsey

October 24, 1966

EWP

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

We would like very much to come to a fair settlement in reimbursing N.I.L.E. for its participation in the development of the labor project. As I expressed in my letter of July 26, I wanted the matter cleared up soon and was sorry for the misunderstanding on my part which then had led to some delay. You will recall that I had thought that a check had gone to you (in line with my Memorandum on SRC-NILE Relations, March 7), but as a result of your board's action on March 25, (your letter to Anthony of April 7) declining co-sponsorship that the money or some substantial portion of it would be returned. But, of course, no check had gone to you.

We have operated here on the basis of the NILE board action. We expressed our regrets at that time that you would not continue as co-sponsors of the human relations institute proposals, but asked that you allow us to continue citing NILE as a cooperating party and that NILE remain open for suggestions from us for consultative or other special services on a contract basis. We think it unwise now to change this arrangement.because of the time elapsed, the administrative difficulties inherent in a more formal arrangement and because of the impending changes at NILE itself.

But we are still faced with the matter of compensating NILE for the very real contributions it has already made and I am enclosing our check for $1,000. We are most appreciative for the opportunity to have worked cooperatively with NILE on several projects. They have been beneficial to those served, to us, and, we feel, to the region. We hope that the labor project will have further opportunities to call on NILE and that NILE will feel free to consult with us in any way in which we may be of service.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

C O P Y : Paul Anthony

Please look this over and comment. Joe would like more money and some idea of a "netainer" arrangement. Any Comments?

EFV

AUG

October 24, 1966

Mr. Al Gross
American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees
Room 103
1627 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Al:

Thanks for drafting the letters to the National Institute of Labor Education. Joe Mire tells me that he did not receive the originals. Could you check on this?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

q

hj

F. de Cerny
for Labor
NILE-
SRC
relations

INTER-OFFICE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT FORM

PLEASE PAY THE SUM OF: $1,000.00

TO: NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION
Name

1911 "F" ST, N.W.
Address

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
City and State

REASON FOR PAYMENT: CONTRIBUTION TO DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS INSTITUTE PROPOSAL ~~BEFORE~~ TO TACOMA FOUNDATION AND FOR CONSULTATIVE SERVICES

IF DEPARTMENTAL OR SPECIAL BUDGET, SPECIFY: LABOR

PAYMENT IS GENERAL OPERATIONS _____ PROJECT

_____ EXPENSE

DATE Oct 25, 19 66

REQUESTED BY: [illegible]

APPROVED: [illegible]

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

PA
2 Return

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JAMES E. WOLFE

November 1, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of October 24th and the enclosed check for $1,000.00, which the Executive Committee accepted with thanks and appreciation. We shall, of course, continue our interest in the project and should be happy to render any assistance you might require.

Is there going to be an Advisory Committee meeting before the end of the year?

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

JM:t

JOSEPH MIRE

1.00
1.40
1.40
2.15
2.

November 4, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

I had intended to have a meeting of the Advisory Committee during the Southern Regional Council's Annual Meeting. But both the AFL-CIO Executive Committee and the Southern Labor School are meeting during that week. This meant that all the members of the committee except you and Jim Youngdahl had a conflict.

I had particularly wanted to have the meeting in conjunction with SRC's annual get together and so was greatly disappointed to find the dates in conflict. It is possible that we could schedule a meeting between December 5-15. Would there be dates in there which would suit you?

Thanks for your report of your executive committee's action regarding the check which we forwarded to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Mire:

We have heard of your organization's proposal to provide educational services to local unions in the South. Education would help locals like ours a great deal.

We would be interested in hearing more about your proposal and how it might help train leadership and assist us in taking a more active part in community action.

Yours very truly,

File

THE LABOR PROGRAM
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Brief Background

Funding and Staff. During the spring of 1965 the National Institute of Labor Education and the Southern Regional Council cooperated in seeking foundation funds for sponsoring educational programs with intermediate union leaders in the South. A proposal went from the National Institute of Labor Education, with SRC as the cooperating and executing agent, to the Taconic Foundation. On August 2, 1965 SRC received a grant of $30,000.00 for the performance of this program over a two year period from Taconic. Subsequently, on November 9, 1965, further monies were allocated by the Ford Foundation for a similar program as a part of an over-all project grant to the SRC. The basis of the proposal to Ford for union educational work was similar to that embodied in the original NILE proposal.

What was Proposed. In general terms, it was proposed that human relations institutes -- short run labor education programs -- would be run with intermediate union leadership in the Southern states. The allocated funds were primarily for administrative and promotional costs. Other costs were to come from the labor movement, fees charged, or other sources. Further provision was made for materials preparation and for speaker training programs.

The Program in Operation

Staff. The program is under the direction of Emory F. Via who is on leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers. Mr. Via served as labor consultant to the

Council in 1957 and 1958. Miss Joan Browning serves as administrative secretary to the Labor Program and performs some research and related duties. A list of ad hoc teachers suitable for use in the Program's activities is being developed. The SRC staff and research materials are available to the Labor Program.

Advisory Committee. An advisory committee is being established. It will consist in the first instance of the members of the Council who are labor connected, a representative from NILE, and the head of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office. The committee may be expanded to include others who can serve effectively the needs of the program. Such expansion will come through consultation with the Committee and the approval of the Council's director. The labor connected members of the Council are:

William Becker, President, Arkansas AFL-CIO,

Hank Brown, President, Texas AFL-CIO,

Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO,

Paul Christopher, Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO, and

James Youngdahl, labor attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas.

To this group would be added Joe Mire, Executive Director, NILE, and E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office.

Program Promotion. The first line of approach to program is through the various state labor bodies. The attempt is to sound out their interest in sponsoring an institute of human relations, to get their suggestions of local labor bodies who have needs or interests that might be served by an institute, to get suggestions of local or regional unions that might be receptive to the institute idea. Each of these groups will also be solicited for the kinds of problems which they feel they face with which the project might offer assistance. Similarly, they will be asked for important

happenings involving racial relations, negative or positive, which might be suitable for case studies.

Beyond the above, contact will be maintained with national union offices. Special attention will be paid to those with education and civil rights programs. Close relations will be maintained with the Education and Civil Rights Departments of the national AFL-CIO.

Program Content. In general, the subjects covered by the various activities of the Labor Program will contain some mixture of the following areas: background and perspectives on the South; civil rights laws; civil rights movement; union and community racial relations; understanding the nature of prejudice and concepts of "race"; Southern economic, social, and political developments; Southern union history; and regional problems and prospects for organized labor.

Instruction will be geared to the level of understanding and experience of those participating in a given program. Among the primary purposes of the program are the following: to create new understandings; to shore up the good positions held by many Southern unionists; to explore and demonstrate techniques for the solution of problems; to assist unions and their leaders to come more fully into a constructive, contemporary democratic society. Informed and sensitive instructors will make the judgment as to when to rely on simple facts, human interest interpretations, the requirements of self interest, coaxing, or forthright challenge.

Program Format. The educational approaches used by the Labor Program are varied. A main emphasis is placed upon developing one to five day ~~human relations institutes~~ (perhaps usually going by some other name). In the main these institutes will concentrate

almost exclusively on the kinds of subjects detailed in the preceding section. But we will attempt some general interest institutes into which the human relations content is introduced as an integral part. Such institutes may be either residential or non-residential, drawing from a local area.

The program utilizes activities sponsored by the labor movement, or others, where our interests can be built beneficially into what has already been planned. Two such examples come readily to mind. One is participation in a week long staff training program for the regional I.L.G.W.U. in January, and the other is teaching in a summer school such as the Kentucky Labor School scheduled in July. Other programs of this sort include participation in the Fisk Race Relations Institute in July and in weekend educational conferences such as those to be sponsored by the Virginia AFL-CIO in March and April.

In some instances speaking engagements will be considered a part of the overall program. This would be true, for example, in the scheduled regional meeting (under local sponsorship) of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta in March.

The Labor Program will assist, where feasible, in relating unions and civil rights groups to each other. This process is underway. The activities which support such an effort may be as varied as the recent assistance to a union and a local N.A.A.C.P. branch in finding a workable solution to a mutual problem, to relating to student groups or to working with local or state councils on human relations. Specifically, on this latter point work has been done with the Atlanta, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama Councils.

Programs run by government and related agencies provide a further way of involving union leaders in existing programs. Such

activities at times can be encouraged by the Labor Program. They can prove to be a valuable means of educating through information and exposure. Conferences in the fall in Atlanta and Savannah relating to Title VII provided a beginning opportunity for such activity. A workshop session in Atlanta in January with national and regional staff from the EEOC was also useful in this regard. In these particular efforts, and others, the Labor Program has cooperated with the southern office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Later in March a regional program by the Labor Department will explain the training, enforcement, and technical programs of the Department as they relate to disadvantaged persons. The program will be attended by civil rights workers, representatives from disadvantaged groups, and trade unionists. It will provide an opportunity for questions and criticism in extended workshop sessions. The conference has been developed in cooperation with the Labor Program.

Functions sponsored by other agencies at times provide a good opportunity for expanding the experience or information of local or regional labor leadership. The same is true of activities sponsored by the Council or one of its other projects. For instance, in February seventeen regional labor leaders attended a lunch featuring Attorney General Katzenbach in a speech on voter registration and participation. The labor leaders not only heard the speech in a Southern setting but had an opportunity to meet with local and regional civil rights leaders and others concerned about voting rights.

The development of materials will come as a natural outgrowth of program activity. The various educational efforts will make the need for certain kinds of materials quite apparent. And the pursuit of program and program resource people will lead to useful materials

which can be edited for our use. We are currently seeking such materials. In some cases we will be able to use materials in programs and give them pre-publication test. Possible case study situations are being collected. Several ideas for publications are now in hand; one is in manuscript form. On a modest scale we have already distributed some of the Council's materials which seemed to have special relevance to a given selection of labor leaders. This activity will continue to expand.

In many instances the training of speakers should be a by-product of much else that is done through the LaborProgram. In some cases it may be advisable to make speaker training a formal adjunct to another program. Some of the materials prepared under the program's auspices will be especially aimed at persons who are potential speakers. We are currently considering a proposal to run a pilot teachers of stewards training program in which about one third of the material to be covered would be directly related to the interests of the Labor Program. It could be that this form of teaching within the context of on-going union activity will have more meaning and get a better response than more direct approaches. Similar teaching and training situations will be tried experimentally.

SRC-NILE Relations

The Council has appreciated the opportunity to work cooperatively with NILE on this and other programs and hopes that such cooperation willcbe expanded in the future where it is to the mutual benefit of both organizations. It is mindful of the need and propriety of continuing contact with NILE regarding the human relations institutes and related programs for the two years of the Taconic grant. As agreed between SRC and NILE and stated in the request to Taconic,

the direction of the program and its day-to-day decisions will be in the hands of the SRC Labor Program. NILE will be used consultatively and may be involved in relations with national unions and in materials preparation where these activities are appropriate.

The Council will pay to NILE $1,844.00 for each of the two years of the program's operation under the Taconic grant. The total for the two year period will be $3,688.00 which was the amount agreed upon between NILE's Executive Director and the Director of the SRC Labor Program. as appropriate for covering NILE's overhead costs in the development of the program. The SRC will not make a similar tap on the available funds. Services performed by NILE which go beyond what it deems a part of its overhead operation will be compensated by the project on a fee-for-services-rendered basis to be worked out in each case between the parties where such services are requested by the Labor Program Director.

MJ
file - Labor,
N.I.L.S.

PROPOSAL ON HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION

WITHIN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

PROPOSAL ON HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION WITHIN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

I. Introduction:

Having played a very important part in the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the labor movement now faces the equally crucial task of assisting in the implementation of the Act itself. In particular, the provisions of Title VII, dealing with employment on a non-discriminatory basis, will affect labor most directly across the country. This responsibility presents the labor movement with a most serious challenge, since it no longer requires merely the genuine support of top leadership, but the willing and skillful cooperation of secondary union leadership, and in the final analysis, of rank-and-file members of unions. Among the latter, as might be expected, discriminatory attitudes are still not uncommon, and have to be dealt with. There is a desperate need to build bridges between the Civil Rights movement and the rank and file of organized labor.

Soon after the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the AFL-CIO engaged in a major effort to assist in its implementation. The first step was the adoption of a five-point program by the Executive Council in early August, 1964. It called for the education of union members, and other citizens, on the rights and obligations of the Civil Rights Act; a broadening of the work of the AFL-CIO Community Task Force aiming at achievement of integration of schools, public facilities, and public accommodations; efforts toward the voluntary compliance with fair

employment practices (Title VII); adequate funds for vigorous administration of the Act; and, finally research into further legislative needs in the field of civil rights. In adopting this resolution, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO acknowledged that discrimination within trade unions presented a continuous problem, on the national as well as the local level.

The next step involved the summoning of a national trade union conference for September 2, 1964, in the District of Columbia. It was attended by some 300 delegates from international unions and state and local bodies. At this meeting President Meany outlined the following grass roots program:

A. Each National and International Union should:

assign one officer to the task of developing an effective equal employment opportunity program, including non-discriminatory clauses in collective bargaining agreements; and

assign a competent staff person to assist central labor bodies in developing an effective community campaign on civil rights - in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

B. Each Central Labor Body should set up a committee on human rights or civil rights.

C. Assistance to non-union workers in filing complaints against discriminatory practices.

D. Sponsorship of regional area conferences to further discuss - and plan - programs on the implementation of the Civil Rights Law.

The third step pertained to the production of a series of pamphlets and leaflets on the Civil Rights Act such as:

a leaflet titled "Civil Rights: Fact or Fiction" of which some three million copies were distributed;

a 22-page pocket size question and answer booklet titled "Equal Rights for All";

copies of the civil rights statement adopted by the AFL-CIO Council in August, 1964;

a catalogue of films on civil rights prepared by the education department of the AFL-CIO;

a manual on civil rights providing details on the Leadership conference on civil rights and other pertinent information; and

a brochure detailing the various provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

The above is ample evidence of the very serious interest and determination of the American labor movement to join with other groups in an all-out effort to assure full compliance with the Civil Rights Act, and to eliminate all vestiges of racial discrimination.

Yet these efforts, impressive as they may seem if compared to the past, still leave many needs unmet. Most union staff and officers lack knowledge as well as skills to deal with minority problems. Errors in approach caused by insensitiveness to delicate human relations factors may prove very costly, and in fact strengthen and harden prejudices and build new barriers rather than remove old ones. Local union officers badly need assistance in developing effective tools for dealing with racial and religious prejudices. They need to know about habits of behavior, and how they can be changed, and they need to know how they can involve workers in practices of human relations. While union staff in the South has been increasingly involved in civil rights matters, hardly a beginning has been made to train local union officers for their very difficult responsibilities.

Moreover, in order to have lasting impact, an educational program will have to address itself to more than merely the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and come to grips with the whole impact of civil rights on unions, local communities, and the nation itself. The time is ripe, and opportunities greater than ever. Programs which only a year ago may have seemed like mere wishful thinking and dreaming, have suddenly moved into the realm of possibility.

II. What is Proposed:

The National Institute of Labor Education jointly with the Southern Regional Council, proposes to undertake the following three-year program of education in the South:

A. Human Relations Institutes for Union Staff and Local Union Officers:

We propose to hold a number of workshops, each of approximately one-week's duration, which would deal with all aspects of human relations, minority history and minority problems; timing and approach; use of skills; knowledge of organization and resources; legal and historic concepts; and the new provisions of the Civil Rights Law.

In addition to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, these institutes will provide white and Negro trade unionists with valuable opportunities for social and recreational contacts. Few people can fail to grow when they experience friendships and pleasant associations across racial and religious lines. The institutes will also, it is hoped, improve Negro representation in other educational activities of the labor movement. In the past, Negroes have been noticeably under-represented in labor education activities, perhaps because they were uncertain as to just how welcome they would be. It is also possible

that some of them felt that unions were not ready, even in the context of educational activities, to face squarely the whole gamut of race relations, particularly such crucial in-plant problems as promotions, apprenticeship training, and job classification.

It is to be hoped that these Human Relations Institutes would provide the labor movement not only with a cadre of leaders trained in handling human relations problems and techniques, but also contribute significantly to the quality and quantity of labor education in the South. For years we have been training policemen, social workers, and teachers in human relations. These programs and experiences may suggest useful patterns for developing practical educational programs for union officers.

B. Preparation of Case Studies on Handling of Minority Problems:

It is on the plant and local level that problems of discrimination have to be met and studies on the local level will assist union leaders in developing effective approaches in their educational efforts. These studies would serve as the core of the materials to be used for instructional purposes in the Human Relations Institutes. The studies should be varied, and pertain to actual problems and situations, whether they have been handled well or badly. They should include problems which arose in the plant, union, or in the community, as, for instance, housing, transportation, school, etc. Furthermore, they should cover northern as well as southern communities.

Other materials, including pamphlets and discussion guides, may also be useful, provided they are keyed to workers' vocabulary, interest and to specific local situations.

The case studies would be useful, obviously, also in other labor education classes across the country, as well as presumably in adult education programs generally.

Also explored will be the production - and financing - of films, depicting successful treatment of minority problems. These would be useful in reaching into areas which can not be gotten to through other media because of distance and costs involved.

C. Training of Speakers:

The lack of competent speakers on civil rights problems and racial discrimination has been generally recognized as a very serious handicap in the development of union education programs. This lack is felt especially in the South, where the need is greatest and most urgent.

A few teacher training projects would quickly increase the supply of speakers on which labor organizations - or other interested groups - could draw, and thus provide the basis for substantially enlarged consideration of the subject matter in labor education offerings.

The speakers training institutes will focus, for recruitment purposes, primarily on the intermediate level of union leadership, though this will not preclude the attendance of other persons interested in the civil rights movement.

III. Conduct of Project:

The Southern Regional Council will be responsible for the implementation of this program. Headquarters for the project staff will be established in the offices of the SRC, and all staff will be administratively responsible to the Director of the SRC, which will also make available to the project staff its rich experience and skills in the area of race

relations. Selection and appointment of the Project Director will be by mutual agreement of both NILE and SRC. NILE's responsibilities will include: assuring labor participation; liaison in D.C. to labor, and if necessary, government; advising on education programs, teachers, materials, methods; and responsibility for case studies.

An Advisory Committee composed of people knowledgeable in the field, will be established to advise on program developments and engage in a continual evaluation of the program.

IV. Cost and Financing:

The major cost of this program will be financed from contributions by labor organizations and/or individual union members, charged as tuition fees to students. These payments will cover cost of teaching, loss of income and, where necessary, cash outlays for travel, room and board, and other incidentals.

Outside support is sought for the cost of the administration and promotion of the project, which includes program planning, contacts with appropriate affiliates of the labor movement, arrangements for faculty, class rooms, and other administrative details, and the preparation of case studies and other materials. These expenditures are estimated at $132,780 for a three-year period. Included in the above figure is a modest amount for a scholarship fund to allow for the meritorious attendance of some union officers where neither the unions nor the students themselves are able to participate in the program without outside help.

A breakdown of the budget estimates will be found on the following page.

$22,130 was total tap for 3 yr budget

2/3 x 22,130 = 14,753 total for 2 yrs

.50 x 14,753 = 7,376 max. share for NILE two yrs

On basis of 10% to SRC & 5% to NILE as originally proposed by Joe because of actual services to be performed — NILE would get $4,917 for 2 yrs

or $46,335 (Total Ford & Tacoma)

.05

2316.75

x 2 yrs

$4633.50

SRC will not take any tap from Labor money

#39T/calendar yr.
#77T estimated for fall 1965

13,200 | 14,500
5,000
19,500

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR PROPOSAL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

	1 Year	3 Years
Salaries: Project Director, Secretary/ Research Associate:	$ 20,500	$ 61,500
Health and Welfare (10 percent):	2,050	6,150
Travel:	5,000	15,000
Office Supplies, Telephone:	2,000	6,000
Preparation of Case Studies, plus Duplicating Expense:	*	10,000
Contingency:	1,000	3,000
Scholarship Fund:	1,500	4,500 ~~1,500~~
Advisory Committee (8 people, 2 Meetings):	1,500	4,500 ~~1,000~~
Overhead:	*	16.66% by 22,130 | 22,130
	$ 33,550	$132,780

3
100,650

1
44,260/yr.

March 8, 1965

$\frac{2}{3} \times 22,130 = \frac{44260}{3} = 14,753$

$31,335 Fund
15,000 Tacoma
$46,335

Fund yr - Jan 1
Tacoma - Sept 1st

RETAIL CLERKS
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

DE SALES BUILDING · CONNECTICUT AVENUE AND DE SALES STREET · NATIONAL 8-5414
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
WILLIAM W. MAGUIRE
INTERNATIONAL SECY-TREAS

October 2, 1964

Mr. Tom Cosgrove
National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Suite 300
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cosgrove:

I have read with a great deal of interest your September 30, 1964, communication and am very much interested in NILE's ideas on the poverty program. This program, as indicated in your letter, certainly should prove helpful in many areas of our society that we are prone to overlook because of the many unemployed or under-employed members within the families of our "working poor".

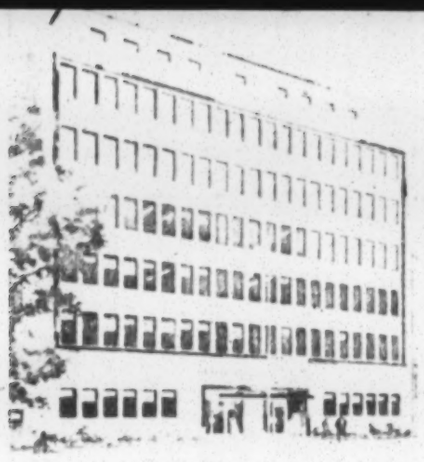
Our Local Unions, I am sure, throughout the country would be more than happy to cooperate with NILE in every way possible to the end that the aims and objectives of your organization may be fully realized.

Sincerely,

James A. Suffridge

International President

JAS:e



INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS

JAMES B. CAREY
President

PHILIP MURRAY BUILDING

October 2, 1964

Mr. Thomas Cosgrove,
National Institute of Labor Education,
Suite 300, 1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cosgrove:

Our Union has always been committed to the eradication and elimination of poverty and, as always, we are interested in reaching those impoverished people in the families of union members.

We concur that the Economic Opportunity Act authorizes the establishment of community action programs and we are interested in establishing "Opportunity Centers" where trade unionists can perform as counselors and youth advisors. In addition, we are vigorously interested in demonstrating that union halls and other facilities can function as "Opportunity Centers," where a range of services could be handled, including counselling, pre-apprenticeship and re-training in job skills.

NILE's idea of using unions as a means of reaching the poverty-stricken has our unqualified support and in large measure parallels one of our approaches to Johnson's war on poverty.

IUE will be glad to lend assistance and work with you in any reasonable way we can.

Fraternally,

James B. Carey
President

oeiu2afl-cio
clg

JOSEPH V. MORESCHI, GENERAL PRESIDENT
PETER FOSCO, GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER
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ROBERT E. POWELL
8TH VICE PRESIDENT

3

10/8

INTERNATIONAL Hod Carriers' Building and Common Laborers' Union of America

AFFILIATED WITH A.F.L.—C.I.O., B. & C.T., M.T., & I.U. DEPTS. AND C.L.C.

HEADQUARTERS
905-16TH STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: REPUBLIC 7-6464

WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 7, 1964

Mr. Thomas Cosgrove
National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Cosgrove:

Our members get fairly good wages while work is available. The trouble is, they are not always working. So some of them are technically forced into the poverty class as defined by Senator Humphrey in his book, "War On Poverty."

Naturally we are interested in the poverty program on behalf of those members, as well as in the interests of the expanding lower economic group of the country generally. I think NILE's idea of making sure that the economically depressed families of union members will not be overlooked and that the unions be used as a way of reaching them with poverty program services and otherwise participating in the poverty program, is excellent.

I'll be interested to hear of your work as it develops. I'll also cooperate with you in any way I can.

Fraternally,

JOS. V. MORESCHI
General President

GREATER WASHINGTON CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

Meets first and third Mondays each month

Office: 1311 L STREET N.W. *Phone:* NATIONAL 8-4528

WASHINGTON, D. C., 20005

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EDWARD LAZEAR
EDGAR J. APPEL

October 14, 1964

Mr. Tom Cosgrove
National Institute of Labor Education
Suite 300, 1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W
Washington 36, D.C.

Dear Brother Cosgrove:

As you know the Greater Washington Central Labor Coubcil has been very much involved in this area in trying to develope programs for local unions to participate in the War on Poverty. I believe that NILE could serve a very useful purpose in trying to advise and counsel local unions as well as the Central Labor Council on this proposal for labor to make a really important contribution on the War on Poverty.

I hope very much that the President's Task Force on the War Against Poverty will act favorably on a grant to NILE so that this very important program can move forward.

Fraternally yours,

J. C. Turner

J. C. TURNER, PRESIDENT
G.W.C.L.C., AFL-CIO

American Federation of
STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL Employees
AFL - CIO
815 MT. VERNON PLACE N.W.
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TEL. EXECUTIVE 3-8430

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October 15, 1964

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Brother Mire:

I agree that union membership is not a guarantee that workers have sufficient earnings to live in decency.

We have situations in a number of places where, in spite of substantive gains percentage-wise, some of our people are unable to maintain their families and themselves in decency and are even required to seek supplemental assistance.

Because these conditions exist, I am sure not only with regard to some members of unions, we strongly support your efforts and offer our support in the program you outline in your letter of October 9, 1964.

Fraternally,

Jerry Wurf
International President

JW: amh

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Affiliate of the AFL-CIO and CLC

99 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

ORegon 3-1400

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL PRESIDENT

426

October 15, 1964

Mr. Thomas Cosgrove
National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Tom:

While we have been successful in raising textile wages considerably since the days when you worked with us, there are still many textile workers whose earnings, on an annual basis, place them in "The Other America."

I would like to see them benefit from the poverty program and I would like to see the poverty program reach them through our union and AFL-CIO central labor councils. If NILE's program becomes a reality, I hope you will discuss with us how we can cooperate in this war on poverty, a ware this union has been engaged in from its very first struggles.

Fraternally,

William Pollock
General President

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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BRENDAN SEXTON
GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

May 17, 1965

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

We were unexpectedly turned down by the Stern Foundation on our request for another $18,000 to conduct our program for Disadvantaged Unionists, for a year. There are some internal problems at the Foundation, I hear. Shelly Appleton of the ILGWU, who would have been a strong supporter on the Board, resigned, and the Board was quite divided on our request, with those opposed unfortunately having the upper hand.

We are trying other sources, and I expect to be in Atlanta a week from Thursday to discuss the matter with Les Dunbar.

Do let us know whether any decision has been made on your request for a leave of absence.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

JM

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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JAMES E. NOE
JULES PAGANO
LAWRENCE ROGIN
BRENDAN SEXTON
GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

July 22, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

I would like to pass on to you two pieces of information which may be helpful if you should have to set up literacy programs.

1. OMAT has just approved, I understand, a literacy program for Steel Workers, with the government paying the instructors and materials development. A small committee of consultants has been appointed, and Jim Stern is one of its members. You should be able to get all the dope from him.

2. The United States office of Education has been supporting a number of projects to test different ways of improving literacy training for adults. I know the man who has been advising on this project, and if we ever should need his help I will be glad to see him.

I am still waiting to hear from Taconic.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw
cc: Paul Anthony

File - Disad. Amerit Project

University of Missouri
COLUMBIA
65202

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Hill Hall

August 9, 1965

Mr. Emery Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Via:

As of June 1 of this year, the University of Missouri has undertaken an Adult Vocational-Literacy Materials Development Project with funds provided by the Vocational Education Act. Since June, we have been attempting to become rather thoroughly acquainted with the present state of knowledge in this field and projects now being conducted.

While in Washington, D. C. last month, we visited with Joseph Mire of the National Institute of Labor Education as we had heard that this group was to embark on a major literacy project. He informed us that the project will begin this Fall in Atlanta, Georgia under your direction.

We would be very interested in learning more about this project. Of particular interest would be how many teachers will be involved, the materials that will be used to teach illiterates and what test measures will be employed to gather data. Any additional information regarding your efforts would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your attention to this request and the best of luck to you in this undertaking.

Sincerely,

Wilbur S. Ames

Wilbur S. Ames, Ed.D.
Assistant Director
Missouri Adult Vocational-Literacy
Materials Development Project

WSA:hr

See pgs. 2, 3

CAP-RDT FORM 1
DEC 64

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Form Approved
Budget Bureau No.
Approval Expires

Project No. (Do not Use This Space)

How relate to Community Programs?
Matching 10% from State?

NOTICE OF TRAINING OR DEMONSTRATION OR RESEARCH PROJECT

Submitted to: Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. 20506

Type of Project: [X] Demonstration [ ] Training [ ] Research

Give names, departments, and official titles of PROJECT DIRECTOR and ALL MAJOR PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL engaged on the project:

Dr. Emory Via, Project Director ?

Name or title of project (10 words or less):

Leadership Training for Disadvantaged Unionists

Name and Address of Applicant:

National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 300
Washington 36, D.C.

Summary of Proposed Project – (200 words or less.) In the Science Information Exchange summaries of proposed projects are exchanged with governmental and private agencies and are forwarded to interested investigators. Your summary will be used for these purposes.

An estimated one million members of labor organizations earn less than $3,000 per year, and must therefore be counted, together with their family members, among the nation's poor. This is a proposal to demonstrate the advisability and practicability of using labor unions as instrumentalities for the training of educationally and culturally disadvantaged unionists, whether rank and file members, union officers, or union staff. Major objectives are participation and leadership in community life; improvement of job opportunities and earning power of unemployed or under-employed workers; and operation of a democratic and civic-minded union through promotion of increased membership participation in union and community affairs. The program will provide educational services which persons drawn primarily from minority groups could use to expand their knowledge and skills. It will therefore range from literacy classes to training for leadership. Classes will be held in urban areas, mostly in the South, but include at least one city each in the Northern and Western part of the country.

Individ

South only? yes.

define? Could be smaller

Signature of Project Director _____ Date _____

Do Not Use This Space

Amount of Grant: $ _____

Grant Period: From _____ to _____

Grantee Support: $ _____

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

Form Approved
Budget Bureau No.
Approval Expires

Leave Blank
Date Rec'd.
Application No.
Date Ack'd.

Leave Blank
Action
Action Date
Grant No.

PROPOSAL FOR DEMONSTRATION OR TRAINING OR RESEARCH GRANT

P.L. 88-452 Title II A Section 207

Type of Project: [X] Demonstration [ ] Training [ ] Research

A. Amount *(for the grant period shown in item B)*

$ $86,760

B. Duration of Grant Period *(12 months or less-See instructions.)*

October 1, 1965 through September 30, 1966
Mo. Day Year *Mo. Day Year*

C. Type of Proposal *(Check one box only)*

[X] New Proposal

[ ] Continuation of Grant Number

D. Estimated Duration of Project after the first grant period

12 Months — up. 1-2 yrs.?

E. Estimated Total Cost of the project beyond the first grant period $86,760

F. Project Director

Name Dr. Emory Via

Mail Address of Project 1755 Massachusetts Ave.
Suite 300, Washington 36, D.C.

Tel. No. 232-2770

G. Applicant Agency or Department

Name National Institute of Labor Education

Mail Address 1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington 36, D.C.

H. Financial Officer

Name Mr. L. H. Adolfson

Title Treasurer

Mail Address 1755 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Suite 300, Washington 36, D.C.

Tel. No.

I. Designation of Payee *(Treasury check will be drawn as follows)* National Institute of Labor Education

J. Official Authorized to Sign Proposal for agency

Name Joseph Mire

Title Executive Director

K. Personal Signatures (in ink)

(1) Project Director (Same as "F" above) Date

(2) Authorized Official (Same as "J" above) Date

Mail Completed Application to:
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20506

CAP-RDT FORM 2
DEC 64

PROPOSED BUDGET

Use this form to itemize the expenses of the project in the grant period from October 1, 1965 (Mo. Day Year) to September 30, 1966 (Mo. Day Year) (Same as period shown on page 1, item B) The total amount requested in item i of column(2) must be the same as shown on page 1, item A.

(1)		(2) Funds requested from OEO (Omit cents)	(3) Grantee Contribution (Omit cents)
a. Personnel List all positions. Indicate time devoted to project and basis of compensatio. (see instructions).			
Project Director (Full Time): $15,000		$	$
Project Assistants (3 Professionals at $12,000 per year each): $36,000			
Secretary (Full Time): $ 5,000			
Social Security & Employee Benefits: $ 5,600			
Total Personnel	$61,600	$ 54,100	$ 7,500
b. Trainees (Itemize): Applicable to Training Projects Only: (1) Subsistence		$	$
Instruction Cost (See Page 8 of Proposal):		---	17,500
(2) Travel		$	$
c. Permanent Equipment (Itemize)	Total	$	$
d. Consumable Supplies (Itemize by major types)	Total 4,000	$ 4,000	$
Office Supplies, Telephone, Postage			
e. Travel (Itemize)	Total 5,000	$ 5,000	$
f. Miscellaneous Expenses (Itemize)	Total 9,200	$ 9,200	$
Rent: $ 4,200			
Scholarship Fund: $ 2,500			
Evaluation: $ 2,500			
g. Totals – Direct Costs (Sum of categories a through f)	$79,800	$ 72,300	$ 25,000
h. Indirect Costs (See Instructions and *Conditions Governing Grants*)	$15,960	$ 14,460	1,500
i. Totals (Sum of categories g and h)	$95,760	$ 86,760	$ 26,500

up

CAP-RDT FORM 3
DEC 64

1. ESTIMATED BUDGET FOR SUBSEQUENT GRANT PERIOD(S)

A. Use the form provided below to give estimates of budget category totals for each grant period being requested. If support beyond the period requested in item B of page 1 of the application is not required, enter the word none in the appropriate column(s).

BUDGET CATEGORIES		SECOND GRANT PERIOD Oct. 1, 1966 to Sept. 30, '67 (Mo. Day Year / Mo. Day Year)			THIRD GRANT PERIOD ____ to ____ (Mo. Day Year / Mo. Day Year)		
		OEO	Applicant Organization	Other (specify)	OEO	Applicant Organization	Other (specify)
a. Personnel	$61,600	$54,100		$ 7,500	1/		
b. Trainees: (Training Projects Only) Cost of Instruction							
(1) Subsistence				$17,500	1/		
(2) Travel							
c. Permanent Equipment							
d. Consumable Supplies	$ 4,000	$ 4,000					
e. Travel	$ 5,000	$ 5,000					
f. Miscellaneous Expenses	$ 9,200	$ 9,200					
g. Total Direct Costs (Sum of lines a-f)	$79,800	$72,300		$25,000			
h. Indirect Costs	$15,960	$14,460	2/	$ 1,500			
i. Total Budget (Sum of lines g-h)	$95,760	$86,760		$26,500			
1/ See Page 8 of Proposal.							

B. Use the space below to explain and justify any unusual expenses. (Use continuation pages if necessary).

EV-SRC

2/ All bookkeeping, payment of bills, payroll, tax reports, audit, insurance forms, etc., will be handled in the NILE office in Washington, D.C. Cost of these items, plus prorated share of time spent on this project by the Director and Other staff members of both NILE and the Southern Regional Council constitute the indirect costs charged to the project.

II. PREVIOUS AND CURRENT SUPPORT OF PROJECT (complete applicable lines only if this is an application for a continuation grant)

GRANT NUMBER	GRANT PERIOD	AMOUNT OF GRANT
	First Grant Period	
A.	From ____ to ____ (Mo. Day Year / Mo. Day Year)	
	Second Grant Period	
B.	From ____ to ____ (Mo. Day Year / Mo. Day Year)	

CAP-RDT FORM 4
DEC 64

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Provide brief sketches for all major professional personnel already selected who are to be actively engaged in this project. Begin with the Project Director.

A. 1. Name: Dr. Emory Via 2. Date of birth: 1925

3. Title of position in program: Project Director 4. Sex: Male

5. Education:

Degrees conferred. (Begin with baccalaureate degree. Identify honorary degrees under field.):

DEGREE	INSTITUTION CONFERRING	FIELD(S)	YEAR
Ph.D.	University of Chicago	Political Science	

6. Experience, especially that establishing qualifications in area covered by this application:

NATURE	YEAR(S)

7. Fields of present professional interest, in order of choice:

Political Science, Labor Economics

8. List publications in area related to project emphasis. (No more than five.):

B. 1. Name: 2. Date of birth:

3. Title of position in program: 4. Sex:

5. Education:

Degrees conferred. (Begin with baccalaureate degree. Identify honorary degrees under field.):

DEGREE	INSTITUTION CONFERRING	FIELD(S)	YEAR

6. Experience, especially that establishing qualifications in area covered by this application:

NATURE	YEAR(S)

7. Fields of present professional interest, in order of choice:

8. List publications in area related to project emphasis. (No more than five.):

CAP-RDT FORM 5
DEC 64

Office of Economic Opportunity

APPLICATION FOR A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

Demonstration, Research or Training Grant

CAP-RDT.8. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT

(This form is to be filled in by the applicant agency's counsel)

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY: National Institute of Labor Education

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

4.1 TYPE OF APPLICANT

- [ ] PUBLIC
- [x] PRIVATE NONPROFIT

4.2 PUBLIC AGENCY *If public, indicate whether applicant is:*

- [ ] STATE(S)
- [ ] COUNTY(IES)
- [ ] CITY(IES)
- [ ] INSTITUTION(S) OF HIGHER EDUCATION
- [ ] TRIBAL COUNCIL(S)

OTHER *(Specify)*

If applicant is a public agency, proceed to item 4.5; do not answer items 4.3 and 4.4.

4.3 INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

[ ] *Check here if applicant is an institution of higher education as defined in Section 401(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1963, Public Law 88–204. If this is the case, proceed to item 4.5; do not answer item 4.4.*

4.4 PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION

If applicant is a private nonprofit agency other than an institution of higher education, answer all of the following questions.

4.4.1 NONPOLITICAL

IS APPLICANT A POLITICAL PARTY? [ ] YES [x] NO

4.4.2 NONPROFIT STATUS

HAS FEDERAL TAX EXEMPTION BEEN APPLIED FOR? [x] YES [ ] NO

IF YES, GIVE DATE: July, 1957

STATUS OF APPLICATION: [x] GRANTED [ ] DENIED [ ] PENDING

4.4.3 IF TAX EXEMPTION WAS GRANTED

GIVE DATE: August 4, 1959

IS IT CURRENTLY IN EFFECT? [x] YES [ ] NO

4.4.4 [ ] *If Federal tax exemption has not been applied for, or if it was granted but is not currently in effect, explain on an attached statement the reasons for such action. Check here if statement is attached.*

4.4.5 *If Federal tax exemption has not been applied for, or if such application is currently pending, do you certify to the best of your information and belief, applicant is a nonprofit agency, which is defined as an agency (other than a political party) no part of whose earnings inures or lawfully may inure directly or indirectly to the benefit of any private member, shareholder, or other individual?*

[ ] YES [ ] NO *If you wish to explain your answer to this question, attach a statement and check here.* [ ]

4.4.6 CORPORATE STATUS

INCORPORATED [x] YES [ ] NO

IF YES, GIVE DATE AND STATE OF INCORPORATION: July, 1957, State of Illinois

IF NO, GIVE DATE OF ORIGIN:

4.4.7 CONCERN WITH POVERTY

YEAR APPLICANT AGENCY CREATED: 1957

IS IT AN AGENCY WITH PRIOR CONCERN WITH PROBLEMS OF POVERTY? [x] YES [ ] NO *(see below)*

IF YES, SPECIFY YEAR SUCH CONCERN BEGAN: 1959

TYPE OF ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN AT THAT TIME AND SUBSEQUENTLY: Mental Health and Low Income Groups

4.4.8 IS APPLICANT AGENCY SPONSORED BY A PUBLIC AGENCY?

[ ] YES [x] NO

If so, specify name(s) of agency(ies), and indicate nature of sponsorship in such terms as: ex officio representation on governing body, naming of members of governing body, official resolution authorizing creation of applicant, etc.

NAME OF PUBLIC AGENCY	NATURE OF SPONSORSHIP

4.4.9 IS APPLICANT AGENCY SPONSORED BY AN INSTITUTION OR ORGANIZATION WITH A PRIOR CONCERN WITH PROBLEMS OF POVERTY?

[ ] YES [ ] NO

If sponsored by an institution(s) or organization(s) with prior concern with problems of poverty, specify names of institution(s) and organization(s), and nature of sponsorship in such terms as: ex officio representation on governing body, naming of members of governing body, official resolution authorizing creation of applicant, etc.:

NAME OF INSTITUTION OR ORGANIZATION	NATURE OF SPONSORSHIP

4.10 CERTIFICATION OF AUTHORITY

I, the undersigned, as a duly licensed attorney at law, hereby certify that to the best of my information and belief, the applicant agency has the authority, under applicable principles of law, to carry out the program described in this application.

TYPED NAME OF COUNSEL: George W. Overton

ADDRESS: 105 W. Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois

SIGNATURE: [signature]

CAP-RDT FORM 8 DEC 64

GSA DC 65-11217

How final is this proposal?

See Clarence Coleman proposal E.W. suggests

LEADERSHIP TRAINING FOR DISADVANTAGED UNIONISTS

This is a proposal to train educationally and culturally disadvantaged unionists, whether rank and file members, union officers, or full time staff, for participation and leadership in community life so that they can be effectively involved in community action programs. rationale tie to CAP

Important secondary objectives of this program are the improvement of job opportunities and earning power of unemployed or under-employed workers; and the operation of a democratic and civic-minded union through the promotion of increased membership participation.

Leaders develop themselves by making use of available experiences. This program would provide educational services which persons drawn primarily from minority groups could use to expand their knowledge and skills in the directions needed. The subjects taught could include a range from reading techniques (both elementary and advanced) to advanced training for leadership in community affairs. A number of cities in Southern States will be selected by the sponsors, ~~mostly located in the South, but including at least one city each in the Northern and Western part of the country,~~ where there is a cluster of unions composed of educationally-deprived members and/or union officers and where there are also teachers available. We shall then attempt to work out, in consultation with the local union officers, a comprehensive program of education and training. This attempt to help disadvantaged unionists would be a natural part of the overall effort to erase poverty. Its main thrust is to use the instrumentality of the labor movement as a vital force in the implementation of the Economic Opportunity and the new Civil Rights Act.

How many

Unions with predominant representation of low income and/or minority

Urban legal nationwide

groups include the following: Building Service Employees' International Union; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; United Packinghouse Workers; Textile Workers Union of America; International Hod Carriers'; Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; Tobacco Workers International Union; United Transport Service Employees; Retail Clerks International Association; Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; United Furniture Workers of America; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union; and the International Longshoremen's Association.

Reasons for Project: It is commonplace to observe

The slower pace of economic and human advancement in the South is a drag on the whole country. One of the reasons Lack of education and leadership skills constitute definite bottlenecks in the economy and in our efforts to improve community life. The problem has to be attacked on several levels, including economic and educational development. A total war on poverty obviously must include policies directed toward sufficient economic growth and attention to the improvement of individual

The great discrepancies between school years completed by whites and Negroes, respectively, are well established facts, borne out by investigations conducted by the Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census. In addition, further educational opportunities have been severely restricted for these people, as for many poor whites, by the simple fact of their poverty.

They have also been cut off by the habits of segregation from contact with other sections of the labor movement locally, and from other groups. The social changes now taking place require that they learn to take a responsible

Is this an important factor still? What showing required from viewpoint of O.E.O.?

place in the community. This means that they must first be motivated themselves to prepare for jobs, and to seek better jobs. Only if they can be thus stimulated will they be able to take advantage of the opportunities which are opening up either through the various governmental programs or through the current healthy flow of our economy. And only then can they become actively involved in community programs.

Poverty problems are problems of urban areas and the majority of workers are urban dwellers. Furthermore, of the 35 million American poor, many are union members. According to estimates by AFL-CIO Research Director Nat Goldfinger, somewhere in the neighborhood of 1 million union members earn less than $3,000 a year, which means, if family members are included, that the number of the poor in union families could be as high as 4 million.

They are caught in the full range of human devastation in the poverty culture described by Harrington. Many are below par physically, and most are mentally impoverished as well. They have almost no hope of ever getting a significantly better income and of escaping from permanent poverty. They feel caught in a vicious circle, powerless and isolated.

But they aren't completely isolated. They do belong to unions, and unions are a way to reach them. Their unions, and others they are affiliated with, are also instruments they can use to help themselves in a broader attack on their problems than collective bargaining alone allows.

What We Hope to Achieve:

Many of the benefits of the program proposed here, as with most education, would be intangible or untraceable. Some of the advantages to students, as well as to their communities, are clear, however.

The development of skilled, independent minority group leadership will help the communities concerned in many respects. The quality of community life might be improved by directing the energies of an important group into more constructive channels. Labor representation in community organizations could become a constructive "idea" force, rather than mere window dressing, as is the case in so many places today. There should be, for instance, easier access to union leadership for local, state and federal agencies administering school systems, job training - and poverty programs. The desegregation process may become smoother with the help of Negro leaders trained in dealing with problems of minority groups, whether they arise on the job, in the plant, or in the community.

The individuals will experience the personal growth which education yields, and they will also be increasing their capacities for such growth because of the nature of the educational program and the learning - and human relations skills - taught. Those showing significant capacities for learning and/or leadership may be recommended for further education and training to appropriate union or educational institutions.

Industry would gain through a more productive work force and a more orderly relationship which could be expected from more capable and responsible leaders. This, in turn, should increase the odds for public peace~~, because of the increased ability to prevent extreme action.~~

Conduct of Project:

The project will be conducted jointly by the Southern Regional Council (SRC) and the National Institute of Labor Education (NILE). The former has had long experience in handling human relations problems in the South, the latter

will provide the expertise needed in developing labor education programs and contacts with labor groups. Advisory Committees composed of union representatives and educators will be set up in each city selected for participation in the program. These committees will aid in the determination of the specific educational needs and also assist in recruiting and physical arrangements.

The full cooperation and advice of the AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights have already been assured, while that of the respective national unions, state federations of labor, and other appropriate labor bodies will be sought as the project progresses.

Supplement these skills + with substantial understanding

Subjects taught might vary somewhat from place to place, depending on the needs of those selected to attend. For example, there are leaders with serviceable social and verbal skills whose reading abilities are negligible. In any case, reading and study skills would be a part of each group's program, as well as advice on what to read and why. Part of the time set aside for individual conferences would be devoted to developing a reading program tailored to each individual's needs. Reading, Writing, Speaking, Listening

Vary a great deal if need + interest dictate

Other subjects might include the elements of local, state, and federal government and political processes; the economics of industry in the area; small and mass group behavior; human relations education; community problems; union history, structure, operation and goals; effective communication; how to plan work and problem-solving techniques; American political philosophies and issues; and last but not least; consideration of governmental and private programs having to do with training and improvement of skills and knowledge.

Stress allows for basic union ed — extremely important to developing leadership in context!

The project will be under the direction of Dr. Emory Via, formerly a staff member of the Southern Regional Council, and presently on leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Via is a recognized expert on problems

of labor in the South, as well as on labor education.

Evaluation of the program will be an integral part of the project. This will include observation of classes by educational experts, questionnaires to students and interviews of teachers, students and union officers.

How valuable or statistical?

The National Institute of Labor Education:

The National Institute of Labor Education, a non-profit educational organization, was established to meet a variety of needs in the education of workers. It also serves as a framework for cooperation between labor and non-labor groups. Its broad objectives are to:

improve the quality and quantity of labor education;

promote and expand cooperation between labor and non-labor educational agencies;

render technical assistance, on labor education research projects and programs, to foundations, public and private educational institutions, community organizations, and other non-labor agencies;

act as a clearinghouse for information on labor education programs, techniques, materials, and other pertinent experiences;

foster research and experimentation in the field of labor education in subject matter, content, and methodology;

assist workers, through education, to develop their maximum effectiveness as individual human beings and as citizens of a free society.

NILE is uniquely qualified to undertake the proposed task. Its Board of Directors (see Enclosure 1) is composed of outstanding persons from the field of education, public affairs, and labor. Its basic concept has been reviewed and endorsed by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and all its labor members serve on the Board of Directors as official appointees of President George Meany. The Institute thus has a built-in contact and approach to the labor movement and

stands at a strategic point to assume responsibility for an undertaking which reaches right into the heart of the union situation and which presents many problems of delicate and serious concern to the labor movement and the public.

Cost:

To implement this proposal, three cost factors have to be considered; namely organization, administration, and instruction.

Organization and administration includes the planning of the work and performance of the necessary administrative tasks such as promotion and contacts with national and local union officers and educational authorities. These costs, for the two-year period, are estimated as follows:

?

	One Year	Two Years
Salaries:		
Project Director: 16,000 & 16,500	$15,000	$30,000 ?
Project Assistants (3 Professionals at $12,000 per year):	$36,000	$72,000
Secretary:	$ 5,000	$10,000
Social Security & Employee Benefits:	$ 5,600	$11,200
Travel:	$ 5,000	$10,000 enough
Office Supplies, Telephone, Postage:	$ 4,000	$ 8,000
Rent:	$ 4,200	$ 8,400
Scholarships:	$ 2,500	$ 5,000
Evaluation:	~~$ 2,500~~ 3,000	~~$ 5,000~~ 6,000
Overhead:	$15,960	$31,920
	$95,760	$191,520

Instruction includes teaching fees, classroom rental, and materials. These costs, for two years, are estimated as follows:

Flexible?

Tuition Fees (80 classes at $25 per session for 12 weeks):	$24,000
Classroom facilities and ~~materials~~ ($10 per session, 8 classes per week for 12 weeks):	$ 9,600
Materials:	$ 1,400
	$35,000

8-12 weeks

80

enough?

Financing:

The National Institute of Labor Education has received a grant of $18,000 from the Stern Foundation, which will be applied toward the cost of organization and administration.

We further expect the cost of instruction to be absorbed through tuition fees charged to unions and/or individual members with the exception of a modest scholarship fund which has been included in the budget for organization and administration to enable us to help in meritorious cases where neither the union nor the individual worker is able to participate in the program without outside help.

limited

Argue re U. to Nathan ertob. Prospects forget it!

and ability to pay

Its poor folks!

It is therefore suggested that the two-year program be financed as follows:

Item:	Cost	Financing	
		OEO	Other Sources
Organization and Administration:	$191,520	$173,520	$18,000 1/
Instruction:	$ 35,000		$35,000 2/
	$226,520	$173,520	$53,000

1/ Grant from Stern Foundation.

2/ Tuition Fees paid by unions and/or members

Why not Stern money as 10% as minimum & greater flexibility re Union tuition grants — at least a matching basis plus Scholarships —

We respectfully request a grant in the amount of $173,520 to implement this proposal.

Enclosure 1

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Joseph Mire	Executive Director/Secretary

January 1965

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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October 13, 1965

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I just came back from my meeting with Dr. Kravitz at the Office of Economic Opportunity. The evaluation of our proposal by OEO staff has been, I understand, quite favorable, and it does seem that we have a really good chance of getting the grant. However, there are several changes we have to make:

1. It is now suggested that we limit the program to the South.

2. We should underplay literacy training and put more emphasis on leadership training.

3. We need to be a little more specific about the curriculum and the evaluation of the program. The budget for the latter could be upped, if necessary.

Our proposal has been dropped in the lap of Earl Williams, who is supposed to work out the revisions with us. He is going to Arkansas next week, and will, of course, discuss the proposal there with you.

Enclosed is a copy of the proposal we had submitted to OEO, and which now has to be revised. Please give this matter your earnest thought. Perhaps you could have some recommendations for changes ready when you meet with Earl next week.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Enclosure

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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BRENDAN SEXTON
GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

November 1, 1965

Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I met today with Earl Williams, and he told me of his discussions with you in Arkansas. In case you haven't yet sent the proposal I understand you are working on, I am sending you the following information on my talk with Earl.

We agreed:

a) that the number of classes be reduced to a minimum of five per man per year;

b) to put into the budget an item for tuition costs amounting to approximately 50 percent of estimated total tuition. This is in addition to the item for scholarships; and

c) we should put in an item of $3,000 for Evaluation, indicating in a few short paragraphs what our plans are for evaluation and stating that the agency and/or person doing the evaluation had not yet been selected, but would be chosen in agreement with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Hope we hear from you very soon. Please consider that this proposal has already been approved in principle by the OEO staff, except for Shriver, and the people here don't expect any trouble from him.

I am also waiting to hear from you and/or Paul about the Human Relations Project. Hope we aren't crowding you too much.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

~~Ex. L. spec. file~~

November 8, 1965

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director
National Institute of
Labor Education
Suite 300
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Your phone conversation and letter of November 1 just about persuaded me that there was no special reason for my comments since you and Earl had essentially covered the issues we discussed at Hot Springs. However, I will point up a few problems that are not resolved at this time, and perhaps make a few suggestions for possible alternate wording, deletions, or additions.

On all of these matters, it seems to me that your judgment in consultation with OEO is paramount. This is especially true if the OEO staff feels that the project is as close to being accepted as you indicate. I wonder how much more detail is really necessary to satisfy Earl's requirements before presentation to Shriver. In any case, the accompanying sheets should catch you up with my thinking and serve as a basis for our discussion on November 10.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js
Enclosure - 1.

Comments on the Nile Disadvantaged Unionists Proposal to OEO

Problems:

1. The cities and states where programs will be executed need to be selected. It is my understanding from Earl that because of the problem of gubernatorial veto, acceptable locations must be designated in advance. I would assume you must rely heavily on OEO advice on which governors would likely go along with the proposal. Earl seems to think that Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas are all possibilities. South Carolina might be. I would think that Texas might be. Alabama seems to be definitely out.

2. What kind of assistance will be available in recruiting staff. Such assistance should be program-need oriented and not weighted with undue political considerations We can discuss this more fully when I see you on November 10.

3. I do not see how you can list me as full-time director. I am fully employed at this time. It is true if the Council agreed to undertake some portion of the project that I would be the person on whom they would rely. In such an event I would of course participate fully in all phases of the project. But you should think through how this matter should be handled at this stage with OEO, especially since my name appeared as full-time director on the original application. If you have occasion to list my qualifications again, you might wish to note that my B.A. was from Emory University in Georgia, that my secondary field is <u>not</u> labor economics, but that I do have extensive experience in workers education in the South and elsewhere.

4. SRC's potential relation to this project does not envision my being put directly on the NILE payroll (indicated in your budget on page 3). I would continue as an SRC staffer with responsibilities for any agreement between NILE and SRC.

5. I am not sure that saying (page 4 of the request) the project will be conducted "jointly" between SRC and NILE is the best description of the relationship that now exists. My sensitivity on this is that I would not want it to appear that SRC is committed to more than it has in fact agreed to, or to appear to be joining in the fund request. Perhaps more tentative language would be more suitable. Something to the effect that it is envisioned that NILE will contract with SRC for the execution of the major portion of the actual field work.

6. How should the underwriting of cost of classes be stated? My starting point here is a conviction that most individuals or local unions whose members fall into the poverty category will not be willing to pay more than a very nominal fee.

The program's selling job should be almost exclusively concerned with needs, content, etc., and not have the additional problem of persuading locals to undertake any substantial cost. The way it now stands, if each class has 12 sessions, and the teaching cost os $25 per session, and the facilities and materials costs are $137 per class (adding your budget figures for "classroom facilities and materials" and for "materials" separately listed on page 8, and divided by 80 classes), and if an average of 15 persons are in each class, then the per pupil cost comes to something like $29 per class of 12 persons. Of this amount, it is now proposed that funds would be available for 50% of the teaching costs; on the basis of 15 students this comes to $10 per student. If the scholarship money stays the same ($2,500 a year), and the total number of classes is reduced to 20 per year, and the number of students is 15 per class, then another $8 plus is available to defray the cost to the student. The total cost to the student, tuition plus materials, is now reduced to $11 per person. This is a high charge even by Wisconsin standards, and I think prohibitive here. I doubt that we can get any advance commitment from internationals to pick up this amount and I cannot see transferring the burden to the locals. I should think that the amount to cover the instruction and materials costs should be upped substantially so that the remaining costs would be in the neighborhood of $2 per person. It might be useful to maintain the scholarship fund even if it is rather routinely applied to offset the charge to individuals. My comments to Earl were that I did not think that unions would be able to pay any more than half of the orifinally proposed tuition. As you see in most cases, I think that they will be able to pay much less. I am assuming that you do not jeopardize your 10% local contribution by these changes. The $18,000 from Stern should cover that.

7. I am personally curious about what effect the recent story on the Bureau of the Budget's cutting back on C.A.P. funds, evidently on the leadership training question, will have on this request and the future emphases of the OEO

Now for a few suggestions about the body of the proposal. Earl seemed to think that it lacked spedificity -- atffirst, he didn't get the picture of just what was being proposed. Basically, I think what you meant to cover is covered; perhaps he wants it put together differently. It is a matter of judgment as to when it is beneficial to be specific. Perhpps giving a sample outline for the cirriculum and some further word on tome would help.

Because flexibility is important in these kinds of classes, maybe a statement like the following would be useful:

"The subjects covered in a class and the time devoted to each will, of course, vary with the needs, interests, and ability of each local group. Every effort will be made to plan the subject areas in advance with members of the local advisory group. However, the individual instructor will be urged to be responsive to the needs and interests of his class as they develop in the course of instruction. It is understood that such variations of the program will still fit the major purposes of the overall program and that the subjects discussed would still fit comfortably into one of the three major curriculum areas."

The major topics to be discussed in the classes will be incorporated in three major subject matter areas: Union Administration, Understanding the Community, and Economic and Social Understanding. The material in parentheses need not be included in proposal, but indicates even more specifically what might be covered.

I. Union Administration

A. Structure and function of unions -- general background. (History, place in economy, importance of).

B. Getting the most out of committees. (Organizing the local internally).

C. Improving the local meeting. (Parliamentary procedure, speech, educational techniques).

D. Effective labor-management relations. (Grievance handling and human relations).

II. Understanding the Community

A. Ways of viewing a community. (An overview in simplified terms of community studies).

B. Community organizations and programs.

C. Community problems. (Race relations, education, welfare, police).

D. Duties and responsibilities of effective citizens. (Staying informed; registration and voting).

III. Economic and Social Understanding

A. Local, regional, and national economic problems.

B. The nature of the American political system. (Federal system, parties and politics, institutional framework, constitutional liberties).

C. Current issues. (Civil rights, war of poverty, social security, labor protective legislation).

I would urge that you not become committed to any set pattern of classes. Allowing for 8 to 12 sessions seems better than a flat 12. You might recognize the desirability of not always keeping to a one-night-a-week pattern. Each night for a week might be more feasible in some situations or a weekend institute in others. This doesn't all have to be spelled out as long as your language and the understanding of OEO are such that variations in the pattern are allowed.

You will, of course, eliminate references to literacy and remedial work. Perhaps a paragraph indicating that where leaders attending classes show such deficiencies that efforts will be made to supply them with special help through the auspices of the project or other channels.

All non-southern references will be eliminated.

Evaluation:

There will be an interim evaluation at the end of the first year of operation. Such an evaluation will make use of an evaluator to be agreed upon between NILE and OEO. Project personnel, other instructors, students, and union and community representatives will be interviewed. Where feasible the persons who have played a part in a given class will engage in a group evaluation. The evaluation will seek to determine any increase in leadership effectiveness, new activities in the community on the part of the students, improvement in job status by students, and any further educational activities pursued by the students. If during the year it seems feasible, some form of "before-and-after testing" -- at least testing the amount of information transmitted -- will be devised. Each class will close with an informal evaluation, either written or oral or both. The results of the interim evaluation -- class by class and end of year together -- will be used to determine needed changes in the program and improvements in the evaluation process itself. It is agreed that at least for the first year evaluation will rely largely on non-statistical and non-written techniques.

Purpose or reasons for project:

It is proposed to demonstrate through this project that unions offer a vehical for teaching, motivating, and training disadvantaged persons for effective community participation by increasing their leadership skills and their substantive understanding. The local union provides a natural setting in which leadership can be developed and its skills tested and improved. Further, an organizational leader can avoid operating in a vacuum for he has a base for support in exercising his leadership in the community. Because his union role is a real life one, and not just a matter of talk, a union leaderstends to develop a sense of responsibility. Similarly, as the union leader begins to understand his role in the union and the union's role in the community, he is likely to realize that his community actions must be as responsible as his union actions in that they, too, affect many others.

not really as original

It is also suggested here that the broadening of understanding and sharpening of skills on the part of individuals will affect his ability to work at a higher level and will motivate him towards an improved job situation. Such training should also provide a much needed pool of responsible leaders within the community.

A rationale for the project which I like, but doubt is saleable, runs as follows. There are basically two approaches to the problem of poverty. They may overlap, intertwine, or supplement each other. One, is to take that public and private action which improves the health of the economy. These are the actions that stimulate growth rate and substantially reduce unemployment. Essentially, they are devices for creating a larger pot of material goods.

The other approaches focus more on individuals -- admittedly, in aggregate they may stimulate the whole economy to some degree. These approaches include activities which make a man's labor more marketable -- training, education, and the development of leadership.

An approach such as collective bargaining is also a method by which individuals, by banding together, can affect the material goods they will have to enjoy -- to some extent this is a matter of dividing the pot differently, as is true in the case of individual improvement. The disadvantaged unionist project can assist in building more effective bargaining units. This should be compatible with a public policy of 30 years that encourages collective bargaining. Effective bargaining can also go beyond the mere division of material

goods. It can affect, in a basic way, the quality of life and the degree of human dignity enjoyed by persons on the lower economic levels.

Because of some such reasoning as the above, it is my hope that the project will allow for the teaching of basic union courses as contemplated in the original Stern proposal. I feel that this approach maximizes the effectiveness of learning in a meaningful context and that it provides the most conducive atmosphere for leadership development.

NILE - Disadvantaged Unionist Project

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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November 15, 1965

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I hope you got back home safely from your strenuous trip to Washington. Let me confirm in writing some of our understandings:

I. Southern Staff Institute:

A. We are tentatively estimating that we will attempt to achieve the following savings in the budget:

Travel and Subsistence for Director-	$300
Office Supplies-	$200
Committee Travel-	$400
Contingency-	$150
	$1,050

In turn, we are anticipating an additional $300 expense for tuition and travel for teachers; approximately $200 to pay for the Coop Room; and possibly subsidies for books, materials, coffee, and dinners - the exact amount of which we have not yet determined.

B. We are running off the application forms today. I hope you will be able to send us a fairly advanced outline of the program soon.

C. I will be checking with Campbell as to whether he might be able to attend the winding up of the Institute, and shall let you know. I do want to remind you by all means to try to involve Lane Kirkland. His being at our Institute could also prove quite helpful to the SRC.

II. Disadvantaged Unionists:

Your recommendations, as communicated to me in the enclosure with your letter of November 8, are most helpful, and I appreciate the time you

took to get them on paper. We agreed that you would give only part time to the project, and that we would also indicate somewhere in the text that we have reached only an agreement in principle with SRC on joint sponsorship of this project, while conditions and details will still have to be worked out and agreed on.

Joe's language ?

III. Human Relations Institutes:

We reached tentative agreement that the conduct of the project be essentially in your hands, subject to the jurisdiction of the SRC. NILE will perform such services as seem appropriate and advisable in line with requests from the SRC.

NILE will receive one-fourth of the approximately $22,130 overhead. The NILE share will cover past actual expenses in developing the proposal, and overhead incurred in the past and to be incurred during the two to three year operation of the project. It will not cover future actual cash expenditures.

2 years only.

Let me know whether the foregoing correctly states the various discussions and understandings reached during your recent trip here.

It was good to see you. I am much pleased by the courtesy and cooperation extended to us by the Southern Regional Council and yourself, and look forward to what I hope will be an era of fruitful cooperation between our two organizations. Please give my kindest regards to Paul.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

[1/1/66]

CAP-RDT FORM 1
DEC 64

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Form Approved
Budget Bureau No.
Approval Expires

Project No. (Do not Use This Space)

NOTICE OF TRAINING OR DEMONSTRATION OR RESEARCH PROJECT

Submitted to: Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. 20506

Type of Project: [X] Demonstration [X] Training [ ] Research

Give names, departments, and official titles of PROJECT DIRECTOR and ALL MAJOR PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL engaged on the project:

Dr. Joseph Mire, Project Director

Name or title of project (10 words or less):

Community Action Leadership Training for Low-Income Unionists in the South

Name and Address of Applicant:

National Institute of Labor Education
at American University
1911 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Summary of Proposed Project – (200 words or less.) In the Science Information Exchange summaries of proposed projects are exchanged with governmental and private agencies and are forwarded to interested investigators. Your summary will be used for these purposes.

An estimated one million members of labor organizations earn less than $3,000 per year, and must therefore be counted, together with their family members, among the nation's poor. This is a proposal to demonstrate the advisability and practicability of using labor unions as instrumentalities for the training of educationally and culturally disadvantaged unionists, whether rank and file members, union officers, or union staff. Generally, these unionists are less affluent than auto or steel workers. Major objectives are participation and leadership in community life; and operation of a democratic and civic-minded union through promotion of increased membership participation in community action and development. The program will provide educational services which persons drawn primarily from minority groups could use to expand their knowledge and skills. will be concerned essentially with leadership training and cover three subject matter areas: Understanding the Community in Relation to Community Action; Socio-economic Aspects of Poverty; and How Union Structure Can Serve Community Action.

Signature of Project Director Joseph Mire Date 1/1/66

Do Not Use This Space

Amount of Grant: $ _____

Grant Period: From _____ to _____

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

Form Approved
Budget Bureau No.
Approval Expires

Leave Blank
Date Rec'd.
Application No.
Date Ack'd.

Leave Blank
Action
Action Date
Grant No.

PROPOSAL FOR DEMONSTRATION OR TRAINING OR RESEARCH GRANT

P.L. 88-452 Title II A Section 207

Type of Project: [x] Demonstration [x] Training [ ] Research

A. Amount *(for the grant period shown in item B)*

$ 91,740

B. Duration of Grant Period *(12 months or less-See instructions.)*

June 1 1966 through May 31, 1967
Mo. Day Year *Mo. Day Year*

C. Type of Proposal *(Check one box only)*

[x] New Proposal

[ ] Continuation of Grant Number

D. Estimated Duration of Project after the first grant period

E. Estimated Total Cost of the project beyond the first grant period

F. Project Director

Name Dr. Joseph Mire

Mail Address of Project 1911 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Tel. No. 737-1366

G. Applicant Agency or Department

Name National Institute of Labor Education at American University

Mail Address 1911 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

H. Financial Officer

Name Mr. L. H. Adolfson

Title Treasurer

Mail Address 1911 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 2006

Tel. No. 737-1366

I. Designation of Payee *(Treasury check will be drawn as follows)* National Institute of Labor Education

J. Official Authorized to Sign Proposal for agency

Name Dr. Joseph Mire

Title Executive Director

K. Personal Signatures (in ink)

(1) Project Director (Same as "F" above) Joseph Mire Date I/1, 1966

(2) Authorized Official (Same as "J" above) Joseph Mire Date I/1, 1966

Mail Completed Application to:
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office of the President

PROPOSED BUDGET

Use this form to itemize the expenses of the project in the grant period from June (Mo.) 1 (Day) 1966 (Year) to May (Mo.) 31 (Day) 1967 (Year) (Same as period shown on page 1, item B) The total amount requested in item i of column(2) must be the same as shown on page 1, item A.

(1) a. Personnel List all positions. Indicate time devoted to project and basis of compensation (see instructions).	(2) Funds requested from OEO (Omit cents)	(3) Grantee Contribution (Omit cents)
Project Director- 25%	$ *	$
Project Coordinator - ½ time	8,500	
2 Project Assistants (professionals) @ $12,000 per year	16,500	7,500
Secretary/Administrative Assistant @ $6,000 per year	6,000	
Fringe Benefits @10%	3,850	
* Indirect Costs includes share of time spent on this project by the Director.		
Total Personnel $42,350	$ 34,850	$ 7,500
b. Trainees (Itemize): Applicable to Training Projects Only: (1) Subsistence SEE BUDGET EXPLANATION	$ 12,000	$
(2) Travel	$	$
c. Permanent Equipment (Itemize) — Total	$	$
NONE		
d. Consumable Supplies (Itemize by major types) — Total $1,960	$	$
Printing, publicity costs, supplies	1,960	
e. Travel (Itemize) — Total $6,000	$ 6,000	$
50 trips by project staff to all large southern cities -		
tourist class air fare plus taxis (average): $60 per trip	3,000	
200 days per diem @ $15 per day	3,000	
f. Miscellaneous Expenses (Itemize) — Total	$	$
Rent for Field Offices: 750 sq ft $4.00 per sq ft	3,000	
Independent Evaluation	3,000	
Telephone and Postage: $170 per month for 12 months includes		
installations and long distance calls	2,040	
Instruction Costs (See Budget Explanation)	15,600	
g. Totals — Direct Costs (Sum of categories a through f)	$ 78,450	$ 7,500
h. Indirect Costs (See Instructions and *Conditions Governing Grants*)	$ 13,290	1,500
i. Totals (Sum of categories g and h)	$ 91,740	$ 9,000

CAP-RDT FORM 3

BUDGET EXPLANATION

A. PERSONNEL

Salaries to be paid are in accordance with those paid by NILE and other non-profit institutions.

B. TRAINEES

200 trainees x 4 days = 800 man days
800 man days x $15.00 per day (stipends) = $12,000

E. TRAVEL

The Director, Project Coordinator and Assistants will be required to develop projects in many cities. This staff will be utilized for follow-up activities with the trainees. Field experiences will form a basis for subsequent training. Almost two-fifths of their working days will be spent in cities other than their place of residence. A typical round trip air fare between southern metropolitan areas is $60. In addition, trips to and from Washington, D. C., have to be contemplated. It is estimated that at least 50 trips will be taken by the project staff taking 200 man days. Use of private car (not to exceed $.10 per mile) and tours of more than one city on a trip should make it possible for more actual visits to be taken.

50 trips @ $60 air tourist fare plus taxis	$3,000
200 days per diem @ $15 per day	$3,000
Total Travel	$6,000

F. MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES

Rent for Field Offices: Coordinator @ 150 sq. ft.
Project Assistants (2) @ 150 sq. ft.
Secretary @ 100 sq. ft.
Meeting Room @ 200 sq. ft.
Total: 750 sq. ft. @ $4 sq. ft., including utilities and maintenance $3,000

Instruction Costs

The instruction costs have been computed as follows:

	One Year
Teachers Salaries (20 classes at $30 for 12 weeks):	$ 7,200
Teacher/Consultant Travel	1,000
Classroom Facilities (20 classes at $10 per session for 12 weeks):	2,400
Materials, Books (at $10 per trainee):	5,000
	$15,600

Budget Explanation (continued)

Three types of teachers will be employed in this program:

1. Instructors will be the backbone of the project. They will be residents of the areas served and have strong backgrounds in anti-poverty, federal programs, and community action. They will teach most of the classes and be available for counseling with the trainees.

2. Special instructors will conduct classes in specialized subjects in a particular locality. They will work with more than one class of trainees in the area. For instance, a professor of psychology might be employed to give special training in group dynamics to all of the classes in the New Orleans area.

3. Consulting Instructors may be required to give specialized instruction in several localities where the specialized instruction is not available from local sources. These Consulting Instructors will be paid travel and per diem.

It is impossible to predict the number of instructors needed in each category. In each city the exact mix will depend on the resources available. However, it is felt that the average cost for these instructors will be $30 per each class of 3 to 5 hours.

H. INDIRECT COSTS

This category includes office space provided by American University; office furniture and equipment provided by NILE; all bookkeeping, payment of bills, payroll, tax reports, bonding, audit, insurance, etc.; plus prorated share of time spent on this project by the Director and other staff members of NILE.

NILE has received other Federal government and institutional grants. In all these grant NILE incurs operating costs other than those budgeted for in the program. Therefore, it is a long-standing practice of NILE to charge 20 percent of the project cost as indirect cost. Because of special requests from OEO to limit indirect costs, we have requested less than this normal 20 percent. NILE does not have a large sustaining fund; it is therefore imperative that overhead costs incurred because of this project be included in the cost of the project.

Provision for Non-Federal Share

The non-federal share of $9,000 will be provided for this project through a special grant already committed by the Stern Family Fund.

I. ESTIMATED BUDGET FOR SUBSEQUENT GRANT PERIOD(S)

A. Use the form provided below to give estimates of budget category totals for each grant period being requested. If support beyond the period requested in item B of page 1 of the application is not required, enter the word none in the appropriate column(s).

BUDGET CATEGORIES	SECOND GRANT PERIOD ___ to ___ (Mo. Day Year / Mo. Day Year)			THIRD GRANT PERIOD ___ to ___ (Mo. Day Year / Mo. Day Year)		
	OEO	Applicant Organization	Other (specify)	OEO	Applicant Organization	Other (specify)
a. Personnel	34,850	7,500	1/			
b. Trainees: (Training Projects Only) (1) Subsistence	12,600					
(2) Travel						
c. Permanent Equipment						
d. Consumable Supplies	1,960					
e. Travel	6,000					
f. Miscellaneous Expenses	15,600					
g. Total Direct Costs (Sum of lines a-f)	78,450					
h. Indirect Costs	13,290	1,500				
i. Total Budget (Sum of lines g-h)	91,740					

B. Use the space below to explain and justify any unusual expenses. (Use continuation pages if necessary).

1/ Stern Family Fund Grant

While NILE is only requesting funds for one year's operation at this time, this project was conceived as atwo year project. Two years will be required in order to provide a comprehensive to disadvantaged unionists in the south. If conduct of the project is satisfactory to OEO, it is hoped that OEO will fund the program for a second year.

II. PREVIOUS AND CURRENT SUPPORT OF PROJECT (complete applicable lines only if this is an application for a continuation grant)

GRANT NUMBER	GRANT PERIOD	AMOUNT OF GRANT
	First Grant Period	
A.	From ___ (Mo. Day Year) to ___ (Mo. Day Year)	
	Second Grant Period	
B.	From ___ (Mo. Day Year) to ___ (Mo. Day Year)	

CAP-RDT FORM 4
DEC 64

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Provide brief sketches for all major professional personnel already selected who are to be actively engaged in this project. Begin with the Project Director.

A. 1. Name: Joseph Mire, Ph.D. 2. Date of birth: June 17, 1901

3. Title of position in program: Director 4. Sex: Male

5. Education:

Degrees conferred. (Begin with baccalaureate degree. Identify honorary degrees under field.):

DEGREE	INSTITUTION CONFERRING	FIELD(S)	YEAR
Doctor of Law and Economics	University of Vienna		1931

6. Experience, especially that establishing qualifications in area covered by this application:

	NATURE	YEAR(S)
Brookings Institution	Research	1941-1942
University of Wisconsin	Labor Education Specialist	1942-1943
AFSC & ME	Economic Research & Labor Educ.	1943-1955
TULEC-NILE	Labor Education	1955-1965

7. Fields of present professional interest, in order of choice:

Law, Economics, Labor Education

8. List publications in area related to project emphasis. (No more than five.):

LABOR IN THE WORLD CRISIS, published by the Council for Social Action of the Congregatio Christian Churches (1942)

LABOR EDUCATION, a study report on needs, programs, and approaches, published by the Inter-University Labor Education Committee (1956)

Contribution to professional magazines on economic and social topics

B. 1. Name: 2. Date of birth:

3. Title of position in program: 4. Sex:

5. Education:

Degrees conferred. (Begin with baccalaureate degree. Identify honorary degrees under field.):

DEGREE	INSTITUTION CONFERRING	FIELD(S)	YEAR

6. Experience, especially that establishing qualifications in area covered by this application:

NATURE	YEAR(S)

7. Fields of present professional interest, in order of choice:

8. List publications in area related to project emphasis. (No more than five.):

Am Fed of State, Co & Mun. Employees

Office of Economic Opportunity

APPLICATION FOR A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

Demonstration, Research or Training Grant

CAP-RDT.6. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT

(This form is to be filled in by the applicant agency's counsel)

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*
National Institute of Labor Education	

4.1 TYPE OF APPLICANT	4.2 PUBLIC AGENCY *(If public, indicate whether applicant is:*			
☐ PUBLIC	☐ STATE(S)	☐ COUNTY(IES)	☐ CITY(IES)	☐ INSTITUTION(S) OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☒ PRIVATE NONPROFIT	☐ TRIBAL COUNCIL(S)		OTHER *(Specify)*	

If applicant is a public agency, proceed to item 4.5; do not answer items 4.3 and 4.4.

4.3 INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

☐ *Check here if applicant is an institution of higher education as defined in Section 401(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965, Public Law 89-329. If this is the case, proceed to item 4.5; do not answer item 4.4.*

4.4 PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION

If applicant is a private nonprofit agency other than an institution of higher education, answer all of the following questions.

4.4.1 NONPOLITICAL	4.4.2 NONPROFIT STATUS		
IS APPLICANT A POLITICAL PARTY? ☐ YES ☒ NO	HAS FEDERAL TAX EXEMPTION BEEN APPLIED FOR? ☒ YES ☐ NO	IF YES, GIVE DATE: July, 1957	STATUS OF APPLICATION: ☒ GRANTED ☐ DENIED ☐ PENDING

4.4.3 IF TAX EXEMPTION WAS GRANTED		4.4.4 *If Federal tax exemption has not been applied for, or if it was granted but is not currently in effect, explain on an attached statement the reasons for such action. Check here if statement is attached.* ☐
GIVE DATE: August 4, 1959	IS IT CURRENTLY IN EFFECT? ☒ YES ☐ NO	

4.4.5 *If Federal tax exemption has not been applied for, or if such application is currently pending, do you certify to the best of your information and belief, applicant is a nonprofit agency, which is defined as an agency (other than a political party) no part of whose earnings inures or lawfully may inure directly or indirectly to the benefit of any private member, shareholder, or other individual?*

☐ YES ☐ NO *If you wish to explain your answer to this question, attach a statement and check here.* ☐

4.4.6 CORPORATE STATUS

INCORPORATED	IF YES, GIVE DATE AND STATE OF INCORPORATION	IF NO, GIVE DATE OF ORIGIN
☒ YES ☐ NO	July, 1957, State of Illinois	

4.4.7 CONCERN WITH POVERTY

YEAR APPLICANT AGENCY CREATED	IS IT AN AGENCY WITH PRIOR CONCERN WITH PROBLEMS OF POVERTY?	IF YES, SPECIFY YEAR SUCH CONCERN BEGAN.
1957	☒ YES ☐ NO *(see below)*	1959

TYPE OF ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN AT THAT TIME AND SUBSEQUENTLY

Mental Health and Low Income Groups

4.4.8 IS APPLICANT AGENCY SPONSORED BY A PUBLIC AGENCY?

☐ YES ☒ NO

If no, specify name(s) of agency(ies), and indicate nature of sponsorship in such terms as: ex officio representation on governing body, naming of members of governing body, official resolution authorizing creation of applicant, etc.

NAME OF PUBLIC AGENCY	NATURE OF SPONSORSHIP

4.4.9 IS APPLICANT AGENCY SPONSORED BY AN INSTITUTION OR ORGANIZATION WITH A PRIOR CONCERN WITH PROBLEMS OF POVERTY?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If sponsored by an institution(s) or organization(s) with prior concern with problems of poverty, specify names of institution(s) and organization(s), and nature of sponsorship in such terms as: ex officio representation on governing body, naming of members of governing body, official resolution authorizing creation of applicant, etc.:

NAME OF INSTITUTION OR ORGANIZATION	NATURE OF SPONSORSHIP

4.10 CERTIFICATION OF AUTHORITY

I, the undersigned, as a duly licensed attorney at law, hereby certify that to the best of my information and belief, the applicant agency has the authority, under applicable principles of law, to carry out the program described in this application.

TYPED NAME OF COUNSEL	SIGNATURE
GEORGE W. OVERTON	
ADDRESS: 105 W. Adams Street, Chicago 3, Ill.	

CAP-RDT FORM 6 DEC 64

GSA DC 65-11217

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LEADERSHIP TRAINING FOR LOW-INCOME UNIONISTS IN COMMUNITY ACTION

The objective of this proposal is to train educationally and culturally disadvantaged unionists, whether rank and file members, union officers, or full-time staff, for participation and leadership in community life so that they can be effectively involved in community action programs. It is specifically directed to the South.

Selection of Local Unions: Unions with predominant representation of low income and/or minority groups include the following: Building Service Employees' Internations Union; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; United Packinghouse Workers; Textile Workers Union of America; International Hod Carriers; Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; Tobacco Workers International Union; United Transport Service Employees; Retail Clerks International Association; Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; United Furniture Workers of America; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Internation Union; and the International Longshoremen's Association.

Selection of specific local unions will be by the Project Director, a local advisory group, AFL-CIO Education and Civil Rights Department, and will be based on the following criteria:

1. Degree of interest of the union in the objectives of the program.
2. Degree of prior concern with the problems of the poor by the local union.
3. Percentage of membership from deprived backgrounds.
4. Ability of the union to participate in community betterment.

An important secondary objective is the operation of a democratic and civic-minded union through the promotion of increased membership participation in community action programs.

Thus, a major thrust of this proposal is to demonstrate the feasibility of using the instrumentality of the labor movement as a vital force in the implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act.

The Sponsor - The National Institute of Labor Education

The National Institute of Labor Education, a non-profit educational organization, was established to meet a variety of needs in the education of workers. It also serves as a framework for cooperation between labor and non-labor groups. Its broad objectives are to:

--improve the quality and quanity of labor education;

--promote and expand cooperation between labor and non-labor educational agencies;

--render technical assistance, on labor education research projects and programs, to foundations, public and private educational institutions, community organizations and other non-labor agencies;

--act as a clearinghouse for information on labor education programs, techniques, materials, and other pertinent experiences;

--foster research and experimentation in the field of labor education in subject matter, content, and methodology;

--assist workers, through education, to develop their maximum effectiveness as individual human beings and as citizens of a free society.

NILE is uniquely qualified to undertake the proposed task. Its Board of Directors (see Enclosure 1) is composed of outstanding persons from the fields of education, public affairs, and labor. Its basic concept has

been reviewed and endorsed by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, and all its labor members serve on the Board of Directors as official appointees of President George Meany. The Institute, thus, has a built-in contact and approach to the labor movement, and stands at a strategic point to assume responsibility for an undertaking which reaches right into the heart of the union situation and which presents many problems of delicate and serious concern to the labor movement and the public.

Reasons for Project

The slower pace of economic and human advancement in the South is well documented. Lack of education and leadership skills constitute definite bottlenecks in the economy and in our efforts to improve community life. The problem has to be attacked on several levels, including economic and educational development.

The great discrepancies between school years completed by whites and Negroes, respectively, are well established facts, borne out by investigations conducted by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. In addition, further educational opportunities have been severely restricted for these people, as for many poor whites, by the simple fact of their poverty.

They have also been cut off by the habits of segregation from contact with other sections of the labor movement locally, and from other groups. The social changes now taking place require that they take a responsible place in the community. This means that they must be motivated to prepare for jobs, and to seek better jobs. Only if the

disadvantaged are informed and trained can they take advantage of the opportunities which are opening up through the various governmental programs and through the current healthy flow of our economy. And only then will they become actively involved in community programs.

Poverty problems are problems of urban areas and the majority of workers are urban dwellers. Furthermore, of the 35 million American poor, many are union members. According to estimates by AFL-CIO Research Director Nat Goldfinger, somewhere in the neighborhood of 1 million union members earn less than $3,000 a year, which means, if family members are included, that the number of poor in union families could be as high as 4 million.

They are caught in the full range of human devastation in the poverty culture described by Harrington. Many are below par physically, and most are mentally impoverished as well. They have almost no hope of ever getting a significantly better income and of escaping from permanent poverty. They feel caught in a vicious circle, powerless and isolated.

But not all of the poor are completely isolated. Some belong to unions, and unions are a way to reach them. Their union, and other organizations they are affiliated with, are instruments that can be used to help themselves in a broader attack on their problems than individual effort alone allows. Thus, the needs and opportunities exist; the union can be the instrument of community action.

What We Hope To Achieve

It is proposed to demonstrate through this project that unions offer

a vehicle for reaching, motivating, and training culturally and educationally disadvantaged persons for effective community participation by increasing their leadership skills and their substantive understanding. The local union provides a natural setting in which leadership can be developed and its skills tested and improved. Further, an organizational leader can avoid operating in a vacuum for he has a base for support in exercising his leadership in the community.

The development of skilled, independent minority group leadership will help the communities concerned in many respects. The quality of community life might be improved by directing the energies of an important group into more constructive channels. Labor representation in community organizations could become a constructive "idea" force, rather than mere window dressing, as is the case in so many places today. There should be, for instance, easier access to union leadership for local, state, and Federal agencies administering school systems, job training - and poverty programs. The desegregation process may become smoother with the help of Negro leaders trained in dealing with problems of minority groups, whether they arise on the job, in the plant, or in the community.

The training offered in this program will, thus, strengthen Community Action Agencies in two significant ways.

First, a cadre of educated, informed, dedicated workers from the poverty population will become involved in community action. These workers will relate to Community Action Agencies directly as block organizers, neighborhood advisory board members, volunteer staff workers,

and perhaps become qualified for paid staff positions. They will be dedicated to self-help for their community and will have the personal resources to organize that community to help itself. These trained workers will work with local Community Action Agencies to bring the Poverty Program to the poverty stricken.

Second, the training offered will affect the attitude of the involved union toward community action efforts. These local unions, which have in the past been passive toward community action, will become positively involved in local improvement. This institutional change is essential for a well-balanced Community Action Program.

The overall educational upgrading of the poor conducted by this program will have a significant impact on the educational process in the South. As the benefits of this program become visible, other institutions will begin to consider and practice educational upgrading. Employers will see the improvement of their work force, educators will see the increased demand for education, public officials will see the influence of education and training on the community; and, most important, the poor will see that they, too, can become involved in modern America. While these benefits may be untraceable, they are nevertheless important considerations.

Labor unions, of course, will directly benefit from a membership trained in the democratic process and dedicated to a better society.

The individuals will experience the personal growth which education yields, and they will also increase their capacities for such growth because of the nature of the educational program, learning, and human relations skills.

It is also suggested here that the broadening of understanding and sharpening of skills on the part of individuals will affect his ability to work at a higher level and will motivate him towards an improved job situation. Those showing significant capacities for learning and/or leadership may be recommended for further education and training to appropriate union or educational institutions.

Industry would gain through a more productive work force and a more orderly relationship which could be expected from more capable, responsible leaders. This, in turn, should increase the odds for public peace, because of the increased ability to prevent extreme action.

Conduct of Project

The project will be under the direction of Dr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director of the National Institute of Labor Education, and a Project Coordinator to be selected in agreement with the Office of Economic Opportunity. Dr. Mire will serve without salary. The Project Coordinator will serve on a half-time basis. He may be attached to the headquarters of the National Institute of Labor Education, although every effort will be made to get a person academically qualified on a Southern campus near the project area. Two project assistants will be hired, to be located respectively in major cities such as Atlanta, Georgia or New Orleans, Louisiana. They will both be experienced labor educators and also versed on conditions in the South.

These project assistants will stimulate the formation of Advisory Committees composed of union representatives, educators, representatives of Community Action Agencies, and representatives of the poor. The

committees will be set up in each city selected for participation in the program. These committees will aid in the determination of the specific educational curriculum and also assist in making physical arrangements and selection of trainees.

The full cooperation and advice of the AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights have already been assured, while that of the respective national unions, state federations of labor, and other appropriate labor bodies will be assured as the project progresses. A letter from the AFL-CIO, Departments of Education and Civil Rights endorsing the project and promising support is included. (See Enclosure 2)

The primary vehicle for this leadership training will be classroom instruction and discussion. Adult Education techniques will be utilized and each class will be composed of 25 union members. Eight to twelve night and/or weekend sessions of several hours will constitute the training institutes. They will receive specialized instruction in all phases of leadership training. Curriculum will necessarily have to be adapted to local needs but each class will have three areas of emphasis. Revised curriculum will be based on field experiences. Participant-trainees will bring "real" problems in community action to the classroom for discussion, including staff and instructors.

1. Working With A Group

   Purpose: To assist the individual in becoming more effective in group action.

   Subjects: Committee leadership, group dynamics, leadership techniques, effective speaking, organizational techniques, parliamentary procedure, human relations, etc.

2. Understanding the Community

Purpose: To familiarize the individual with resources that might be brought to bear for community betterment and teach him how to use these resources.

Subjects: Community organizations, local, state and Federal agencies (OEO, HEW, Labor Department, etc.), specific programs (CAP, MDTA, etc.), community problems, working with public officials, etc.

3. Union Involvement in Community Efforts

Purpose: To familiarize the individual with the capabilities of his local and international union to participate in community efforts.

Subjects: Local and international union structure, union involvement in community affairs, American political system influencing the union and the community decision-making processes, opportunities and responsibilities of organized labor, etc.

The specific subjects covered and the time devoted to each will vary with the needs, interest, and ability of each local group. Although curriculum will be planned in advance with local advisory groups, instructors will be urged to modify the curriculum to the needs and interests of each particular class and field experiences.

Reading improvement classes for union members may be included in this program or initiated through other channels, whenever such classes are clearly require as preliminary to achievement of the objectives of the program. Improvement of job opportunities and earning power may flow from this type of activity, e.g., increased reading, writing skill may enable trainees to obtain better jobs.

In addition to classroom instruction, each trainee will be encouraged to initiate or participate in a community action idea or project (preferably, but not necessarily, a CAP program). By becoming involved in a community program, the individuals learning and abilities will be

sharpened. Possibilities for individual involvement will be suggested to the trainee in consultation with the local advisory group, but choice of a particular project will be left to the trainee. Analogous to on-the-job training, this phase should give the trainee specific involvement, to which he can relate his classroom instruction.

Further, instructors will hold individual counseling sessions with the trainees to discuss personal progress and problems.

Selection of Cities

The cities selected for leadership training will be Southern industrial areas. Specific cities will be selected by the project director, with approval of CAP, through the criteria outlined below. These cities might include: Atlanta and Savannah, Georgia; Columbia, South Carolina; Jackson, Mississippi; New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Shreveport, Louisiana; Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama; Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Houston, Texas.

The criteria to be used for selection are:

1. Number of educationally and economically disadvantaged union members.
2. Possibilities of significant impact.
3. Degree of previous union membership involvement in community affairs.
4. Degree of interest of local CAA.
5. Degree of interest of local unions.
6. Availability of teachers.
7. Availability of trained community action personnel.
8. Degree of other community action effort.

Selection of Trainees

Any member in good standing of a local union will be eligible for the program. Selection will be made by a committee consisting of members ofthe local project advisory board, including community action agencies. It will be required that at least 1/3 of the selection committee be from poverty backgrounds.

Criteria to be used for selection are:

1. Poverty background
2. Aptitude
3. Enthusiasm
4. Evidence of interest in community affairs
5. Evidence of leadership ability

Timetable

1. Hire staff
2. Select cities
3. Contact local unions with substantial disadvantaged membership. Obtain formal commitments from leadership of participation in project.
4. Form local advisory groups composed of representatives of union officials, union members, civic organizations, CAAs, and local, state and Federal agencies.
5. Recruit trainees.
6. Recruit and hire instructors.
7. Conduct classes and individual projects.
8. Follow-up instructor.
9. Evaluation.

All classes will not be conducted simultaneously, Project assistants will assist in establishing classes in different cities and in engaging in follow-up activities.

Each training group will consist of approximately 25 trainees. These enrollees will meet during the year in about 20 places, with most of the training taking place on weekends or in the evening. This program visualizes a combination of one or two-day (averaging four days) institutes for 200 of the 500 participant-trainees, for greater in depth study of community action programs and exchange of experiences and insights. Feedback gained will be utilized to design subsequent training programs.

The trainee-participants will be encouraged to initiate and organize Economic Opportunity Committees in their central labor bodies and local unions. If only half (250) of the trainees organize E.O.C. of 5, this, essentially, means twelve hundred and fifty persons will be indirectly reached by this program.

Evaluation

There will be an interim evaluation at the end of the first six months of operation. Such an evaluation will be utilized to determine whether residential training would be a desirable feature of the project. Supplemental funds may be requested from OEO. However, extra effort will be made to obtain funds from other sources. The evaluation will seek to determine any increase in leadership effectiveness, new activities in the community on the part of the students, and any further educational activities pursued by the students. If, during the year, it seems feasible, some form of "before-and-after testing" - at least

testing the amount of information transmitted - will be devised. Each class will close with an informal evaluation, either written or oral or both. The results of the interim evaluation - class by class and end of year together - will be used to determine needed changes in the program and improvements in the evaluation process itself.

Demonstration Features of the Project

1. One of the basic objectives of this project is to demonstrate that the labor movement can be a vital instrumentality in the War Against Poverty. It will be demonstrated that an informed, trained membership will result in an active, civic-minded local union. The local union will become a positive force for social change in the whole community.
2. It is proposed to demonstrate that the key to progressive unionism is an informed and educated membership. It is not enough that union leaders sit as window dressing on Community Action Committee boards of directors. It is not enough that OEO officials give resounding speeches at trade union gatherings. In order for a local union to become effectively involved in the War Against Poverty, the members of that union must know what the "War" is all about. They must know how to fight, where to fight and with what to fight. This is the type of education to be given by this project.

3. That an informed, trained and educated membership will give the progressive union leader a more effective voice in the community will be demonstrated. The Southern trade union leader has often hesitated to speak out for social change in his community in fear his membership would not go along with his ideas. An educated, trained and informed membership will not only allow its leadership to "speak his piece", but will goad him into positive action.

4. The training of some of the union members will result in a better informed and active community. The education given will "rub off" on other union members, on neighbors, on friends. It will be demonstrated that the training of some benefits many.

5. A demonstration feature of this project is the involvement of the poor in the planning of the curriculum used in each local area. There are many examples of the failure of educational material prepared without real knowledge of the poverty culture. The poor themselves have not studied this culture; they live the culture. By participation of these poor persons in the planning stages, the curriculum actually developed will better reflect the needs and limitations of the target population. This will result in better education.

6. This project will demonstrate that the poor should be involved in trainee selection. Since they best know the population to be served, they are the best judge of the individuals to be served. Their evaluation of individual potential, coupled with objective testing and evaluation of background, will result in a group of

trainees able and eager to profit by specialized Community Action training.

7. Through follow-up evaluation it will be demonstrated that the trainees not only benefit by becoming able to participate in Community Action, but also because of their ability to work with others, will be more in demand by employers. Their ability to aid the community and their employability will be increased.

8. An important demonstration feature of this project is that the poor will become leaders of their local communities and local unions.

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Lawrence Rogin, Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO

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Gus Tyler, Assistant President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

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March, 1966

ENCLOSURE NO. 2

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

May 20, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Joe:

This is to confirm that the Civil Rights and Education Departments of the AFL-CIO will be happy to cooperate in your proposal for Leadership Training for Disadvantaged Unionists, now under consideration by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

We consider this an important project. Just as we have cooperated with your organization in the recently completed three institutes for full-time southern union staff, we shall be glad to render assistance in the selection of cities and unions for the successful operation of the program.

We welcome your pioneering efforts to assist the labor movement in acquiring skills so that it may play an effective role in the twin areas of combatting discrimination and poverty.

We wish you every success.

Sincerely yours,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman, Director
Department of Civil Rights

Larry Rogin

Larry Rogin, Director
Department of Education

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

1911 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: 737-1366

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LAWRENCE ROGIN
BRENDAN SEXTON
GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

September 16, 66

Dear Emory,

Enclosed are a copy of the OEO proposal and copies of letters received from Intern. Unions.

I enclose also a draft for letters from local unions.

Thanks + kind regards

Joe

Joseph Hill
c/o Hill
1911 F. Str. N.W.
Washington, D/C

This is to say that this union will be pleased - and grateful - to cooperate in your program to upgrade the knowledge and skills of our members and leadership, so that we can improve our earning opportunities and/or assist in the developement of Community Action Programs.

NILE

D.U.

October 5, 1966

Mr. Al Gross
American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees
Room 103
1627 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Al:

The National Institute of Labor Education is proposing a Labor Education Program for the South which would be aimed specifically at unions with substantial minority or below poverty line membership.

The program would offer classes to upgrade the organizational skills of leaders and members as well as to increase the understanding of community affairs. The hope is that such education will improve the effectiveness of unions, contribute to improving the earning power of union members, and provide leadership in community action programs.

The NILE proposal has been supported by Jerry Wurf and by the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. The AFL-CIO also contributes to the NILE budget.

A letter to Joe Mire at NILE from several local unions indicating that educational programs are needed, an interest in the NILE proposal, and a willingness to cooperate when the program is funded would be greatly appreciated by NILE.

Such communications should go to Mr. Joseph Mire; National Institute of Labor Education; 1911 "F" Street, N.W.; Washington, D. C. 20006.

I look forward to seeing you before too long.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Could you get a local or two to send a letter of interest and support for the idea?

DISADVANTAGED UNIONISTS

Atlanta, Georgia
October 6, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Mire:

I am President of Local #797, Grady Hospital employees, Atlanta, Georgia. Mr. Al Gross of my Union has advised me that the National Institute of Labor Education is proposing a labor education program for the South which would be aimed specifically at unions with substantial minority or below proverty line membership.

We here at Grady Hospital, who are just coming up in our wages, hours and working conditions, certainly need a program of this type. Anything that you can do to offer classes to upgrade the organisational skills of leaders and members in our Union will be greatly appreciated.

We strongly support your labor educational program.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Annie Blalock
President, Local #797
AFSCME - AFL-CIO

cc: Mr. Emory F. Via

Disadvantaged Unemployment

Atlanta, Georgia
October 6, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Mire:

I am President of Local #20, Atlanta Board of Education, Atlanta, Georgia. I have been told by Mr. Al Gross of my Union that the National Institute of Labor Education is proposing a labor education program for the South which would be aimed specifically to unions with substantial minority or below proverty line membership.

We here in Atlanta, Georgia, who are just coming up in our wages, hours and working conditions, certainly feel a great need for this NILE program. Anything that you can do to offer classes to upgrade the organizational skills of leaders and members in our Union will be greatly appreciated.

We strongly support your labor educational program.

Very truly yours,

Raymond Byner
President, Local #20
AFSCME - AFL-CIO

cc: Mr. Emory F. Via

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,
COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO

Southeastern Area Office
1627 Peachtree Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

ATLANTA, GA.
PM
6 OCT
1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 13, 1966

Mr. Guy Dickinson
R.W.D.S.U., AFL-CIO
1014 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dickinson:

The National Institute of Labor Education is proposing a Labor Education Program for the South which would be aimed specifically at unions with substantial minority or below poverty line membership.

The program would offer classes to upgrade the organizational skills of leaders and members as well as to increase the understanding of community affairs. The hope is that such education will improve the effectiveness of unions, contribute to improving the earning power of union members, and provide leadership in community action programs.

The NILE proposal has been supported by the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. The AFL-CIO also contributes to the NILE budget.

A letter to Joe Mire at NILE from several local unions indicating that educational programs are needed, an interest in the NILE proposal, and a willingness to cooperate when the program is funded would be greatly appreciated by NILE.

Such communications should go to Mr. Joseph Mire; National Institute of Labor Education; 1911 "F" Street, N.W.; Washington, D. C. 20006.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

October 13, 1966

Mr Guy Dickinson
R.W.D.S.U., AFL-CIO
1014 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dickinson:

Enclosed is a copy of the pamphlet Know Your Rights. Within reason, it is available for distribution to union members either as part of a class (With which the ACLU of Georgia would be happy to offer assistance), or for a more general distribution, or other useful purposes.

If you would like sample copies to send out to your locals, I can make them available to you. And if you are interested in any further distribution, I would be happy to discuss it further.

Let me know what you think.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

October 13, 1966

Mr. E. L. Abercombie
Laundry Workers' Union
157 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Abbie:

Enclosed is a copy of the pamphlet Know Your Rights, which we discussed over the telephone. Within reason, it is available for distribution to union members either as part of a class (With which the ACLU of Georgia would be happy to offer assistance), or for a more general distribution, or other useful purposes.

If you would like sample copies to send out to your locals, I can make them available to you. And if you are interested in any further distribution, I would be happy to discuss it further.

Let me know what you think. Sorry to have missed you by phone; thanks for returning the calls.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Enclosure

October 13, 1966

Mr. E. L. Abercrombie
Laundry Workers' Union
157 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Abbie:

The National Institute of Labor Education is proposing a Labor Education Program for the South which would be aimed specifically at unions with substantial minority or below poverty line membership.

The program would offer classes to upgrade the organizational skills of leaders and members as well as to increase the understanding of community affairs. The hope is that such education will improve the effectiveness of unions, contribute to improving the earning power of union members, and provide leadership in community action programs.

The NILE proposal has been supported by the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. The AFL-CIO also contributes to the NILE budget.

A letter to Joe Mire at NILE from several local unions indicating that educational programs are needed, an interest in the NILE proposal, and a willingness to cooperate when the program is funded would be greatly appreciated by NILE.

Such communications should go to Mr. Joseph Mire; National Institute of Labor Education; 1911 "F" Street, N.W.; Washington, D. C. 20006.

Could you get a local or two to send a letter of interest and support for the idea?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

MLE

November 1, 1966

Mr. Joe Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

I trust that the letter, check and stencils all arrived in good shape. I am distressed to hear that you still have not received any local union letters in support of the Disadvantaged Unionists Project. Hopefully, my follow up letters will help.

Could you let me have about five copies of the Evaluation and Report of the Southern Union Staff Institute?

Best Personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

D-4-

December 6, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I deeply regret that I have been so deeply involved that I have not followed through as I should have on getting letters to Joe Mire. I did discuss this with three or four local union officers but have heard nothing further from them. I have now followed this up with the sample letters, and I should have done this before. I am quite sure that we will get a response now from it, and I am enclosing a letter which I wrote this morning to Joe Mire. As I get copies of letters from the local unions to him, I will let you know immediately.

Best wishes and warmest regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

Enclosure

December 6, 1966

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

We have learned of the desire and intention of the National Institute of Labor Education to expand their work in the South with disadvantaged and minority union members. I am extremely encouraged and enthused over this, because education among this group would solve many of our problems and would do so much toward developing leadership where little now exists and so much is needed.

The Alabama Labor Council for the past few years has recognized this problem and have attempted to do everything in their power to fill the need, but, frankly, have not scratched the surface. Such a program is long overdue and sadly needed.

I hope you will let us know how we might assist in this and want you to know that you have our support and enthusiasm, and best wishes for success.

Sincerely,

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

bcc: Mr. Emory F. Via

1312 6th Avenue North
Bessemer, Alabama

December 10, 1966

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Mire;

I am pleased to learn that you are planning an educational project designed for disadvantaged union members in the south. I recognize the great need for educational advancement for union personnel. I feel that this program will be greatly appreciated by union officers and members throughout the south.

Training and education add up more functional participation in the solution of community problems.

Please inform me when your plans are completed.

Sincerely

Clinton E. Lewis

Clinton E. Lewis

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

December 12, 1966

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 F Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

I have a copy of the letter sent to you by Barney Weeks and his assurance that a local or two will be sending letters to you as well. I trust that they come in.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

December 12, 1966

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" STreet
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Mire:

Your proposal for disadvantaged unionists has come to our attention. We have an especial interest in your proposal since many of our members come directly out of poverty groups, and many of them are members of minority groups. Your proposal offers an important opportunity to develope Union leadership, to strengthen our organizations, and to assist in providing competent leadership in Community Action programs.

We trust you will be successful in getting these programs under way in our region and we urge you to be in touch with us as your project developes.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Parker

Frank Parker

FP/gl

updated 11/15/65

Va

STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
ALABAMA	Justice of the Peace Precinct I Macon County	William C. Allen c/o Allen's Store Montgomery Road Tuskegee Institute 205 727 2276	
	Member of City Council	*Rev. K. L. Buford 107 N. Church St. Tuskegee 205 727 1273	
	Justice of the Peace Precinct I Macon County	William J. Childs 1802 Patterson St. Tuskegee Institute 205 727 1992	
	Member County Board of Revenue	Rev. V. A. Edwards P. O. Box 58 Tuskegee Institute 205 727 2979	
	Member Macon County Board of Education	Dr. Charles Gomillion 308 Bibb St. Tuskegee Institute 205 727 2156	
	Member City Council	*Dr. Stanley H. Smith 305 Bibb St. Tuskegee Institute 205 727 3607	

* Indicates those already in office.

66 elected
139 appointed

XERO COPY

ALABAMA	Title & Location	Name	remarks
Mayor	Triana	Clyde Foster	Triana is a town of approx. 250 Pop., most of whom are Negro. In 7/64 Judge re-instated town's old charter, appointed these town officers & one white councilman, Erskin Parcus
City Council	"	David L. Barnes William Griffin Joe L. Fletcher Mrs. Jossie J. Bennie	
Planning Commission -Birmingham		Wilbur H. Hollins	appointed by City Council, 12/64 (first Negro named to an official city board)
Park and Recreation Board - Fairfield		Eldridge Turner	appointed by City Council 2/65

XERO COPY
XERO COPY
XERO COPY
XERO COPY

STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
ALABAMA (con't)	Mobile County Democratic Committee	Alex Herman 257 N. Ann Unity Burial Life Ins. Co. Mobile 205 432 2271	
	"	Joseph Malone 465 Cedar St. Mobile 205 438 3739	
	"	C. H. Montgomery 1403 Davis Ave. Mobile 205 452 4983 - 433 6481	
	"	Prof. C. E. Powell 409 N. Ann St. Mobile 205 432 0183	
	"	J. C. Randolph 377 Bay Bridge Road or Plateau Magazine Point Mobile 205 433 8165	
	"	Rev. Charles Tunstall Cedar Grove Academy 309 Cleveland St. Mobile 205 433 3947	

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STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
ALABAMA (con't)	Member Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee	Atty. Orzell Billingsley 406 Tenth Terrace North 1630 Fourth Ave. North (office) Birmingham 205 AL 1 0470 - 324 5723	
	"	David H. Hood 2001 Carolina Ave. Bessemer 205 HA 5 5412 - 428 4053	
	"	James Johnson 609 Alder Ave. Pratt City 205 788 7785	
	"	Charles Moorer, Jr. Birmingham 205 785 3052	
	"	Atty. Arthur D. Shores 1527 Fifth Ave. North Birmingham 205 FA 2 2511 - AL 1 6006	
	"	N. H. Smith 917 Goldwire Place, S.W. Birmingham 205 324 2711	
	Mobile County Democratic Committee	Charles E. Alexander 454 Delaware, Mobile 205 438 3247	
	"	Conrad Deane 654 S. Bayon St. Mobile 205 433 1907	

ARKANSAS	Title & Location		Name	Remarks
	City Council	West Helena	Rev. James D. Alexander	
	School Board	Little Rock	Dr. Morris A. Jackson	
	School Board	Jefferson Co.	Maleada Thomas	elected 12/62 (this is an all-Negro school district near Pine Bluff
	School Board	Sherrill School District	Negro appointed to vacancy	11/65

STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
ARKANSAS	Member Dollarway County School Board	Arthur H. Miller A M & N College Pine Bluff	

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FLORIDA	Title & Location	Name	Remarks
	Associate Municipal Judge - Opa Locka	James W. Matthews	appointed 9/14/63
	Metro Planning Board - Miami-Dade County	Rev. Edward T. Graham	appointment by City Commission reported 7/63
	Commissioner on Urban Renewal - Dade County	Jim Reid	appointment by County Commission reported 7/63
	Board of School Trustees - Vero Beach	Walter M. Jackson	elected 11/63
	Town Council - Lawtey	Robert Scott	elected to 2-yr. term 12/63, resigned 1/64 reportedly because of telephone threats
	Planning Board - Melbourne	Lee Richardson	appointed 1/65 by City Commission

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STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
FLORIDA	Member of City Commission	William Blackshear Safety Harbor	Newly elected - 11/64
	Member of City Council Riviera Beach (suburb of West Palm Beach)	F. Napoleon HALCOLM Cunningham 600 Rosemary Ave. West Palm Beach	reelected 4/64 (SPC r/o in pencil)
	~~Member of City Commission~~	~~Boisy Waiters~~ Dania	~~Newly elected~~

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STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
GEORGIA	State Executive Committee	Dr. C. A. Bacote Atlanta University 223 Chestnut St., S.W. Atlanta 404 758 4908 - JA 3 6431	
	Elected to City Council in Oct.-Also on State Executive Committee	B. L. Dent 1117 Gwinntt St. Augusta 404 722 4133	Owns furniture store
	State Executive Committee	Rev. C. S. Hamilton Tabernacle Baptist Church Gwinntt St. Atlanta	
	State Executive Committee	Helen Harris 1426 Picquet Ave. Atlanta	
	Re-elected to State Senate	Atty. Leroy Johnson 372 Larchmont Dr. N.W. Atlanta 404 SY 4 5609 - 524 7369 office 953 Hunter St. N.W.	
	State Executive Committee	Col. Austin T. Walden 980 Westmore Dr., N.W. Atlanta 404 JA 2 9706 - 522 0570	deceased

STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
GEORGIA (con't)	Elected to State Senate	Atty. Horace T. Ward 361 Ashby St., N.W. Atlanta 404 525 8807 office 859½ Hunter St. - JA 5 8372	
	Vice Chairman Democratic Party	Atty. J. A. Watkins 1007 Ninth St. Augusta 404 724 0378	
	State Executive Committee	Dr. R. S. Weston 2146 Milledgeville Rd. Atlanta	
	Hall County Health Dept., Coordinator of nursing services	Mrs. Catherine Brown	1st Negro ever selected for such a position in Ga.
	Crime Commission--Atlanta	Rev. Wm. H. Borders Clayton R. Yates D. L. Hollowell Dr. Cleveland Dennard	appointed by Mayor Allen
	Valdosta Bd. of Voter Registrars	George Scott	appointed 8/65

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GEORGIA	Title & Location	Name	Remarks
	City Council - Lithonia	David C. Albert	
	County Voter Registration Board - McIntosh County	Chester A. DeVillars	appointed (was in office as of 1963)
	School Board - Atlanta	Dr. Rufus E. Clement	
	State Education Commission	Dr. Lionel Newsome Dr. H. E. Tate	appointed Fall, 1963
	Fund Appeals Review Board - Atlanta	Mrs. Grace Hamilton	appointed 1/64
	~~Judge (alternate) Traffic & Recorders Court - Atlanta~~	~~Austin T. Walden~~ deceased	~~appointed 2/64~~
	Hospital Board - Atlanta	Clayton Yates	appointed 1/64
	Worlds Fair Committee - Atlanta	L.D. Milton J.B. Blayton	appointed
	Member, Fultnn County Board of Family and Children Services (Welfare) - Atlanta	C. A. Scott	recommended by Fulton Co. Commissioners, appointed 1/65
	Park and Tree Commission - Brunswick	J.P. Atkinson	appointed 2/64
	House of Representatives - Muscogee County (Columbus)	Albert Thompson	6/16/65 elected
	" " Fulton County ---	William H. Alexander Julian Bond Ben Brown J.D. Grier Grace Hamilton J.C. Daugherty John Hood	" "
	City Executive Committee - Atlanta	T.M. Alexander, Jr.	9/8/65 elected
	City Council - Augusta	Rev. C.S. Hamilton	10/13/65 elected

GEORGIA
(cont'd)

Title & Location	Name	Remarks
Savannah		
Chatham Co. Bd. of Education	(Mrs. Esther Garrison (Mr. Lawrence D. Perry	Following Savannah information furnished F. Pauley by Savannah Mayor Maclean 8/23/65 ...all positions appointive unless otherwise indicated
Metropolitan Planning Commission	Mr. Sidney A. Jones	
Public Library Bd. of Managers	(Mr. E. H. Gadsden (Mr. E. J. Josey	
Community Resources Council	Mr. E. H. Gadsden	
Savannah Transit Authority	Rev. L. S. Stell, Jr.	
Bacon Park Commission	Dr. J. W. Jamerson	
Savannah-Chatham Co. Economic Opportunity Authority, Inc.	(Mrs. Mercedes A. Wright (Mr. Curtis V. Cooper (Mrs. J. W. Wilson (Dr. Howard L. Jordan, Jr.	
Chatham Co. Bd. of Health	Dr. J. W. Wilson	
Chatham-Savannah Defense Council	Mrs. Dorothy Taylor	
Auditorium Study Committee	Rev. Herbert M. Turner	
Citizens Advisory Committee on Savannah's Community Improvement Program and Urban Renewal Program	Mr.T. J. Hopkins Mr. J. W. Lyons Mrs. Ida Mack Mr. Clarence Mayfield Rev. P. A. Patterson Mr. Lawrence D. Perry	Rev. R. Richard Rev. L. S. Stell, Jr. Mr. Sam Williams Dr. J. W. Wilson Mrs. Martha W. Wilson Mrs. Mercedes A. Wright
Housing Authority of Savannah	Rev. P. A. Patterson	
Recreation Commission	Rev. E. P. Quarterman	
Dept. of Family & Children's Services	Mr. B. C. Ford	

GEORGIA cont'd.

School Board - Atlanta	Dr. H.E. Tate	elected 9/16/65
Aldermanic Board - Atlanta	Q. V. Williamson	" "

LOUISIANA S	Title & Location	Name	Remarks

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MISSISSIPPI	Title & Location	Name	Remarks
	Third District Planning Commission - Greenville	Constant W. Watson	appointed by City Coun[illegible] 2/65 (first Negro sinc[illegible] Reconstruction on high level municipal commis[illegible] unaffiliated with fede[illegible] programs

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NORTH CAROLINA

Title & Location	Name	Remarks
Alderman - Goldsboro	Earl Whitted, Jr.	appointed by Board 7/61
City Council - Charlotte	Fred D. Alexander	elected 5/65
Redevelopment Commission - Charlotte	Bishop Dale	appointed by city council 12/63
Mecklenburg Hospital Authority - Charlotte	Rev. K. Melvin Taylor	10/63
Town Commissioner - Winton	J. Eley Reid	appointed by Town Board to fill vacancy (white man since he had 2nd highest # votes in last election)
Board of Education)- Greensboro Redevelopment Commission)	--- ---	reportedly each body has one Negro member
Forsyth Co. Bd. of Education - Winston-Salem	Dr. Lillian B. Lewis	
School Board - Winston-Salem	Richard C. Erwin, Jr.	elected 1962
Alderman - Winston-Salem	Carl Russell	elected 1962
Board of Industrial Education Center - Winston-Salem	Conrad Forbes	appointed 8/63
City Council - Gastonia	----	reportedly 3 Negro members
Deputy Sheriff of Wayne Co. - Goldsboro	Amaziah Howell	appointed 12/63
Housing Authority - Raleigh	Charles A. Haywood	appointed by Mayor
City Council - Lumberton	Wade Spearman	elected
Citizens Advisory Comt. on Urban Redevelopment - High Point	Dr. George L. Brown Dr. J.C. Wilson C.E. Yakely	appointed by Mayor
School Board - High Point	Dr. Perry Little	elected by City Council
Alderman - Winston-Salem	Dr. Kenneth R. Williams	
Board of Education - Durham	Dr. Theodore R. Speigner	elected 1/64 by City Council to vacancy
Town Commissioner - Winton	Sheldon Simmons	appointed 4/64 by Town Board

STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
NORTH CAROLINA	City Council Southern Pines	Felton J. Capel 1025 W. New Hampshire Ave. Southern Pines	
	City Council, Winston Salem	Carl H. Russell Russell Funeral Home Winston Salem	
	City Council, Durham	John S. Stewart Mutual Savings and Loan Durham	
	City Council, Lumberton	Rev. E. B. Turner	
	City Council, Raleigh	John W. Winters 507 E. Martin St. Raleigh 828 5786	

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North Carolina continued

Statewide appointments (of Gov. Sanford*) as of 9/62

James L. Robinson - State Supported Apprentice Training Program

John C. Jones - Advisory Board of N.C. Board of Correction and Training

Mrs. Doris Littlejohn Brown - consultant on Library Services Staff of N.C. Dept. of Public Instruction

*Dr. Theodore R. Speigner - Committee on Agricultural Migrants

*Eric Moore - School Drop-Out Committee

Dr. John F. Lewis - State Advisory Committee on Teacher Education

*Dr. James E. Parker - Advisory Committee on Educational Television Commission

Dr. Gerald Edwards and
Dr. C. Elwood Boulware - State Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission

William Rich - State Commission on Hospitals

J. W. Kennedy - Commission on Higher Education

Dr. Harold L. Trigg - State Board of Education

Dr. A. E. Weatherford - State Recreation Commission

Dr. Murray Davis - State Prisons Commission

E. *Dr. Samuel Duncan - State Board of Public Welfare

*Dr. J. W. Seabrook - Employment Security Commission

SOUTH CAROLINA	Title & Location	Name	Remarks
	Park Commission - Florence	James Horne	appointed 12/63 by City Council
	State Mental Health Commission	---	11/63 SCCHR reported 1 Negro member

(according to Atlanta Journal & Constitution 3/22/64, there are no Negro elected officials in S.C. Apparently this was still the case when the Democratic party lists here were released after the 11/64 election)

County Board of Directors - Beaufort County	Booker T. Washington Leroy Brown	elected 3/65 as of 3/65, serving his second elective term on Bd.
Asst. state super. of vocational office occupation--State Dept. of Educ.	James Emmett Jackson	appointed by State Supt. of Educ. 9-1-65
Asst. gen. super., Div. of Instruction, State Dept. of Educ.	Edward Moses Wiley	appointed by State Supt. of Educ. 9-1-65
Asst. science super., State Dept. of Educ.	Rodney Lane Trantham	appointed by State Supt. of Educ. 9-1-65

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Tennessee	Title & Location	Name	Remarks
	Asst. City Attorney - Memphis	S. A. Wilbun	appointed 3/64 (first Negro to hold such a post in Memphis)
	Judge - Division 4 - Shelby County Criminal Court - Memphis	Ben L. Hooks	appointed by Gov. Clement 5/65
	City Commission) School Board) - Oak Ridge	-- --	one Negro member on each
	Shelby County Board of Education - Memphis	Blair T. Hunt	elected 1962
	Metro Board of Education - Nashville	---	reportedly one Negro member
	Asst. Atty. Gen. in Shelby County	Arthur T. Bennett	appointed by Tenn. Atty. Gen.
	Housing Authority--Memphis	Miss Jeannette Counts	appointed 8/65
statewide	State Pardons & Parole Board	Robert Lilliard ~~J. Willard Bowden~~	appointed by Gov. 1965 ~~appointed by Gov. 1963~~
	State Board of Education	Dr. Harold D. West	appointed by Gov. 1963
	Advisory Commission on Feed Grains and Wheat	Hillard Currin	" " " "
	State Board of Cosmetology	Chester B. Cade	" " " 1964
	Governor's Commission on Status of Women	Mrs. Russell Sugarman Mrs. Irene Patton Mrs. E. L. Sasser	appointed by Gov. ?
	Housing Authority--Chattanooga	Reuben Strickland Franklin-Strickland Funeral Home Chattanooga, Tenn.	appointed by mayor 7/65
statewide	~~Member of General Assembly~~	~~A. N. Willis (Memphis)~~	
	Delegate, Constitutional Convention	Jesse Turner (Memphis)	

STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
TENNESSEE	City Council Nashville	John L. Driver 1018 35th Ave. North Nashville 615 AL 5 9370	
	City Council Nashville	Mansfield Douglas 1022 Summit Ave. Nashville 615 AL 5 9042	
	City Council Nashville	Robert Lilliard 331½ Fourth Ave. North Nashville 615 254 6489 - 256 7628	
	Elected Member Shelby County Court	H. T. Lockhard 322½ Beale St. Memphis 901 JA 7 4981	
	City Council Nashville	Z. Alexander Looby 327 Charlotte Ave. Nashville 615 AL 5 8457	
	City Council Nashville	Harold M. Love 2706 Vance Ave. Nashville 615 AL 6 8812 - AL 5 6137	
	Elected State Representative	A. W. Willis 588 Vance Ave. 901 527 7166 881 Mississippi Blvd. 901 526 2693 Memphis	

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TEXAS	Title & Location	Name	Remarks
	~~School Board - Houston~~ on other list	~~Asberry Butler~~	~~late '64 ? 2nd Negro on this board (Mrs. White)~~
	substitute corporation court judge - Houston	Harrel Gordon Tillman	appointed 7/64 (first Negro judge in Tex.)
	School Board - La Marque	Dr. George K. Drake	elected 4/65
	School Board - Beaumont	William H. Taft	elected 4/65
	City Council - San Antonio	Rev. S. H. James	elected 4/65
statewide	State Board of Corrections	Rev. C. A. Holliday	appointed 7/63
	Assistant Attorney General	J. Phillip Crawford	appointed 8/63
	School Board) Employment Commission) - Austin	--- ---	reportedly each has one Negro member
	City Council - Galveston	T.D. Armstrong	7/64
	Substitute Corporation (city) Court Judge - Galveston	Harrell G. Tillman	appointed by City Council
	City Planning Commission - Dallas	---	reportedly has one Negro member
	Board of Contemporary Arts)- Houston Board of the Alley Theatre)	-- --	reportedly each has one Negro member

STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
TEXAS	Elected Member of School Board	Asberry Butler 4100 Lyons Ave. OR 2 0525 5423 Makeig St. OR 4 3378 Houston	
	Member of School Board	Mrs. Hattie Mae White (Dr. Charles) 2209 Southmore Houston 713 JA 3 9730 - JA 8 7880	
	Adm. asst. on welfare to County Judge Bill Elliott.	Miss Barbara Jordan Houston, Texas	appointed 3/65
	Prosecutor for DA--Houston	Clarke Gable Ward 3313 Stallings Dr. Houston, Tex.	appointed 4/65

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STATE	TITLE	NAME	REMARKS
VIRGINIA	City Council, Richmond	R. A. Cephas 537 N. 2nd St. Richmond 703 MI 4 0053	was previously, and may still be, on City Planning Commission
	City Council, Petersburg	Joseph Owens 25 Mars St. Petersburg 733 7682	
	Board of Supervisors	Moses Riddick Suffolk, Virginia	
statewide	ASCS State Committee	Willard Smith, Dry Fork, Va. Oscar Beverly Brown, Jr., Abingdon, Va. Lloyd Sykes, Capron, Va.	appointed by ASCS State Committee chmn. 6/65
	City Planning Commission - Norfolk	Dr. James E. Newby, Jr.	appointed by City Council, 10/26/65

VIRGINIA	Title & Location	Name	Remarks
statewide	State Youth Commission	Rev. Irving Elligan Dr. William Cooper	appointed by Gov. approx. 8/62
	Commission on Higher Education Facilities	M. Conrad Martin	appointed by Gov. 4/64
	? regulatory board licensing barbers & beauticians	Lewis Knight Mrs. Ruth Valentine	
	State Board of Barber Examiners State Board of Registered Professional Hairdressers		
	State Library Board	**Booker T. Bradshaw**	**appointed by Gov. 8/65**
	Town Council - Port Royal	Oliver Fortune Embria Byrd	elected 6/63
	Director, Health Education Division of County Health Dept. - Fairfax	Emmett L. Banks	appointed 8/63
	County Welfare Board - Fairfax	Mrs. Sydney Holland	appointed 8/63
	Housing Hygiene Appeals Board - Fairfax County	William West Eugene Puryear	appointed 8/63
	School Board - Hampton	William M. Cooper	
	School Board - Portsmouth	David L. Muckler	elected by City Council
	School Board - Lynchburg	Charles B. Hutchenson	
	City Council-Dumfries	John Wilmer Porter	
	School Board - Newport News	Dr. C. Waldo Scott	elected by City Council
	School Board - Norfolk School Board - Fredericksburg	--- ---	reportedly each has one Negro member
	School Board - Richmond	---	reportedly one Negro member which is vice-president of Board
	City Personnel Board - Richmond	Richard W. Foster	appointed by Mayor 11/63
	Board of Health - Richmond	Mrs. Sylvia D. Hines	appointed by City Council
	Spec. asst. to GOP State Party chmn.	**Clarence L. Townes, Jr.**	**appointed by chmn. of GOP State Party**

VIRGINIA	Title & Location	Name	Remarks
	Housing Authority - Charlottesville	Mrs. Ellard N. Jackson James N. Fleming	appointed by City Council
	Advisory Committee on Minority Housing - Alexandria	Marion I. Johnson Lawrence D. Day Ferdinand Day	appointed by City Council
	Arlington Planning Commission - Arlington County	---	reportedly one Negro member
	County Board of Elections, Secretary - Charles City	Presley R. Evans	named by Bd. of Elections 3/65
	Charles City Board of Elections, Registrar	Mrs. Susie Taylor	" " " " "
	Planning Commission--Chesapeake	Josh Bridges 926 Quail St.	appointed unanimously after name presented by Councilman F.T. Allen

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

January 6, 1966

TO: Interested University of Georgia Faculty

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

RE: Visiting Faculty for Southern Union Staff Institute.

From January 9 through February 4 a training institute will be held at the Continuing Education Center for full-time union staff persons working in the South. About twenty persons from some ten states will participate as students.

The institute is sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the Departments of Education and Civil Rights of the AFL-CIO. The Southern Regional Council is cooperating in making me available as director and in providing other resource persons.

We have assembled an interesting faculty for this occasion. Possibly you would like to know that some of these persons will be on campus, and for that reason I am enclosing a list of the faculty. In the main they are persons with a solid knowledge of the labor movement, expert in their special fields, and able to communicate effectively with working adults. They come from universities, labor organizations, and the civil rights movement.

I feel sure that most of the visiting faculty would welcome meeting University of Georgia faculty with similar interests. And in some cases they would be available for a class or seminar session if you felt their specialties fit comfortably into your schedule. If such an arrangement would be of interest to you I would be happy to see if it could be worked out. You understand, of course, that I cannot commit any of these people without their consent.

EFV:jb
Enclosure

The University of Georgia

hereby certifies that

has satisfactorily completed the program of

The Southern Union Staff Institute

sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education
in cooperation with
the AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights

Witness our hand and
seal February 4, 1966

Director, N.I.L.E. Institute

Co-Director, N.I.L.E. Institute

Director, Georgia Center for Continuing Education

The Right Wing Threat:

THE BOSTON HERALD, TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1965 A 3

Birchers Plan Political Action in 325 Districts

Welch Seeks $12 Million for '66 Elections

To Take Over Congress

It can happen here

The full strength of the fanatical far right has never been fully measured—and it's not likely to be in the near future.

Most right wingers cloak their activities in secrecy, or pull the strings behind respectable front organizations.

Experts have estimated, however, that nearly 20 percent of America's voters can be classified as right wing. They oppose civil rights laws by saying they're communist inspired, blame crime waves and riots on Supreme Court decisions, and call for all out war in Vietnam.

They attack churches, schools, the United Nations and the federal government, charging that they have been infiltrated by communists and are controlled in Moscow. They breed and support candidates who run on anti-Semitic and anti-Negro platforms.

In the last few years their numbers have mushroomed and in 1965 they poured $30 million into their fight against social progress. This multi-million dollar brainwashing campaign is operated by a relatively small number of tax-free organizations. It is financed partly by contributions from business, industry, and wealthy patrons. But a substantial portion of the campaign's wealth comes from the less-than-five dollar donations of otherwise normal Americans who have been scared out of their minds by predictions of an immediate communist take over.

Only about 25 percent of American voters are opposing these forces with reasoned determination. The rest of the electorate—over 50 percent—can go either way. It is labor's job—and the duty of all liberals—to reach this majority before election day.

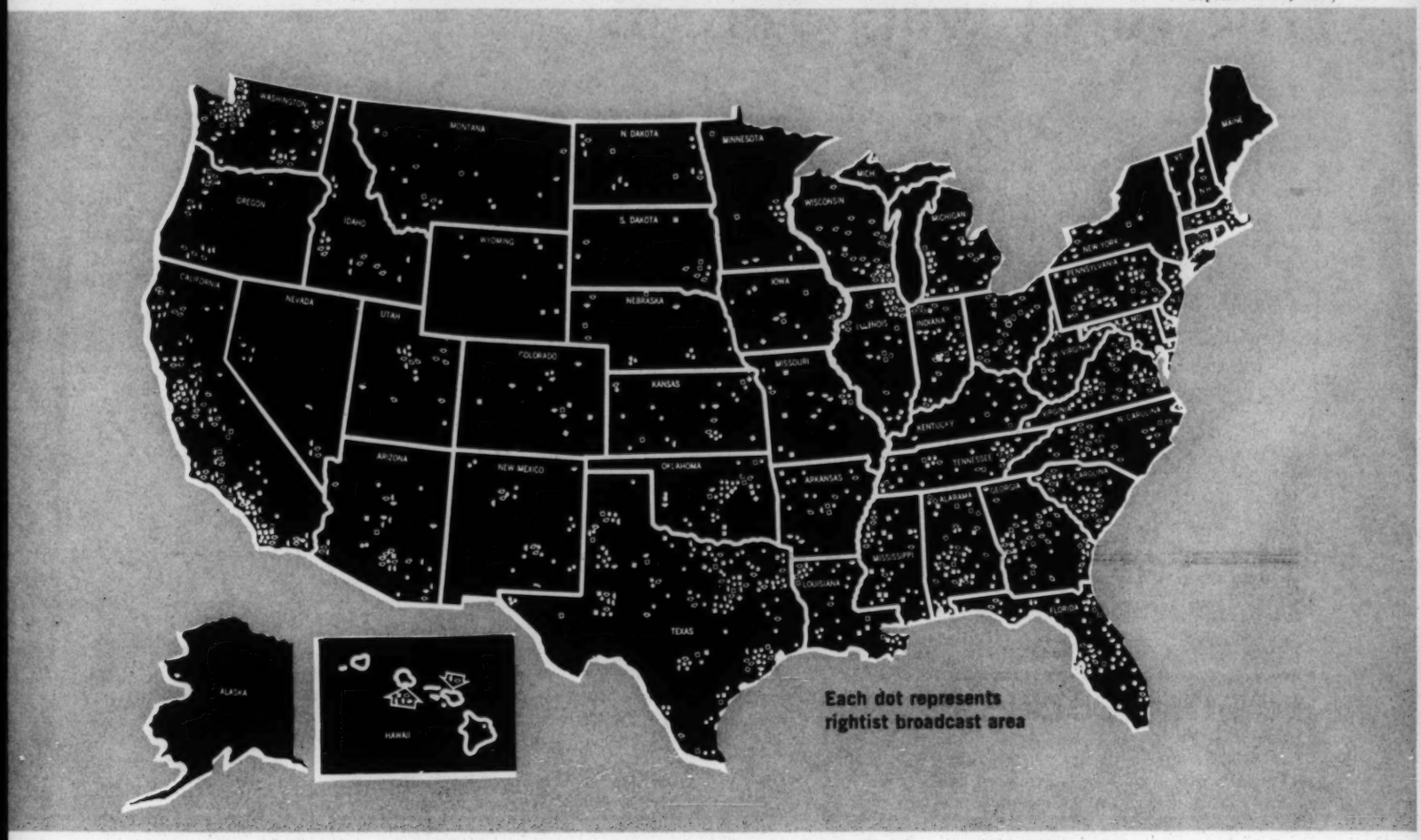
An extremist take-over of Congress—even a substantial cut in the liberal majority—would prevent progressive new Great Society legislation from being enacted.

Further, it would carve up the good laws already passed in 1965—medicare, housing, aid to education at all levels, voting rights, social increases, war on poverty programs, job-creating programs and others.

The Birch Society has made clear it feels these programs are, by its definition, un-American. JBS national public relations director John Rousselot, a former congressman, has said "95 percent of President Johnson's program promotes alien philosophies." The John Birch Society monthly Bulletin *has said, "Washington has been taken over—by which we mean that Communist influences are now in full working control of our Federal Government." Birch Society boss Robert Welch, attacking liberal programs and those who make them possible, has said the U.S. is "one vast insane asylum" and "they're letting the worst patients run the place."*

The Birchers would destroy what it has taken years to build.

Published by UAW Citizenship Legislative Department —September 20, 1966



How right wingers poison the air

Every day of the week, in hundreds of cities, right wing propaganda is beamed into the homes of Americans over radio and television. The map above, though not complete, indicates the scope of extremist broadcasting.

The growth in number of extremist programs and number of stations using them has been as alarming as the right wing's growth in manpower and money.

Before the 1964 political campaign, more than 6,000 extremist programs were broadcast each week in more than 500 American communities.

Today, more than 10,700 programs are broadcast each week in more than 1,000 communities.

Some of the big guns on the rightist radio and TV firing line: Life Lines, carried on 377 stations in 46 states and the District of Columbia; Howard Kershner, 362 stations in 47 states; Clarence Manion, 275 radio stations and 44 television stations in 44 states and D.C.; Rev. Billy James Hargis, 235 stations in 37 states; Rev. Carl McIntire, 618 radio stations in 47 states and D.C.; Dan Smoot, 89 radio and 52 TV stations in 39 states.

The programs attack labor unions, smear the civil rights movement, lash out at the Supreme Court, the United Nations, the federal government, the public school system and other pet targets of the right wing.

They serve as a softening up process for extremist political action, sowing discontent and distrust of progressive government and liberal candidates. As Sen. Gale McGee (D-Wyo.) says: "Under such constant bombardment, even the fairest minds become dulled. In the vernacular of Hitler, a lie repeated often enough becomes a 'truth' to those who hear nothing else."

John Birch Says:

"The last thing in the world that Washington wants is peace in Vietnam. Peace would be horrible to the Johnson administration, despite all of its pretenses of seeking one. Since 1954, the Communist overlords have definitely controlled all significant actions on both sides. Washington could win this war in three months, regardless of whether the red Chinese came into it, if Washington were controlled by patriotic anti-communists with a desire to win.

—**Robert Welch's** Bulletin, **August, 1966**

A Birch Disciple Said:

"If only by some miracle all the Bolsheviks, or all the Illuminati (Catholics) or all the Jews were vaporized at dawn tomorrow, we should have nothing more to worry about. The trouble with that beatific vision, of course, is that every educated man knows it just can's be so. . . . just to keep the globe inhabitable . . . it will be necessary to kill every year more people than now live in the United States, kill them with atomic bombs or clubs as may be most convenient.

—**Revilo Oliver in a July 4, 1966, speech to the "God, Family, and Country" convention in Boston**

CITATION OF HONOR was presented by the National Committee for Rural Schools to Mrs. Esther Peterson, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs, at a meeting in New York. Acting for the committee were Morris Novik (left), AFL-CIO radio consultant, and Benjamin F. McLaurin, NCRS chairman and vice president of the Sleeping Car Porters.

Coming to Grips with Racism

***THE CAMERA ZOOMS** in to catch the intensity of delegates to the AFT conference on Racism in Education in the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. More than 1,500 persons from throughout the U.S. attended, and the conference was covered by 32 newsmen from throughout the world.*

. . . that was the challenge facing hundreds of delegates to the AFT conference on Racism in Education last month. This is one of several reports on that meeting and subsequent activities to be carried in AFT publications.

First in a Series

"Those of us who are concerned, who are caught up, who really want to be involved in the revolution must be prepared at this conference to tear aside our most private thoughts and prejudices..."

The mood for the next 48 hours was set with those words when noted actor Ossie Davis opened the American Federation of Teachers' national conference on Racism in Education last month in Washington, D.C.

For two days, more than 1,500 teachers and other educators heard a massive indictment of the American educational system by scholars, historians, and writers versed in Afro-American history. They were told that a curtain of ignorance hangs over the schools, that there has been a systematic campaign to keep the truth about the African-American contribution to American society from its citizens.

WRITERS AND MISSIONARIES

The campaign, they were told, has been waged by everyone from professional textbook writers, who have distorted history in order to be able to sell books to white Southern customers, to missionaries, who, years ago, came back from Africa with spine-tingling tales of "savages and cannibals" in order to raise more funds.

During the two-day meeting, participants did more than scratch the surface of the racism curtain. Teachers heard an intensive, chronological development of Afro-American history, starting with an examination of the "African past" by St. Clair Drake of Roosevelt University, and ending with a commentary on "Racism in America Today" by Rev. Walter Fauntroy, Washington civil rights leader.

In between were sandwiched panels for teachers of elementary, secondary, and college students; a program on Afro-American folk expression; and talks on "Slavery and Anti-Slavery in America," "Reconstructing Reconstruction History," and "The Containment of Black America, 1880-1915."

Taking part in the discussion were James McPherson of Princeton University, Keith Baird, a New York City teacher, Sterling Brown of Howard University, author Lerone Bennett, John Hope Franklin of the University of Chicago, and Charles H. Wesley of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

How did the 1,487 teachers respond?

At the final plenary session they passed a set of recommendations to the Federation's Executive Council to launch a national campaign to combat racism in the schools. And in the four weeks since the conference, steering committees have been at work in Detroit, Chicago, on the West Coast, and in New York, to lay the groundwork for regional followup conferences on racism in education. First to schedule such a meeting is the Detroit group, which will hold its conference in April.

While 68 percent of the delegates came from the Northern cities, 32 percent of those who registered came from below the Mason-Dixon line. An estimated 55 percent of the delegates were non-white. About 95 percent of the delegates were practicing classroom teachers.

LANGUAGE AND PREJUDICE

In his opening remarks, convenor Davis cited the English language as a basic transmitter of prejudice. He said he had counted 120 synonyms for the term "blackness" in Roget's **Thesaurus**, half of which were grossly unfavorable — words like evil, unclean, and sully. "Look up the word 'whiteness,'" he said. "You'll find words like chaste, purity, honorable."

Right from the time he learns the English language, Davis argued, a Negro child learns 60 ways to despise himself and a white child learns 60 ways to aid and abet the crime.

Davis was followed by Keith Baird, New York City schoolteacher, who discussed the importance of ethnic identification for Afro-Americans.

THE AFRICAN MYTH

St. Clair Drake, the historian from Roosevelt University, described how the stereotype of Africa had been developed as a "painful, horrible place" by missionaries coming back to the U.S. and others. "It's our duty as teachers to destroy this myth," he said, recommending books such as Basil Davidson's "Lost Cities of Africa," which tells about early civilizations there, as an antidote. He noted that centers of learning like the University of Timbuktu had developed in ancient Africa and that the civilizing forces in Spain and the rest of Europe in the Middle Ages were North African black Moors.

"We must get these facts into textbooks," he said. "We need to put pressure on textbook publishers to include the truth."

SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY

Continuing the discussion of distor-

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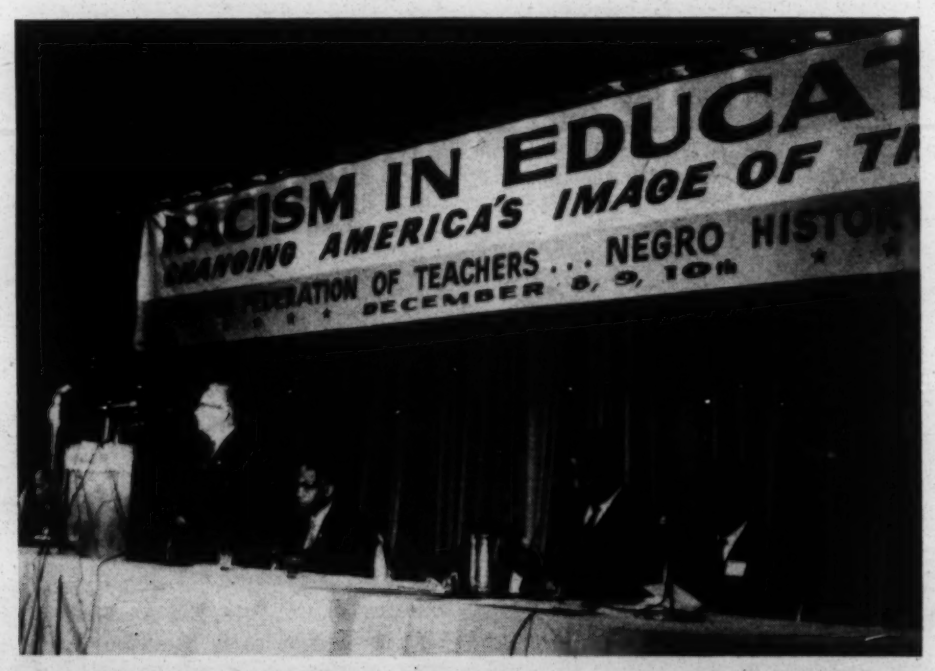


***AFT PRESIDENT** Charles Cogen takes the podium at the opening session of the conference. With him are William Simons, AFT vice president; Ossie Davis, conference convenor; and Keith Baird, a New York City school teacher and one of the session speakers.*

Faces of the Conference

***THOUGHTFULNESS** . . . anger . . . disbelief . . . frustration were all on the faces of delegates to the conference as they listened to speakers and spoke themselves.*

PAGINATION INCORRECT

The Twisted History . . .

(Continued from Page 11)

tion of Afro-American history, James McPherson described how the Southern historian Ulrich B. Phillips' views of the "innate, inherited inferiority of the Negro race, and a romanticized and idealized view of the Old South" had pervaded history textbooks up to current times. He listed several textbooks-including the 1950 edition of Henry Steele Commager's and Samuel Eliot Morrison's "The Growth of the American Republic" — as those which depended on Phillips' views for their romanticized description of Negroes under slavery.

Two authors, Kenneth Stampp and Stanley Elkins, were especially credited by McPherson as attempting, in recent years, to counter the earlier views. He urged the AFT to continue its efforts to improve textbooks and praised Irving Sloan's recent study of new American history books and their treatment of Afro-American history, published by the AFT.

RECONSTRUCTION MYTHS

To John Hope Franklin, distinguished historian at the University of Chicago, it was a "source of amazement that in 1966, more than a century after Reconstruction began, so many misunderstandings and misrepresentations abound." The usual textbook views of Reconstruction governments as coalitions of Southern scalawags, Northern carpetbaggers, and illiterate Negroes, were attacked as "misconceptions and misunderstandings" by Franklin in an address to the conference.

Franklin put the blame for the twisted history of the Reconstruction era on attempts at vindication; on lack of interest on the part of Northeners; on "passionate, highly subjective novelists like Thomas Nixon, author of "The Klansman" and "The Leopard's Spots"; on the film "The Birth of a Nation," based on Nixon and premiered under the prestigious auspices of the White House in 1915; and on "the resepectability given to the popular view by Claude Bowers" in his book "The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln," published in 1929.

TROOPS WENT HOME

Franklin pointed out that there was "never anything resembling a military occupation of the South in the post-Civil War years," and that within one year of the demobilization of the Union Army in April, 1865, "there were only 11,000 of the more than one million Union veterans still in arms . . . scattered throughout the South and West."

Even during the "radical" Reconstruction era, beginning in 1867 at the insistence of Congress, Franklin stated, "Federal troops were present in the former Confederate states in 1867-1868 to assist the commanding generals in the task of setting up the new governments authorized by Congress," which had become incensed "at the takeover by the former Confederates. Once this was done, however, the Army retired to a less conspicuous place or withdrew altogether."

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

In refuting the charges against the role of the Freedmen's Bureau during Reconstruction, Dr. Franklin declared:

"It provided medical services for whites as well as Negroes; and it furnished food, clothing, and other necessities to both races . . . There were objections to it because it provided educational opportunities for Negroes, thereby making them unfit to live among their former masters."

DELEGATES to the conference come to grips with a problem during one of several informal discussion periods. Slightly more than half of those who attended were non-white, about 60 per cent were from northern states, and 95 per cent were practicing classroom teachers.

Dr. Franklin also emphasized the role of the former Confederates in this era, stating:

"Indeed, (they) returned to power in such numbers that some did not even bother to take the simple oath of allegiance to the United States and many of them, dressed in their Confederate uniforms, campaigned for office on platforms that glorified the Lost Cause."

In describing the "Black Codes" enacted by the Southern states under white governments sponsored by Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, Franklin declared:

NEW FORM OF SLAVERY

"Freedmen could not leave their employers' premises without permission. They could not possess firearms or liquor. They could not carry a stick or a rock as they walked down the street. They could not make insulting gestures, whatever that was! And to make certain that they would never become independent farmers, they could not own farm lands in Mississippi. In each state, the legislatures were quite specific in providing for the education of white children only. Benjamin F. Perry, provisional governor of South Carolina, said in 1865 that the government of his state was 'a white man's government and intended for white men only.'"

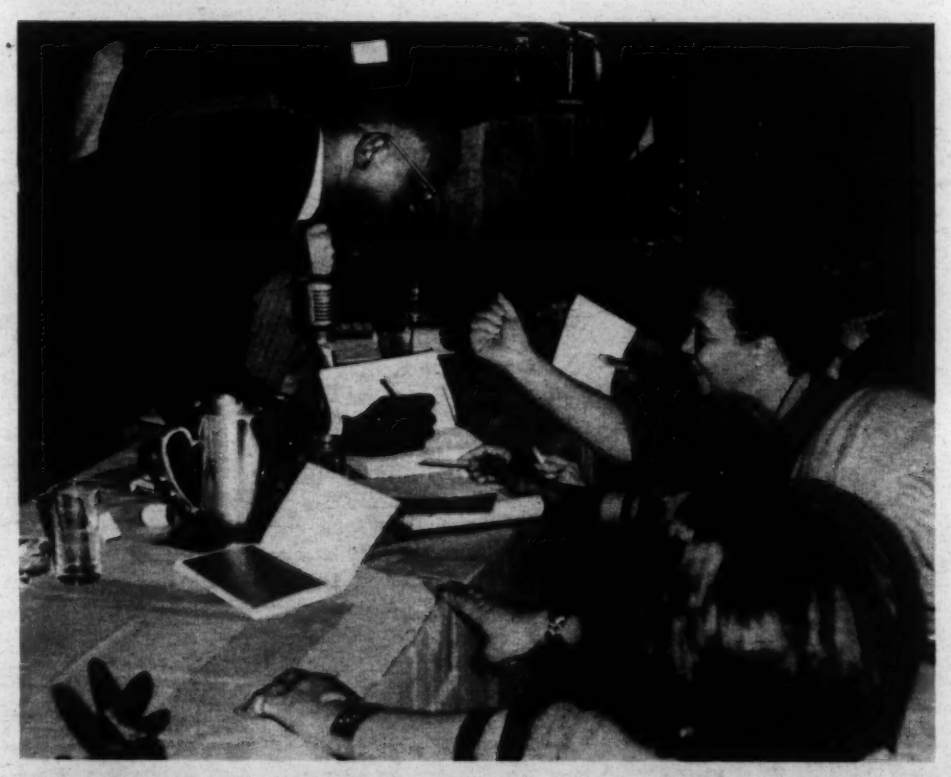
The three elements that made up the "Radical" Reconstructionists were described in a lengthy explication by Dr. Franklin, in an attempt to refute the "misconceptions, misunderstandings, and misrepresentations" that still surround "the Southern whites (called Scalawags by those who resented their ability to qualify for enfranchisement), Northern whites (called Carpetbaggers), who had settled in the South after the Civil War, and Negroes."

Dr. Franklin concluded in summary: "Indeed, it can be argued with some success that racism, as it had evolved during slavery, did not sustain any real defeat either during the Civil War or during Reconstruction. The inferior status of Negroes, so carefully defined by the Black Codes during the early years of Reconstruction, was not undone by the so-called radical period of Reconstruction. The integration of Negroes in American life made no significant headway during Reconstruction, and their rejection — whether in politics, economics, or social relationships— remained all but complete.

"As W.E.B. DuBois said, the attempt to make black men American citizens was in a certain sense all a failure, but a splendid failure.

"If Reconstruction did nothing else, it had called attention to the inescapable fact that the United States had not yet learned the real meaning of brotherhood, equality, or even democracy."

"Racism did not sustain any real defeat either during the Civil War or during Reconstruction."



ADMIRERS OF Dr. John Hope Franklin surround him following his talk, "Reconstructing Reconstruction History." Excerpts from the talk are printed in the accompanying columns.

TIME OF REPRESSION

Covering the post-Reconstruction period, Charles Wesley told conference delegates at a luncheon session that supression by courts, a decline in Afro-American representation in state legislatures and the national Congress, and a lack of educational opportunities resulted in the loss of any gains which black people might have made during Reconstruction.

As an example of the systematic

(Continued on Page 13)

JAN 1967

White Teachers and Black Children

"Can a white teacher teach a black child?"

"No!" said John Henrik Clarke, author and moderator of what one newspaper reporter called a "free-wheeling" panel discussion held in conjunction with the AFT's Negro History Conference in Washington, D.C. His answer was emphatic and direct.

"No," said William Melvin Kelley, another author, although his statement was only implied when he emphasized, "We should have our own schools."

"Probably not," indicated author Ronald Fair. "Black men the world over don't need the skin of white people for their umbrellas."

"Yes," said Robert Bone, teacher of English at Columbia University Teachers College and the only white man on the panel, "but it is very hard."

"The main point of the American Negro past," Bone said, is that it is a painful past, and the result is that everybody runs for cover." He told the audience, packed into a large meeting room for what had been planned as a "small, informal, pre-conference program," that he had taught last summer at Amherst in a special program for 20 high school teachers from New England. The teachers were offered a course in Negro history and in Negro literature. Bone taught the literature section.

"It was not a success," he said. "A teacher has to have a very detached stance on the American way of life. He has to understand that our society is guilty of a monstrous crime, and at the center of our society we are corrupt."

Bone continued: "To train people to teach Negro history is an enormously upsetting experience for the white teacher. It upsets his world. Teachers themselves must be transformed, and it is a very painful process."

UPSETTING TO TEACHERS

That what all four panelists had to say was upsetting was obvious by the reaction of the teachers in the room. Many of them, it appeared, had not heard "Black Nationalism" expounded before, and didn't understand this type of reaction and protest. Others, who were thoroughly familiar with it, rejected it out of hand.

During the question period following the authors' presentations, teachers, black and white, from cities all over the country, arose to emphasize their belief that a good teacher should not be judged by his or her color. A college professor, who had been the first Negro on the faculty of Xavier University in New Orleans, rose, and, nearly sputtering with indigation, said: "I am not going to say that some of my best friends are whites. My best friends are people, and a teacher's color has nothing to do with his performance!"

A white teacher from Philadelphia got up and said, "We're here to learn how to do our jobs better. Don't tell us we can't do them, but tell us how to improve!" A Negro teacher from Detroit snapped back at her, "You probably aren't doing your job at all now!" Her retort brought a reproachful moan from the audience, and some reaction from the panelists.

Clarke returned to the lectern to modify his stand. Kelley did the same. Fair, less virulent than they from the start, placed himself more squarely in the middle. Bone tried to make peace.

The panel discussion, which began at 8:30 p.m., lasted, with a question period, until 11. At midnight, most of the authors and many of the audience were still in the room, talking it out.

At another panel, the next afternoon, a Negro student at a Chicago teachers' college said, "I came here with a good idea about what I believed in, but after last night's panel and what I've heard today, I'm confused."

Her "confusion," which was her way of describing Bone's "painful process" of examining her beliefs, was shared by many of the 1,500 at the three-day conference. Participants found their immersion in Negro life, history, and thinking an exhilarating experience, and an educational one.

Clarke, whose latest book is **American Negro Short Stories,** published this fall by Hill and Wang, New York, teaches Negro Heritage classes to Harlem youth in the HARYOU-ACT program and is associate editor of **Freedomways** magazine. He told about his childhood in Alabama and Georgia, and his experiences as the first in his family to "go to city schools."

"I was the high school leader of the 'dark brigade,' he said, "as opposed to the 'light brigade,' for those of you who know about internal color prejudice. I was the first of the dark brigade to be bell ringer of the school; it was my first taste of power. When I rang the bell, 500 students marched in. I sometimes rang it a full minute ahead, to test my power."

Still testing his power, Clarke said, "Events show that black people are going to be the prime movers in this world. The black writer must locate himself and his people on the world's historical map. It is the black writer's responsibility to show that his people have been kings as well as slaves . . . How does this relate to the sit-ins, riots, and marches on Washington? The relationship is clear. We have been important in the past and will be in the future."

Kelley, whose Doubleday novel **A Different Drummer** (1962) was awarded a National Institute of Arts and Letters prize, teaches creative writing at the New School for Social Research, New

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"These children will mount up on the wings of ambition and rise higher and higher . . . and never return."

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denial of the vote to persons of African descent, he pointed out that in 1896 there were 130,000 black registrants in Louisiana. By 1900, this number had dropped to 5,320. Other states experienced similar declines.

Wesley said that most of the published history of the Civil War and Reconstruction to come out of this time was by members of the fiercely segregationist Southern Historical Association. "The last decade of the 19th Century was marked by an attempt to show that Negroes were inferior despite any educational opportunities."

Dr. Wesley's address was followed by the conference's plenary session which approved a series of suggestions to the AFT Executive Council (see separate story.)

The Rev. Walter Fauntroy was principal speaker at the Saturday evening windup banquet of the conference.

Fauntroy, a Washington minister and a leader of the Selma to Montgomery March as well as other civil rights activities, filled in for the ailing A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters and an AFL-CIO vice-president, who was unable to appear.

Fauntroy's speech, short, pithy, and memorable, put a fitting climax to the conference program. He told the story of the naturalist who had discovered an eagle among the chickens in the farmer's barnyard, and how the naturalist persuaded the farmer to let him try to get the eagle to fly. "We've been conditioned," said Fauntroy, "to think that these (Negro) children don't have wings, and can't fly." You must tell them, he said, that the world has not yet seen the best doctors, lawyers, statesmen, teachers, and thinkers that it will see, and that some of them can be those doctors, lawyers, statesmen, teachers, and thinkers.

"If we will tell this message often enough, consistently enough, and lovingly enough, these children will mount up on the wings of ambition and rise up higher and higher and higher and higher, and never return."

Fauntroy was introduced by Dr. Paul Cooke, a 25-year member of the Washington, D.C., Teachers Union, AFT Local 6, and now president of D.C. Teachers College.

Another dignitary giving greetings at the banquet was Dr. John Sessions of the AFL-CIO Education Department, and a new member of the Washington board of education. Sessions said, of the conference, "Never has a group of teachers gotten together and so seriously planned the course in which education should go. One of the most shameful things in our educational system is that it has never harnessed this energy (of teachers)."

Summing up the 'Racism in Education' conference as "history-making," AFT Pres. Charles Cogen, at a crowded press conference, cited two reasons for his evaluation:

"One, this is the first time educators have confronted themselves with the problems of teaching race, and, two, in trying to correct America's image of the past to conform to the facts, we shall be gaining some realization of the vital and significant history of the so-called Negro and necessarily, dealing with civil rights differently."

In specifying remedies, Pres. Cogen called for history textbooks that would give a true picture of the contributions of "so-called Negroes" in American and world history; AFT local union pressure on boards of education, in the drive against racism in education, in

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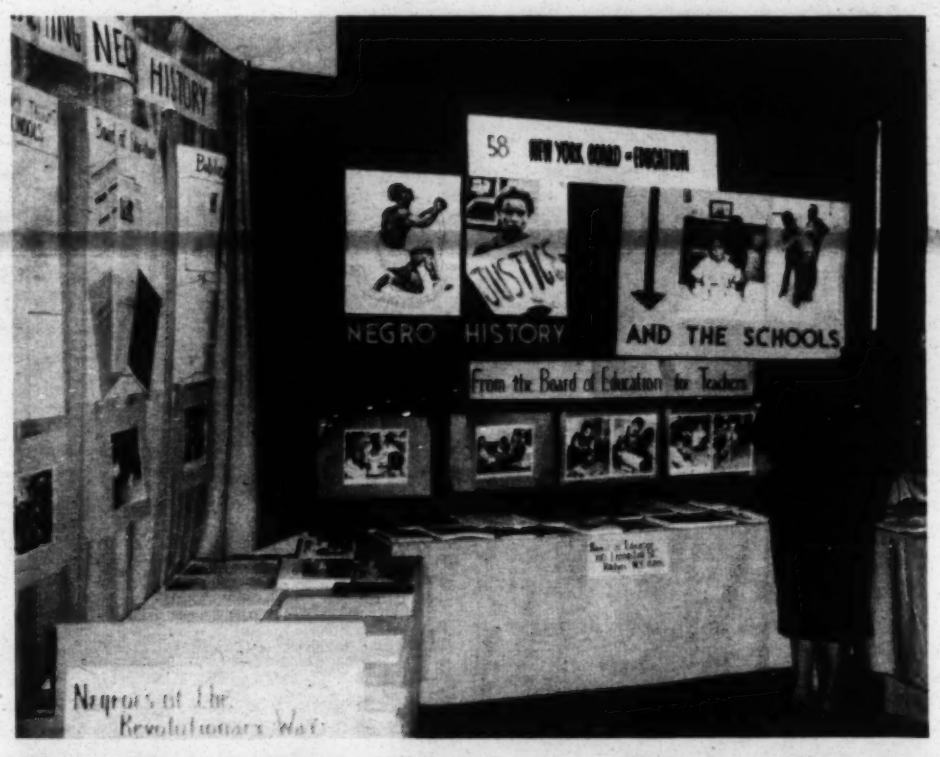

MORE THAN 50 exhibitors, including African embassies, Afro-American artists and sculptors, and book publishers set up displays and booths at the conference. These represent the New York board of education and classroom teachers in Washington, D.C., who devised an elementary grade study unit on Africa.

***AT THE PLENARY** session of the conference, delegates met to consider resolutions drawn up during small discussion groups during the two days at the conference.*

Be It Resolved . . .

Here, summarized, are the "resolutions" adopted by the AFT Negro History Conference. They were offered as suggestions to the Union's Executive Council for action.

- **Future AFT collective bargaining contracts should include provisions for teaching Afro-American history; an AFT curricular and textbook committee should be formed to insure that textbooks present an objective interpretation of Afro-American history; books which do not should be discarded and/or boycotted; Proceedings of the conference should be published; Local conferences should serve as follow-ups to the national meeting.**

- The use of the word "Negro" ought to be discarded and "Afro-American" substituted. The word "Negro," declares the resolution, "has deprived said African descended people of clear and manifest association in their ethnic designation with land, history, and culture."

- The term "culturally deprived" should not be used in referring to Americans of African descent.

- The AFT should combat censorship of textbooks which provide objective views of history, such as John Hope Franklin's **Land of the Free,** which is meeting objections in California and elsewhere.

"Teachers must take a significant and leading part in determining curriculum and materials . . ."

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cooperation with civil rights groups, liberals in the community, and labor; federal funds to support the writing of more accurate texts; publicity, and even boycotts, against those publishers who refuse to correct their texts.

Also appearing at the press conference were Davis; Arthur L. Reese, director, AFT Civil Rights Department; and William H. Simons, AFT vice-president and president of the Washington Teachers Union, AFT Local 6.

Queried by a reporter on whether "education could really change," Davis admitted he "was not sanguine about the possibilities. The dimensions of racism are so deeply ingrained in America and so much a part of how America sees itself, that it becomes more than difficult. The tortures of the street, the white celebration of civil rights disarray, the white obsession with sloganeering, such as 'black power,' all mean that each day the tiger that pursues us gets that much closer."

Davis had earlier, in his searing indictment to the conference, rhetorically queried: "If, instead of saying 'black power', we had said 'colored power', I wonder whether there would have been such a fuss?"

In pointing to steps already underway on the part of the AFT, Pres. Cogen ticked off the following, in addition to the conference itself:

- The publication by the AFT Research Department of the study, "The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks," by Irving Sloan.

- Drive for clauses in contracts between AFT local unions and boards of education fostering integration of faculty, of students, and of curriculum, such as the pioneering Inkster, Mich., pact.

- Meetings and conferences throughout the nation on the issues, sponsored by the AFT Civil Rights unit, and

- Formation of the AFL-CIO Council of Professional, Scientific, and Cultural Unions, one of whose tasks will be utilizing their combined resources to fight discrimination.

In addition, Pres. Cogen declared that Mr. Reese would be working closely with the Executive Council, as well as with outside groups, in the expansion of AFT civil rights activities, "all with due haste and deliberation."

"Teachers must take a significant and leading part in determining curriculum and materials. They will no longer accept being shoved around or not being treated as professionals," Pres. Cogen concluded.

Can a White Teacher Teach a Black Child?

(Continued from Page 13)

York City. "I'll be honest," he began bluntly, "I don't think there is any hope for American education."

Citing the example of "the liberals" who "betrayed the Jews in Germany," he said, "I don't believe in liberalism, or the liberal argument that white people didn't know what they did and have been doing to non-white people in this country. I've been able to find too much information myself. The edifice of slavery and neo-slavery is too well-constructed to be the work of unconscious men.

"I have attended some of the finest schools in this country," said Kelley, who went to the Fieldston Schools in New York City and to Harvard University, "and I have yet to find a teacher who faced the history of this country squarely."

Kelley cited, in a sort of litany, the decimation of the Indians in America. "John Collier, in **Indians of the Americas,** says that at the time that you people invaded this country there were one million so-called Indians in what is now the United States. By 1950, according to the U. S. Census, there were 357,499, and that includes 14,089 so-called Indians in Alaska.

U.S. GENOCIDE

"Are you going to teach that one single fact in your schools?" Kelley asked. "And are you going to put its name to it? It was genocide. Not even the Germans committee genocide. They couldn't get their hands on all the Jews they wanted to . . . All those Indians are dead, no one can bring them back. But the world will not forget it. That's not even the real point. What happens to a country that commits genocide and gets away with it?"

A 'NIGHTMARE'

What happens, Kelley said, was that "you will have a society that can rationalize ANYTHING at all. The killing of one million Indonesians in the name of anti-Communism, or the dropping of not just one, but two atomic bombs." Kelley recapitulated U.S. history with item after item of killing in the name of the national interest, then spoke of mass murders, such as that recently at the University of Texas in Austin.

"But now the American Dream, always a nightmare for anyone with dark skin, or flat noses, is becoming a nightmare for you, because you can't contain your killers.

"And now you meet here to try to improve American education.

"It's not your fault. What you have done would be too much for any group of human beings to face. So you will go on, and on, killing and justifying the killing, until . . . until . . .

"That is my view of an honest American history. Not a matter of hidden facts, but of interpretation."

Clarke said the black writer's main responsibilities to his people are:

"A definition of history, a heritage that is distinctly his own. He should know, 'This is mine.' A knowledge of the black people's history will give them self-respect and the respect of other people.

CELEBRATION OF SURVIVAL

"The writer cannot be honest to himself and his people without making an effort to help create a new society that gives equality to all peoples . . . His work should be not a celebration of oppression, but a celebration of survival in spite of it."

Bone, whose book **The Negro Novel in America** was published last year by Yale University Press, said that to answer the question of why American historians have created false images of Negro life and history, you "have to understand the relationship between images and feelings."

"The function of images in society," he said, "is to guide, direct, and channel society's emotions." Thus, the false images with which historians have dealt were contrived, consciously or unconsciously, to:

"Control the black man's emotions and feelings about himself and make him incapable of resisting his oppressor.

"To protect the white man from the knowledge of his crimes." In connection with this point, Bone noted that the attempt was made to "make the Negro less than human, so that crimes against him could not be construed as crimes against humans."

'CORE' CURRICULUM

Bone made a strong case for a 'core' curriculum of history, literature, music, and art of the Negro, rather than teaching Negro history per se. "If you teach Negro history," he said, "you will stir up deep emotions, but they will be disgusted as historical arguments (in opposition)." "If you teach Negro literature, the emotion comes out in the classroom. This causes a confrontation, which is necessary if we are to make it together, black and white, in this country.

"It is a great mistake to teach Negro history apart from its contribution to the arts," Bone averred. "Out there, in the real world, you will find the Negro people have a unified, creative, cultural response to their history. You should get your colleagues in the music and art departments together and with them arrange a core curriculum. It is the **emotional** history that the nation must know. It is the feelings that matter, and we can ignore them only at our peril."

Bone, noting that Negro literature has only recently emerged from an oral past, read the lyrics of **Backwater Blues** and of Louis Armstrong's **What Did I Do to Be So Black and Blue?** He also read the late Melvin Tolson's poem, **The Seat Turtle and the Shark,** and Jean Toomer's poem, **Song of the Son.**

Fair, whose novel, **Hog Butcher,** was published this year by Harcourt, Brace, and World, kept his remarks more to the topic of "Writers Look at History," than any of the others.

"One would think that if a certain group of writers ("The New Protest Writers," Fair's specific subject) decided to lend their voices to peace and honesty and dignity and fellowship among men they would be praised for it. But that is not true. These are mixed-up times indeed, so it's more acceptable to write mysteries and travelogues with pretty pictures than to write a work that protests against injustice.

TO SAVE THE WORLD

"But the black writer of today does have time to try to reshape the world . . . even to save it. He's a man like myself, or like James Baldwin, John Killens, Clarence Cooper, William Kelley, or a beautiful woman like Christine Hunter, or a young cat in Chicago named David Llorens trying to get just that one essay published so he can stand tall among his peers and say, 'I'm a writer, too, baby.'

"He's a man who was counted out before he was born . . . who comes from a ghetto that he was told was culturally deprived; and he's found out that's a lie and is telling everyone who can read that his ghetto may have been economically deprived, but it was culturally **rich.**

"At a time," Fair said, "when some white literary giants are too rich to see the viciousness of their world as it concerns black men . . . the black writer comes on the scene stronger than ever and says: 'Look, I've been living around you all my life, but I've never lived with you, and as a result I've been able to develop something you've lost . . . I've grown closer to the earth . . . It's love. I feel an obligation, not to white society, but to humanity and the universe."

Fair discussed the reaction to writers such as Baldwin, LeRoi Jones, Killens, and Kelley. "Critics, liberals, and even some blacks are saying: Discredit James Baldwin. He's gone too far. Who the hell ever told him that he had a right to use his mind to expose our whole nation?"

He spoke of the advice to Negro writers to write about "universalities," and not about Negroes. He emphasized his view that the black protest writer today is not "searching for his identity," but "has found his identity and knows his message is vital." And, Fair concluded, "Listen to us! We may come up with some of the right answers. Listen to us, or **forget** it."

Connecticut Locals Gain Contracts, Security

NEW HAVEN—Simultaneously signing the Local 713 pact are Bill Czuckrey, Council 4 director, Mayor Richard C. Lee and Local 713 President Michael Selzano. Standing are Dennis Rezendez, New Haven director of administration; Jerry Bove, Local 713 executive board; Tony Adamo, executive board; Fred Esposito, Local 713 secretary, and Joe Moriarty, vice president of Local 713.

HARTFORD—Signing the first contract for Water District Local 184, seated, from left, are Al Burgess, president, Local 184 and W. Wurts, Water District manager. Standing are Al Guiline, 184 recording secretary; R. Elman, vice president; D. Tobey, secretary-treasurer; Dominic Badolato, Council 4 staff representative; J. Torda, personnel committee, and D. Andrews, personnel director.

TRUMBULL — Affixing his signature to Highway Local 1303 contract is First Selectman Clarence Heinmann. To his left is Local President Vincent Russell, and at right, seated, are Walter Spellman, secretary-treasurer, and Peter Lopato, vice president of Local 1303. Standing are John B. Hahn, Jr., administrative officer of the Town of Trumbull and Spencer Johnson, Council 4 representative.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.

First contracts have been negotiated by Hartford Metropolitan Water District Employees Local 184 and Trumbull Town Highway Employees Local 1303, and New Haven City Employees Local 713 has bargained a two-year contract which includes a modified union shop clause to add to the many recent breakthroughs in Connecticut municipalities.

These are the result of Connecticut Municipal and Special District Employees Council 4's continuing drive to achieve majority membership recognition and collective bargaining status throughout the state. The drive began immediately after the Municipal Collective Bargaining Law was passed in 1965, and has resulted in contracts for more than a score of municipalities and special districts.

THE NEW HAVEN union shop clause is a first for the city, and paves the way for other union groups there to go for comparable union security.

Incorporated in the agreement are a wage increase of 15 cents an hour for each of the two years. Among fringe benefits are increased vacations, improved leave provisions, time and a half pay for storms, and better controls over disciplinary action.

New Haven's 511 classified employees have a new voice in negotiations on wages, working conditions, pensions and other matters.

In a recent election under the supervision of the State Board of Labor Relations, the employees voted 399 to 12 to have New Haven Classified Employees Local 884 as their bargaining agent.

Thomas Verderame, president of the local, said he would be in contact with the city's director of administration to begin talks for higher wages, improved pensions, overtime pay and other fringe benefits.

ANOTHER AFSCME local in New Haven—Housing Authority Maintenance Employees Local 713 — is seeking to complete contract negotiations with the authority.

Ralph Santora, local secretary, said holes had purposely been left in the contract when it was last negotiated, pending passage of the now-effective collective bargaining bill.

Also pending is an appeal to the Superior Court, filed by the union after rejection of a prohibited practices charge against the Authority by the State Labor Relations Board.

THE METROPOLITAN Water District Local in Hartford has been one of the leaders in militant bargaining over the years, despite the fact that this is their first contract. It has maintained a salary schedule that often has been ahead of comparable classifications throughout the state.

The first formal contract contains an agency shop clause, a wage increase of more than 4 percent, extensive fringe benefits and improved working conditions.

No sooner had the ink dried on the signatures of this first contract than Local 184 steam-rollered through a second agreement to complete an overdue bargaining session. This brought further improvements and included a closing date for the first contract.

FOR TRUMBULL Highway Local 1303 the gaining of the first contract was tough sledding. Every roadblock imaginable has been thrown against the members since they joined AFSCME more than a year ago and petitioned for a contract. Threats, delays and legal technicalities proved of no avail, however.

Improvements won in the first contract include a wage increase and CMS coverage for each individual employee, a three-month probationary period instead of six months, time and a half for overtime, double time for Sundays and holidays and a grievance procedure with arbitration. Union security clauses included dues checkoff, maintenance of membership for employees and super-security for the officers of the union.

A two-year contract providing for a one-grade increase in pay during the coming year and a 6 percent increase in 1968 has been ratified by the city's blue collar workers, members of Waterbury City Employees Local 353.

The contract also creates a union shop, requiring that all city employees in the blue collar category become members of the local by February 1, 1967. Edward Joyce, chairman of the union's grievance committee, called establishment of the union shop "a big victory for this local."

Joyce said that if any change is made in the contract language it would have to come up for another vote by the membership, "and probably would be rejected."

THE CONTRACT eliminates the lowest of five steps for refuse collectors, making the starting salary $89.14 a week, an increase from $85.40.

The agreement was the result of negotiations that began in mid-August and were broken by a walkout of the union representatives in October. At that time Local 353 President Joseph Cantito, who headed the union bargaining team, said the city had offered a one-step increase and 3 percent for those already on the top step.

An insurance clause in the contract provides for a semi-private room in case of hospitalization.

West Virginia Council 58 Calls for Bargaining Act

CHARLESTON, W. Va.

The passage of a State Labor Relations Act for public employees will be one the primary goals of the West Virginia Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Miles nley, president of the state body, told delegates of the fifth convention of irginia State Council of Public Employees here.

ention had unanimously adopted a resolution calling for such legis- to Stanley's address. The reso- ed that the National Labor Rela- clearly provides that states may rotect the rights of employees not by the national act.

proposed bill would allow public oyees to hold elections for recogni- n, the right to file unfair labor practice arges, mediation and arbitration, dues eduction and full collective bargaining.

IT ASKS THAT proper administrative procedures be established to provide for adequate hearings and relief from violations of the act.

Other resolutions called for an on-going program by the state council to make the public aware of the economic injustices endured by public employees that only a substantial wage increase will eliminate, a 40-hour week, with time and one-half beyond eight hours a day and 40 hours a week, elimination of the limit on sick leave and an employer-paid insurance program.

Doris Dodson of Weston State Hospital Local 473 was reelected president of the council and other incumbent officers were reelected, except for the first vice president. Floyd Chaplin of Local 1200 was elected to that post for the first time.

IN ORDER to bring the council constitution in line with the International's Constitution, a number of major changes were recommended. All were approved by the convention.

Al Bilik, assistant to President Wurf, urged the delegates to support and participate in local central body activities in their areas. He emphasized the close ties between public employees and the local and state federation groups.

Commissioner of Public Institutions Chauncey Browning, Jr., congratulated Council 58 on the benefits gained for its membership.

Bogalusa, La., Local Bargains Maintenance Pact

NEW CONTRACT containing considerably strengthened provisions for the Bogalusa, La., school system is given by International Staff Representative Peter J. Babin III, right, to Bogalusa Area State Employees Local 776 President Percy Tynes and Ernest Dickerson.

BOGALUSA, La.

Considerably improved seniority and maintenance of membership provisions are contained in a new contract negotiated by Bogalusa Area State Employees Local 776 for the benefit of lunchroom and custodial workers in the Bogalusa school system.

The maintenance of membership clause provides that present members of the union must retain their membership and that other employees are free to join the AFSCME local although joining is not obligatory.

Negotiating the one-year contract with the Bogalusa School Board were Percy Tynes, Local 776 president; D. C. Sullivan, the local's vice president, and Ernest Dickerson and Erwin Frandsen, both Local 776 members. They were assisted in the negotiations by several Bogalusa Central Trades and Labor Council delegates, Martin Knight, president of the CTLC, and International Representative Peter Babin.

This is the first contract gained by the lunchroom and custodial staff, which has contained meaningful union security provisions.

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Woman Is Architect

Arkansas Council Makes Progress in Building Union

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

Back in August, the Arkansas Union Labor Bulletin wrote that AFSCME seemed on the threshhold of a "period of extraordinary progress" in the state, adding that "if that occurs, the architect of the building of the union will be a woman, Mrs. Jeane Lambie."

The Bulletin's words were about the president of Arkansas State Council 38, one of only two women to currently hold AFSCME council presidencies, and the comment about her architectural ability is rapidly gaining increasing significance.

Under Mrs. Lambie's direction, all AFSCME units in Arkansas are driving hand in hand with the state's AFL-CIO organizations for passage of a public employee collective bargaining law in the next legislature. Chances for enactment of the measure seem increasingly bright.

IN COMPANY with AFL-CIO leaders, she plans to meet with Governor Winthrop Rockefeller early this year and get him to act on his pre-campaign promises to arrange for the checkoff of union dues for state employees and to name a labor member to every board and commission he appoints.

Before the November elections, the 12 AFL-CIO local central bodies in Arkansas had their screening committees submit a list of 15 questions to likely candidates as to their attitudes on labor matters. The questions included the all-important question of their stand on a public employee collective bargaining bill.

Candidates who gave the right answers were the only ones to get the backing of the AFL-CIO and, obviously, of AFSCME. A substantial percentage of them won.

Winning representatives and senators now are being asked to meet with the AFL-CIO bodies for interrogation. About half of the 12 central labor groups have held their meetings, and Mrs. Lambie says that most of the prospective members of the next legislature have repeated their support for collective bargaining legislation.

REPRESENTATIVE Joe Hamilton, of Boone County, she adds, has given assurances that he will submit a collective bargaining bill, patterned after AFSCME's "model," in the legislature, which convened on January 10.

As to the intended call on Governor Rockefeller, Mrs. Lambie said the governor's campaign assurances were so firm that it is anticipated that he will make every effort to fulfill them in the future. She also pointed out that he does need to wait for passage of a collective bargaining law to institute the check-off.

The Council 38 President is involved at this time in another matter of considerable concern to Arkansas public employees. The Council has taken legal action under the Arkansas "Right-to-Work" Law to prevent the Ouachita County Hospital from firing employees for their union activities and recently won an important first court round in that case.

Although Mrs. Lambie is a native of Alicia, Ark., she first joined a union in Detroit in 1940.

The air conditioning failed in a plant where she was working as a young girl. A woman worker was felled by the heat and the United Automobile Workers asked management to have the faulty cooling equipment repaired. Management refused but only for a time. A sit-down strike ensued and the air conditioning system was promptly put back in working order.

MRS. LAMBIE says "that was when I first began getting the idea that collective bargaining could work."

Returning to Arkansas, Mrs. Lambie went to work in the State Hospital in Little Rock where her mother, Mrs. Eunice White was employed and also was demonstrating a keen interest in collective bargaining—having joined AFSCME in 1938.

Mrs. White, a psychiatric aide, was a member of Arkansas State Hospital Employees Local 1388, and was quite active in its affairs before her retirement. Mrs. Lambie joined the same union, participating so actively in its affairs that she became its president, a position she continues to fill.

Mrs. Lambie

MRS. LAMBIE became secretary-treasurer of Council 38 in 1961 and was named to the Council's presidency in February, 1966.

Mrs. Lambie is a psychiatric technician and, in addition to being president of Council 38 and Local 1388 of AFSCME, holds the presidency of the Psychiatric Technicians Association.

Typical of her efforts on behalf of public employees, is the fact that she spearheaded a drive that persuaded last year's Arkansas Legislature to enact a law resulting in the drastic upgrading of psychiatric workers in the state hospital.

Mrs. Lambie says that for many years "anybody could come in off the street—if they had political pull—and become what was called a 'psychiatric aide.' We got tired of seeing these jobs passed out as patronage."

THE NEW LAW, for which Mrs. Lambie fought, has ended the patronage routine, as well as the employment of unqualified "psychiatric aides." The job and title have been abolished. Instead, there is the position of psychiatric technician, but employees who qualify for that title are legislatively required to have extensive academic and clinical training and a license from a newly created state examining board.

Mrs. Lambie says:

There's an old cliche—'you can't fight city hall.' but now more public employees are saying that although we don want to 'fight'—we at least want people in city hall, the county co and the state capitol to li problems. We are getting ti penalized for working for our g

"You've go to be dedicated t public service work. We want t conditions better through collectiv gaining."

And making the position of pu employees in Arkansas considerably b ter is obviously what Mrs. Lambie i tends to do.

Minnesota Staff Training Program

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR of Education and Research Marjorie Mueller makes a point at the blackboard during the staff training session for Minnesota councils and locals at St. Paul as Director Elwood Taub ponders questions. At right is Fowler R. Kadrie, business agent for Local 151.

DURING SESSIONS of the staff program these participants were facing the camera, from left: John McDonald, President of Council 31; Max Gilbert, business agent, Council 6; Harold Niemeyer, business agent, Council 6; Lambert Eitel, International Representative; Berdine Erickson, president, Council 6, and Jesse Lasky and Clifford Lanthier, Local 66 business agents. All were enthusiastic about the program.

ALSO PARTICIPATING in the sessions were Nick Schneider, business agent, Local 8; Tom McKernon, Wes Ohman and Don Burns, business agents and representative for Council 6, respectively.

INTERNATIONAL President Jerry Wurf, center at head of table, was present with the leadership of the state federation and councils at the banquet which concluded the training session.

U.S. Welfare Commissioner Winston Calls For Guaranteed Annual Income for Needy

WASHINGTON

Mrs. Ellen Winston, the U.S. Commissioner of Welfare, has come out in support of a guaranteed annual income for families which earn less than $3,000 a year—a category into which some public employees in institutional laundries and cafeterias fall.

She supported her proposal by saying, "I believe in people having enough to eat, decent clothing and a safe place to live."

Mrs. Winston is no stranger to many AFSCME members. During the 1966 International Convention a special Social Welfare Conference was held, and she was the principal speaker. The members there heard her zero in on the battle lines that were being drawn in the war on poverty.

In effect, they got a preview of her statement on the guaranteed annual income, for she said, in part: ". . . when a society has advanced to the point that it can produce enough for all, it cannot afford, either from an economic standpoint or in terms of social justice, to deny the necessities of life to a substantial portion of the population."

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2-7-67

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

Federal Tax Collecting Cheaper

By SYLVIA PORTER

IF THE FEDERAL Government is going to have to turn back more of my tax money to the States and cities, why does my money have to make a round trip to Washington? Why shouldn't the Federal Government do it the simple, cheap way by giving up some of its tax sources and letting the states collect the money directly? Is it because Washington is afraid it'll forfeit some of its financial power over us?"

During a spirited dinner debate about the skyrocketing tax collections of the Federal Government side by side with the soaring financial needs of the States and cities, a highly intelligent lady tossed out this question. The fact that she started an even more spirited debate underlines how stubborn is this charge that the Federal Government is using its power of the purse to gain even more power over us. In this particular contest, the charge demands an objective analysis.

First, a bit of background. Although President Johnson fudged the question of "no strings attached" grants to local governments on top of the huge "tied" grants now flowing to the States and cities, this does not by any means kill the plan.

THE REPUBLICANS have grabbed the idea away from the Democrats. (It was initially proposed by Walter W. Heller, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and it is the heart of Heller's recently published book, "New Dimensions of Political Economy.") GOP leaders are sure to push it hard between now and the 1968 elections. In one form or another, a plan for more generous sharing of Federal revenues with the local governments will come up in this Congressional session. In view of the awesome financial tasks our states and cities face, the idea will not die.

Why then not let the States and cities collect the extra taxes necessary and cut out the trip from us to Washington and back? There are three basic reasons why this would be far more complicated and costly.

1. Every study made of comparative costs has shown that, in Heller's words, "the costs of collecting Federal taxes are far below the costs of collecting State and local taxes."

2. The Internal Revenue Service is a much more efficient tax collecting agency than that of any State or city. Its size and scale of collections make that obvious. The extent of its jurisdiction alone gives it vast advantages in the administration of taxes. Actually, for each $1 of taxes collected by the Federal Government, the States would get pennies.

3. If the States and cities collected the taxes directly, costly new machinery, and even more costly administrative personnel, would be essential. If the Federal Government does the collecting and sharing of the revenues, though, no new machinery and little added personnel would be involved.

Again to quote Heller, "on these admittedly narrow, efficiency grounds, the flow through of Federal income tax funds to the States would get high marks."

OF COURSE, this does not answer my friend's question about the power of the Federal purse. The answer here is that it is precisely because we fear this power that we refuse to turn over the entire taxing job to the more efficient, superior IRS. We are willing to pay a stiff premium in inefficiency to maintain the separation of power. We want strong, independent local governments, and we want to make them even stronger and more vital.

In his State of the Union message last week, Johnson forecast that our local governments will be spending close to $110 billion a year by 1970—and that's conservative!

When a blueprint for revenue-sharing will become reality cannot be foretold. But it will become reality because this one statistic says that it must.

More Help Urged For Farm Labor

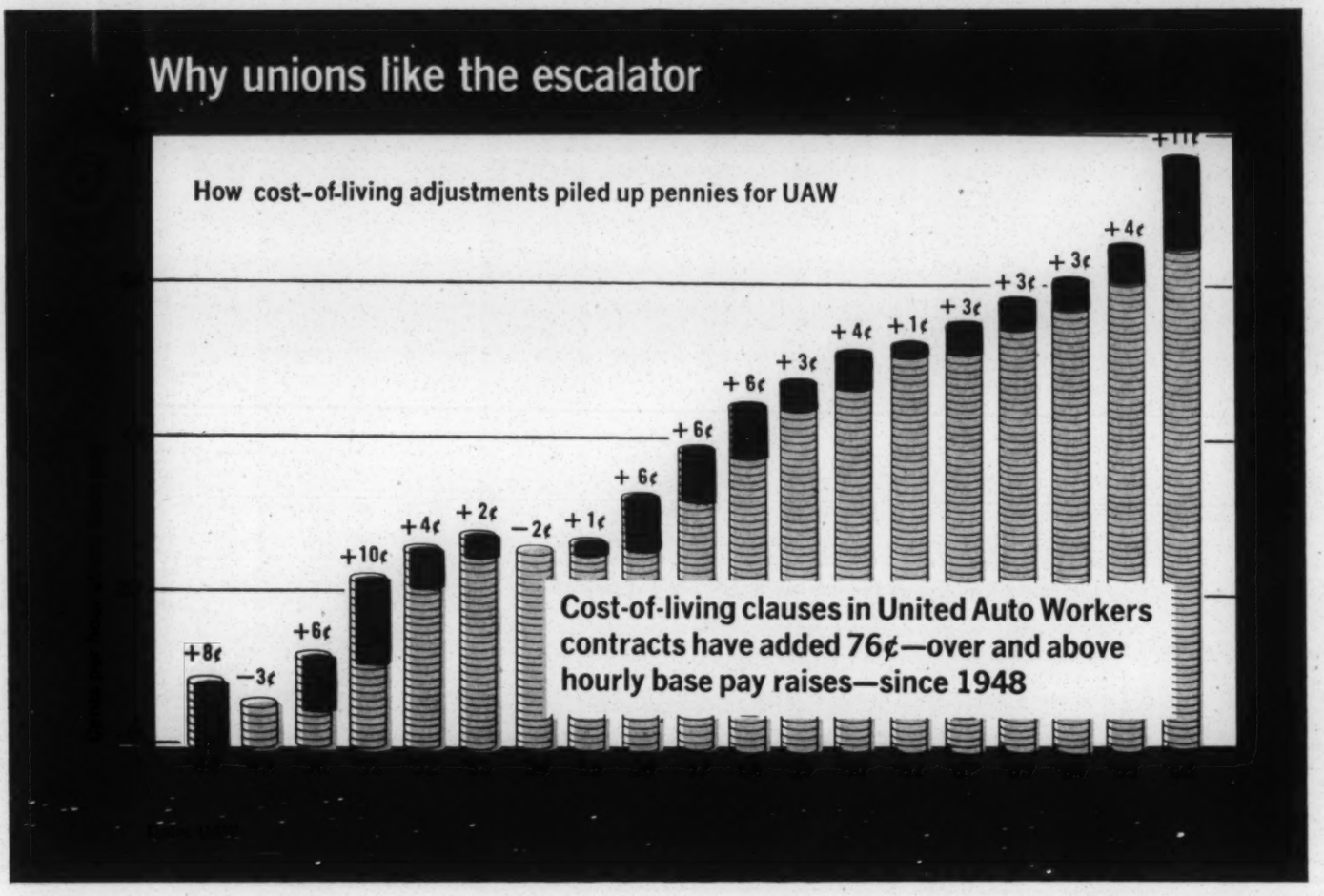
To the Editor:

Like others in the Texas Golden Triangle (Beaumont-Port Arthur-Orange) this New Year's Eve, I am sitting by the TV eating a hamburger and wondering if the OCAW picket lines will go up in the cold and rain at midnight. I readily see that my neighbors have shared well and deservedly in the Texas oil pie, thanks to the OCAW, and I wish them an even bigger share this time.

However, this hamburger would taste better if I thought another South Texas neighbor was sharing something with you. It's tasteless though when I think that 50¢ backbreak labor produced the onion and lettuce and tomato inside the bun—that one neighbor profits from Texas wealth because he's organized while another's existence is blighted by poverty because he isn't. Perhaps he needs the help of a friend in a capital city—something more apt to be found in Denver or some other state.

W. T. Block
Nederland, Texas

2/7/67 — Union News



LABOR

Living costs get critical again

Strong labor interest is a reflection of big price jumps over two years and the anticipation of more this year. Industry claims that escalator clauses are inflationary

Sharp price increases over the past two years are putting cost-of-living clauses back on bargaining tables. Unions that represent more than 1-million workers say that escalator clauses to link pay to prices will be part of their price for peaceful settlements this year.

Last week, the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union's militant District 65 announced plans to reopen all contracts "to recoup losses suffered by members as a result of the inflationary rise in the cost of living, and to make certain that all contracts have cost-of-living clauses to protect members from future inflation."

It joined a bargaining campaign backed by, among others, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and six railroad unions that threaten to strike for more pay and wage escalation.

Critical issue. The growing demands for c-of-l "protection" could be among the most critical in 1967's tough bargaining.

Labor's interest in c-of-l clauses has, in general, followed price trends. When there's price stability, unions are likely to put bargaining emphasis on other things. When prices are rising steadily, c-of-l protection moves to the top of the list of union demands. The intensity of labor's interest now is a reflection of price jumps in 1965 and 1966—and of rises expected in 1967.

Prices measured by the Labor Dept.'s Consumer Price Index rose 3.3% in 1966, the biggest jump in 10 years. In 1965, prices went up 1.7%, so the two-year rise was a steep 5%. Government economists look for a 2.5% increase this year.

What UAW got. Escalator clauses provide for quarterly or less frequent adjustments of pay to changing price levels. In 1965, workers under United Auto Workers contracts got a penny more pay in March and in June and 2¢ in September, or 4¢ in all, through formula revisions of wages as the Consumer Price Index crept up 1.7%. In 1966, they got 2¢ in March, 4¢ in June, 2¢ in September, and 3¢ in December, or 11¢ to offset the 3.3% rise in the CPI.

The c-of-l increases were in addition to UAW's automatic increases under the 1964 contract of 2.5% (with a 6¢ minimum) in 1965 and

2.8% (on a 7¢ minimum) in 1966.

In contrast, the United Steelworkers—which doesn't have escalation now but intends to make it a must in 1968—got no new money in 1966 for most workers (craft workers got a few cents) under pacts signed in 1965. USW complains of the "erosion" of its negotiated wage gains, and says its members aren't as well off as before the last negotiations.

Where it hurts. All unions having contract bargaining ahead are stressing this: Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that "real" spendable earnings of a worker without dependents dropped from $82.70 a week in December, 1965, to $81.39 at the end of last year, while a worker with three dependents suffered an income drop from $89.75 to $88.22. The figures take into consideration higher pay during 1966—but reduced buying power as prices went up faster than pay.

Comparatively few unions now have cost-of-living clauses; most either haven't pushed for escalation in bargaining (some leaders argue that automatic c-of-l increases might produce less in new money than they could get by bargaining in wage reopenings) or have had escalation and have dropped it for a chance at other negotiated gains.

Pioneer. UAW pioneered with a c-of-l settlement in 1948. Few other unions followed the auto union's lead until prices started shooting up during the Korean War. Then, in nine months following June, 1950, in a period when UAW was picking up 13¢ an hour, c-of-l clauses became a hot labor issue: The number of workers under escalation jumped from 500,000 to 2.5-million. The trend continued through 1952, when the coverage topped 3.5-million.

Peak year. When prices stabilized, the expansion of c-of-l coverage slowed almost to a stop. Along with gains, there were pay reductions. Disenchanted unions began trading off escalation for other things. The interest in escalation was revived somewhat in 1958, when prices climbed sharply again.

C-of-l clause coverage reached its peak of more than 4-million workers in that year—with escalation widely found in auto, farm and construction equipment, aerospace, trucking, meatpacking, steel, aluminum, can making, electrical equipment, and railroad industries.

New pressure. After that, relative price stability once again diverted union interest to other things. C-of-l clauses became a trade-off for pension, insurance, and other fringes. By 1966, coverage was hardly half the peak level of 1958. Then union interest shot up once more with prices.

The International Assn. of Machinists dropped its c-of-l clause in aerospace contracts at the end of 1964, then picked it up again at Douglas and Lockheed in 1956 and Boeing in 1963. Last year, IAM demanded and won escalation for airline machinists.

The steel industry was jarred by the cost of its escalation clause in United Steelworkers contracts: The increase went far beyond expectations and knocked long-term pricing into a cocked hat. Companies got USW to modify its c-of-l clause at the end of the 1959 steel strike and to give it up completely in 1962 in a "buy off" for industrial sabbaticals.

Now, however, steelworkers are champing for escalation again. They argue that with it they would now have nearly 15¢ an hour more pay.

In electrical manufacturing, General Electric knocked c-of-l clauses out of 1960 contracts, vowed it wouldn't accept escalation again, then granted a modified clause last year—one that limits GE's liability.

Rail demands. Railroad unions won escalation in the early 1950s, dropped clauses in 1954 and 1955, picked them up again in 1956 and 1957, then dumped them again in 1960. Six nonoperating unions, the shopcraft group of skilled workers, want a c-of-l clause now: It's one bargaining issue in their dispute that has an Apr. 12 strike deadline.

Other rail unions expect to demand escalation again in negotiations late this year or in early 1968—if "runaway price increases continue," a spokesman said.

Currently 2.2-million workers are under escalator contracts, the most since 1962. Of the total, 1.32-million get quarterly adjustments. About 210,000 were added to escalator rolls last year.

Inflationary charge. Management generally has opposed escalation, primarily—as in the steel industry—because c-of-l clauses make future costs unpredictable. In 1967, they can buttress their arguments with a warning by the Council of Economic Advisers that c-of-l clauses are inflationary.

Labor is steamed up over CEA's admonition. UAW said the auto union "has successfully resisted all efforts to tamper with cost-of-living protection for its members and it does not intend to permit any tampering in 1967 by the corporations or by anyone else."

Other unions also say flatly: If escalation is to be sidetracked as a bargaining issue, prices must be stabilized first. **End**

Before taxes

PAGINATION INCORRECT

NOTES ON VISITING FACULTY FOR
N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

ALLEN, Russell. Professor Allen has worked on the staff of a national union as well as being a university faculty member. He is conversant with union research and education problems, trends in collective bargaining, job evaluation.

ANTHONY, Paul. Mr. Anthony is the new director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. He is an able and articulate spokesman on regional problems, especially as they relate to the changing patterns of racial relations. He is a thoughtful commentator on the continuing and emerging problems faced by Southern states and communities as well as on the difficulties and hopes in the federal role in civil rights and allied areas.

CLEGHORN, Reese
WATTERS, Pat. These two men are currently working on a major study of the impact of voter registration drives on Southern politics. Their interest in and knowledge of state and regional problems is far-ranging. Watters has paid some special attention to student action groups.

DAVIS, Walt. Mr. Davis comes out of an extensive union experience; he has served on the staff of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. His current position puts him into regular contact with the problems that unions and employers have in complying with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 dealing with employment discrimination.

FRIEDMAN, Marvin. Mr. Friedman is a research economist working in the AFL-CIO's Research Department. His specialties include national economic policy (its direction and making), union interest in national economic policy, the research function in unions.

HENDERSON, Vivian. Mr. Henderson is the President of Clark College in Atlanta. He was formerly a professor of economics at Fisk University in Nashville. He has served as a visiting professor to North Carolina State College where he engaged in a major research program sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund on manpower problems and outlook in the South. He has received wide recognition for his work in the manpower area. He is well acquainted with problems of Negro higher education.

HOBBY, Wilbur.
POWELL, Dan.
WEIGHTMAN, Phil. Each of these people is skilled in the operation of the political education program of the labor movement. Weightman has served as a minority group specialist with the national Committee On Political Education. The other two men serve their respective areas and have extensive contact with unions and political groups through the region.

JORDAN, Vernon. Mr. Jordan is director of the voter program of the Southern Regional Council. He is knowledgable regarding the impact of Negro voting on Southern politics, Negro voter organizations, the problems of registration and voting in the South ranging from official resistance through private intimidation to the problem of voter apathy.

KIRCHER, William. Mr. Kircher has long been associated with the Organizing Department of the AFL-CIO. He recently was named as the director of that department. He knows intimately the kinds of problems that face unions in their organizing efforts and the current and planned programs by the AFL-CIO and many of its affiliates to expand membership.

MARSHALL, Ray. Professor Marshall is probably the nation's foremost expert on Southern labor history. He has published extensively in the field of union problems in the South and union racial problems in the South and nation. He is a labor economist with a detailed and practical acquaintance with the labor movement.

POLLITT, Daniel. Professor Pollitt is thoroughly conversant with the growing field of labor law. He has served as a governmental and congressional consultant. He is currently heading a major study of the National Labor Relations Board.

SLAIMAN, Donald. Mr. Slaiman is a perceptive analyst of union problems with a primary interest in union responsibilities and problems in the areas of civil rights and racial relations. His academic work includes study in the U. S. and abroad.

WILKINS, Roy. Mr. Wilkins is widely known as the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He has brought to the civil rights movement, and to the nation, a needed depth of perception and sound judgment. He will be on campus for too short a period to be used in a classroom situation; however, a public address has been arranged for the evening of January 18. He will speak on "The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights." This presentation will be in the auditorium of the Center building. Interested faculty and students are cordially invited to attend.

YOUNG, Andrew. Rev. Young is an able and thoughtful strategist who serves as a top aide to Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. One of his current interests is in the program of S.C.L.C. in Chicago.

CAMPBELL, Ralph. Professor Campbell is Director of Extension of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations. In this position he supervises an extensive management and union education program. Campbell is widely known as an industrial relations and management training specialist. He also serves as board chairman of the National Institute of Labor Education.

KEHRER, Elmer. Mr. Kehrer heads the Southern office of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. He has served in the past as the Regional Director for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He is a thoughtful commentator on union problems in the South.

MIRE, Joseph. Dr. Mire is the Executive Director of the National Institute of Labor Education. This organization has been headed by a board of university, union, and public persons interested in the development of labor education in the nation. Dr. Mire is fully acquainted with the variety and extent of labor education programs in the United States and in much of the rest of the world. He is a specialist in comparative labor movements.

PART-2

United Southern Employees Association

★ ★ ★

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
SOUTHPORT, N. C.

★ ★ ★

BUSINESS OFFICE
SHALLOTTE, N. C,

LOCAL OFFICE.. 108 E.MAIN ST
ROBERT MARSHALL BUILDING
RM 217 PHONE

BY-LAWS -- PART II

1. All initiation fees and dues paid in by members shall be deposited in a local bank wherever the local is established, except the amount due the national headquarters. (This paragraph shall be effective until after the local has been established.)

2. Initiation fees shall be three dollars ($3.00); monthly dues shall be two dollars ($2.00) except where the membership of any one local shall unanimously raise them by secret ballot vote. Raising dues shall not be permitted except in case of an emergency.

3. All initiation fees and dues shall be forwarded to the national headquarters until membership is large enough to support a local. It shall then be the duty of the national headquarters to finance a local office to include telephone, desk, filing cabinets, typewriters, and other equipment necessary to operate the office. Thereafter, all dues paid by the membership of the local shall be deposited in a local bank except thirty three and one third percent (33⅓%) which shall be forwarded to the national headquarters.

4. The money forwarded to the national headquarters shall be used to operate the national office. Any surplus money in the national treasury paid in by the locals shall be refunded to the respective local treasurer to be used for the benefit of the members as set forth in the charter.

5. Locals shall be established by majority vote by the entire membership as soon as they shall deem that the membership is large enough to support a local.

6. All elections shall be held by secret ballot. Before any election is called to vote on any matter concerning the local it shall be the duty of the secretary and treasurer to notify each member by registered mail ten (10) days prior to the election. The secretary's letter must inform the member of the issue to be voted on.

7. The secretary and treasurer of each local shall be bonded by a reliable bonding company to assure protection of the local treasury.

8. No person or persons shall be allowed to draw funds from the treasury without the authorization of the membership and the bonding company.

9. There shall be monthly and annual financial reports posted in the local office and hall and at the industry in which the members are employed.

10. The salaries of all officers and employees shall be set by the executive board and approved by the membership by secret ballot.

11. The books of each local shall be audited annually by a certified public accountant. The membership, by a majority vote, may have the books audited at any time they deem necessary and shall reserve the right to call in the national investigation committee to conduct any investigation that they deem necessary for the welfare of their local.

12. The investigating committee shall be available to any member who has been intimidated by any person or group of persons or by the industry, or any of its representatives, in which they are employed. A report of this investigation shall be made available upon request to any member of the association and to other persons who might be involved.

13. Attorneys of the association shall represent any member or group of members of any local upon the authorization of a majority of the members of that local by a secret ballot vote. Attorneys shall be paid by the local being served, their fees having been set by the executive committee and approved by majority membership vote prior to service rendered. This service is available only in matters concerning the association.

14. An emergency fund shall be set up by each local for the benefit of members in good standing for matters involving them and their immediate family. Money shall be loaned to members at a lawful rate of interest to be set by the executive board with the approval of the members. All interest and principal shall be returned to the emergency fund.

15. Any member shall have the right to run for an office of the local. Candidates may be of either sex.

16. Membership shall be strictly voluntary and no collection of dues by the employers shall be sanctioned or permitted.

17. All elections shall be supervised by disinterested persons, such as ministers, town officials, and a representative of the association and representatives of the industry in question.

18. There shall be no alcoholic beverages allowed at meetings. Intoxicated members shall not be permitted to enter the meeting hall. Profane language shall not be permitted under any circumstances. Violation of the above rule may result in expulsion from the association. This article shall be strictly enforced. It shall be the duty of the sergeant-at-arms to enforce the above rules at all meetings of the association.

19. All contracts and work agreements between industry and the association must be approved and ratified by a majority of the membership through a secret ballot vote.

20. Members of this association shall not recognize any picket line set up by the AFL-CIO or any of that union's affiliates, but will recognize all other independent union picket lines.

21. The United Southern Employees Association is a legal national chartered labor organization.

22. This association concurs in creating a Southern Confederation of Labor.

Approved by the Board of Directors

United Southern Employees Association

Appendix A.—*General Wage Payment Requirements*

State	Coverage	Frequency of payment and holdover	Medium of payment	Notices—Records	Penalties payable to worker
Alabama: Code 1940, title 48, sec. 474.	Employees of every public-service corporation engaged in transportation, employing 50 or more persons.	Semimonthly. Holdover of 15 days.	----------	----------	
Alaska: ACLA 1949, sec. 43-2-11, as amended	Employees of every person or corporation.	Monthly.[1] No holdover provision.	----------	----------	
	Any employee doing manual labor.	----------	Lawful money or check unless written contract to the contrary was entered into by employee and employer before work was performed.	Employer required to notify his employees in writing at time of hiring or by posted notice of the day and place of payment and rate of pay, and of any change in the payday on the payday prior to such change. Employer to keep accurate record of daily and weekly hours worked and wages paid each pay period to each employee. Records to be kept on file for 1 year.	

[1] May be semimonthly if the employee so elects, unless the employee and employer agree to monthly pay periods in the annual initial contract of employment.

Ark — US Labor Dept ~~1960~~ 1959

Appendix A.—*General Wage Payment Requirements*—Continued

State	Coverage	Frequency of payment and holdover	Medium of payment	Notices—Records	Penalties payable to worker
Arizona: A.R.S. ch. 23, secs. 351–353	Employees of every company or corporation, and all public employees.	Semimonthly on 2 fixed paydays. Holdover of 5 days.	Lawful money or negotiable bank check.	Employer required to keep posted in 2 conspicuous places notices of regular paydays.	
Arkansas: Ark. Stat. 1947, secs. 81–301—81–317	Employees of all corporations.	Semimonthly			
	Employees of any company, person, or corporation.		Scrip or other token not payable in lawful money on next regular payday prohibited.		
	Employees of any company or corporation.				If discharged employee does not receive wages within 7 days after requested, his wages are continued from date of discharge until paid or until action is commenced, but not more than 60 days, provided that worker does not avoid or refuse payment.
California: Labor code, sec. 200 ff.	All employees, except public em-	Semimonthly, on days designated	Special prohibition (with penalty pro-	Employer required to keep posted	If employee who is discharged or quits

In Dept. of Defense:

Consumer Protections Urged For Armed Forces Personnel

AN **AFL-CIO** spokesman urged a consumer-protection program within the Dept. of Defense to safeguard armed forces personnel and their families.

Dir. Leo Perlis of the federation's Dept. of Community Services Activities said that while victimizing of servicemen may not be widespread, "there are loan sharks and unscrupulous businessmen who do play havoc with the men in the armed forces.

Servicemen, he said, are often especially vulnerable to sharp business practices.

Perhaps a feeling of "here we are today, but tomorrow we may not be around," sometimes contributes to a "devil-may-care" attitude that "plays into the hands of gyps," he said during the AFL-CIO-produced public affairs interview Labor News Conference, heard on the Mutual radio network.

Perlis said an armed forces consumer-protection program should include:

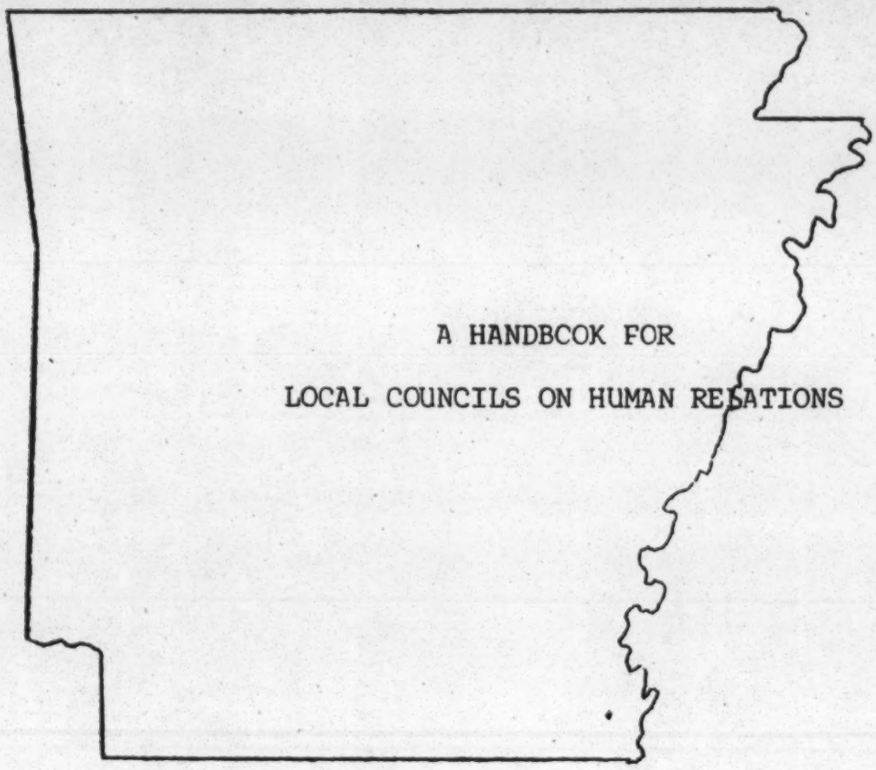
- "Information on gyps and training in basic money management as a part of their basic military training."
- Transfer of unit commanders' authority to enforce installment loans and finance company writs to a "central consumer office at the Pentagon."
- "Denial of military base privileges, such as use of bulletin boards and military newspaper advertising, to finance companies and installment sales firms."

"What we say is that we ought to take a good look at the servicemen's problems as consumers and give them the same protections that we have been recommending generally to protect and safeguard the American consuming public," he added.

Questioning Perlis were Neil Gilbride, labor correspondent for the Associated Press and Harry Conn, editor of Press Associates, Inc.

A CONSUMER-PROTECTION program within the Dept. of Defense is needed to protect servicemen against "loan sharks and unscrupulous businessmen," AFL-CIO Community Services Activities Dir. Leo Perlis (center) told Harry Conn (left), of Press Associates, Inc., and Neil Gilbride of the Associated Press on Labor News Conference, weekly public affairs interview on the Mutual Radio Network.

5.7.V.



A HANDBCOK FOR
LOCAL COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

See pp. 6 & 7 especially

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
FR 6-3541
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

14 December 1965

Mr. Robert Watkins, Coordinator
Continuing Education Center
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Let me make a couple of comments for the record following my visit to Athens yesterday. As you know I was greatly disappointed in two matters that arose so late in our planning. First, to find that we are without a reading instructor is a real set-back. I realize that the Center may not be completely to blame for the developments in this situation, but you will recall that this was the one area in which we were told we could rely completely on the University and this has entered fully into our program and budgeting. It was of course embarrassing to us both to find ourselves confronted with a bargaining session with an individual faculty member.

And second, of course, is the matter of the noon meals together. We had planned from my first visit to Athens to have group luncheons; this way people could satisfy their needs for diet and budget by ordering from the menu. I do not believe that shifting from this arrangement to either eating at three separate tables, grouped together, in the main dining room, or having a planned served meal in a side room will be an effective substitute. Could you explore this further for us? I realize that I did not make this a flat requirement yesterday, but I did not have a full view of things until after I had seen the manager and then the dining facilities. I do feel that we are being asked to give ground on earlier understandings which are important to the balance and execution of our program.

Let me know if there is any hope.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
S.R.C. Labor Program

EFV:jb

16 December 1965

Mr. Russell Allen
Labor Program Service
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Russ:

This will confirm your dates for the NILE staff institute to be held in Athens, Georgia. Your sessions will fall in the week January 16-21. We would like for you to be on hand for the Sunday evening orientation and evaluation on the 16th. In all probability your classes on arbitration will come in the afternoons. You will have two hours per class.

I am enclosing the proposed schedule for that week. I believe it will stay in this general shape. You will note that one of your four sessions on arbitration will come in the evening and that early in the week we have scheduled a special evening session on the handling of technical grievances.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

17 December 1965

Mr. Norris Tibbetts
School for Workers
825 Extension Bldg.
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Norris:

My most humble apologies for not getting definite word to you about my final decision regarding your participation in the NILE institute. I had decided that since your schedule was tight and we could get Allen for two weeks to go ahead with him, which I think you gathered from our conversation. Subsequently, Allen flunked out for the second week, but I thought it best to leave things as they were.

Thanks so much for your willingness to be pressed into service. I am doublyddisappointed in not having you in the program and in not getting to see you.

Margaret joins me in good wishes to you, Alice, and children.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

17 December 1965

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Pollitt:

This will confirm the dates for your participation in the N.I.L.E. union staff training institute to be held at the University of Georgia in January. You are scheduled to be with us for the third week of the institute, from January 23 to 29. I am enclosing a tentative program for that week.

If you have any materials which you would like to use in your classes, I would be happy to have them duplicated and ready for you. It would help to have them a week ahead of your appearance, although we will be able to provide some duplicating services while you are on campus. Anything sent to me after January 9 should come in care of the Continuing Education Center, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

We would greatly welcome a list of books from you which we would attempt to have on hand for the institute. Would you think first about those in the labor law field and then about other books which you think appropriate for union staff engaged in this program. A very informal list sent to me as soon as possible would be most appreciated.

I am attempting to have the BNA labor service on hand for the institute; you might wish to refer to it in class and give some tips for its use, and it might be useful to set some not too difficult problems for which they might use the BNA service.

We look forward to having you with this program once again and are appreciative of your interest in it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

23 December 1965

The Rev. Andrew Young
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rev. Young:

It was good to know that you will be able to participate in the Southern Union Staff Training Institute sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education. This group will be meeting at the University of Georgia; the program is conducted cooperatively with both the Civil Rights and the Education Departments of the AFL-CIO. I serve as director on loan from SNC.

We do have a complication regarding dates to which your secretary may have had opportunity to alert you. You expressed a preference for Tuesday, January 18. When I called Don Slaiman to let him know that I had reached you, I found that he already had committed someone for that date who can not make a change. Could you possibly be with us for either Wednesday or Thursday of that week (January 19 or 20)? Don and I are most interested in having your participation in this program and hope that this shafu in coordinating too many agencies and individual schedules will not interfere with your being with us.

You may rely on the two dates now given you as being and remaining open. It would, however, aid our scheduling to know as soon as possible which you prefer.

Your session would come in the morning, approximately 9:00 to 11:00 a.m. Don will coordinate the sessions on civil rights and will be in touch with you regarding your participation, the nature of our group, and the areas which he hopes to cover during that week.

I look forward to meeting you and to hearing about what is underway in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
cc: Don Slaiman

January 3, 1965

Mr. Hub Cope, Business Agent
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
214 North First Street
Mayfield, Kentucky

Dear Brother Cope:

I would like to welcome you as a registrant to the Southern Union Staff Institute for myself as director and on behalf of George Guernsey, Associate Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education, as co-director. You have already heard from Joe Mire, director of the National Institute of Labor Education which is the sponsore of the Institute. As you know already, the Institute will be held at the University of Georgia in Athens.

Registration for the Institute will be at the Continuing Education Center on the University campus. The time of registration will be from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. on Sunday, January 9, 1966. You should not arrive at the University earlier than Sunday since there will be no space available for you until the 9th.

Our first session, at dinner on Sunday evening at 6:00 p.m., will give us a chance to talk about the institute program and the facilities available to us at the University. At this meeting the group will be addressed by Joseph Keenan, Secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Enclosed are these items of interest to you. One tells about the University of Georgia's Continuing Education Center where we will be meeting. Another is a map of the Athens and University area. The third item lists transportation schedules from Atlanta to Athens for Sunday, January 9.

We look forward to having you with us and to an interesting program of fellowship and study.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures

January 4, 1966

Mr. James E. Stewart
Laborers International Union of North America
1818 Dumesnil Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40210

Dear Brother Stewart:

I would like to welcome you as a registrant to the Southern Union Staff Institute for myself as director and on behalf of George Guernsey, Associate Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education, as co-director. You have already heard from Joe Mire, director of the National Institute of Labor Education which is the sponsor of the Institute. As you already know, the Institute will be held at the University of Georgia in Athens.

Registration for the Institute will be at the Continuing Education Center on the University campus. The time of registration will be from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m., Sunday, January 9, 1966. You should not arrive at the University earlier than Sunday since there will be no space available for you until the 9th.

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Enclosed are three items of interest to you. One tells about the University of Georgia's Continuing Education Center where we will be meeting. Another is a map of the Athens and University area. The third item lists transportation schedules from Atlanta to Athens for Sunday, January 9.

We look forward to having you with us and to an interesting program of fellowship and study.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:JB
Enclosures

January 4, 1966

NLE STAFF Institute

Mr. George Guernsey
Associate Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear George:

Enclosed is a clean copy of the program.

You are taking care of final arrangements with Friedman for the first week.

I believe that it will run better to put Slaiman where I have Marshall for the second week. This change would let Ray leave when he needs to get away and give Don a Friday morning session in which to use Walt Davis. I'll talk with Don about this.

For the third week: do we have the COPE gang lined up for the Thursday and Friday spots listed? If we want them for the following week, I will shift my fourth week stint to fit in. You will note a slight shift in Henderson's schedule.

For the fourth week, I am leaving it to you to get final word fo Kircher. We are leaving an evening open to give us space for Henry and Ramsey if they can be obtained. What are we going to do for a luncheon speaker?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures
cc: Don Slaiman
Joe Mire

January 5, 1966

Professor Russell Allen
Labor Program Service
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Russ:

Enclosed is a copy of the first week's schedule indicating the times for your participation in the Staff Institute.

Also enclosed are several items of interest regarding travel schedules and the University of Georgia.

Registration will be Sunday afternoon from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. Dinner is at six and we, of course, want you on hand at that time.

Glad you are going to be with us, and I look forward to seeing you Sunday.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures

January 5, 1966

Professor Hazel Simpson
Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

You will note from the enclosed copy of the first week's program when you are scheduled to be with us for the Union Staff Institute. My recollection is that you said from 11:00 to 12:00 was your best hour. If starting and ending fifteen minutes later as now scheduled is inconvenient for you we can make an adjustment.

Our opening session will be at dinner on Sunday at six. This will be a time of general orientation and introductions. We hope that you will plan to join us for dinner.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosure

January 6, 1966

Professor J. Whitney Bunting
302 C-M Building
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Professor Bunting:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed. Feel free to be in touch with me if you are.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures

January 7, 1966

Professor John S. Boyce, Jr.
Department of Plant Pathology
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Professor Boyce:

I thought that the enclosed materials might be of interest to you.

I call your attention especially to the meeting on January 18 featuring Roy Wilkins to which students and faculty are cordially invited. We do not want to engage in a broadside publicity campaign, but would like to solicit your help in letting interested faculty and students know of the meeting. It will be held in the auditorium of the Continuing Education Center.

I am writing a similar letter to Professors Broiles, May, and Tailby.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures

January 7, 1966

Professor Jack T. May
Forestry Department
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Professor May:

I thought that the enclosed materials might be of interest to you.

I call your attention especially to the meeting on January 18 featuring Roy Wilkins to which students and faculty are cordially invited. We do not want to engage in a broadside publicity campaign, but would like to solicit your help in letting interested faculty and students know of the meeting. It will be held in the auditorium of the Continuing Education Center.

I am writing a similar letter to Professors Broiles, Boyce, and Tailby.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures

January 7, 1966

Professor Donald G. Tailby
Department of Economics
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Professor Tailby:

You may recall that at the annual meeting of the Georgia Council on Human Relations we discussed a union staff training institute to be held at the Continuing Education Center. The enclosed materials about the visiting faculty for that Institute are self-explanatory.

I would be especially appreciative of any assistance you could give in securing a good attendance for the meeting on January 18 featuring Roy Wilkins. We do not want to engage in a broadside campaign of publicity but are letting selected faculty members and student groups know about the meeting. A list of these persons is enclosed for your information

I have enclosed a few extra copies of the visiting faculty information which you may feel free to call to the attention of interested colleagues.

I am writing a similar letter to Professors Broiles, May, and Boyce.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures

January 7, 1966

Professor David Broiles
Department of Philosophy and Religion
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear David Broiles:

You may recall that we discussed the union staff training program to be held at the Center this month. I am enclosing some materials that may be of interest to you.

I would be especially appreciative of any sssistance you could give in securing a good attendance for the meeting on January 18 featuring Roy Wilkins. We do not want to engage in a broadside campaign of publicity but are letting selected faculty members and student groups know about the meeting. A list of these persons is enclosed for your information.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a few extra copies of the information on the visiting faculty. Feel free to call this to the attention of any other members of the faculty for whom you think it might hold some interest.

Will we have any difficulty in filling the Center auditorium (450 capacity) for the Wilkins meeting?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures
P.S. I will be staying at the Center from January 9 on.
I have written a similar letter to Professors Boyce, May, and Tailby.

11/7/66

Send

Map

Transport Schedule

& Center Brochure

to:

Ray Marshall

Don Slaiman

Ray Wilkins

Andy Young

Dan Pollitt

Vivian Henderson

January 11, 1966

Professor Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Professor Marshall:

Enclosed are three items which may be helpful in planning your trip to the University of Georgia and the NILE Southern Union Staff Institute.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

/jb
Enclosures

[ca. Aug., 1966]

Nat'l S S Institute

4100 Ridgelawn Drive

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

THIRD SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

University of Georgia

January 9 - February 4, 1966

A Report and Evaluation

by

Emory F. Via, Director

Third Southern Union Staff Institute

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INTRODUCTION

This report is intended to serve as both a summary and an evaluation of the third Southern Union Staff Institute. The Institute was held at the Center for Continuing Education on the campus of the University of Georgia in Athens. As in the case of the two preceding programs, this one was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the Education and Civil Rights Departments of the AFL-CIO. Funds for planning, administration, and providing some of the instructional services and related costs had been secured by N.I.L.E. from the New World Foundation.

It is not easy to evaluate such an intense educational enterprise. The month was full of courses, challenge, thought, and meaningful personal relations. When the positive experiences are so varied as to include the satisfaction of having improved a skill, an adult student's delight in discovering what a ham omlet is (and having one), to the first interracial living experience for some, and to the recharging of the emotional and professional batteries of the directors, what can one say about the whole?

This report springs from the bias that the third Southern Union Staff Institute was a great success. To be sure, included here will be a number of suggestions for improvement and reports of specific incidents which had negative overtones. But, overwhelmingly, the month's program was a rewarding experience for the union staff

attending, the instructors, and for the two directors. What follows in this report is a more detailed look at some of the elements that entered into the development and execution of the Institute. In that process it is hoped that the values realized from the Institute will be made clear.

THE GROUP

The participants in the Southern Union Staff Institute came from fifteen labor organizations and twelve states. They were sent by unions from service, construction, soft goods, hard goods, communication, and transportation industries. (See Appendix II) Each of the Southern states was represented except Virginia, Mississippi, and Arkansas, and participants had worked in those three states. The homes of three of the Institute members were outside the South; however, these men served Southern territories as part of their responsibilities.

Four members of the group came from one Union, three from another, and two from one. Each of the other unions was represented by one person. Four of the members were Negroes coming from three different unions. With such a variety of age, educational experience, and union background, it is not surprising that the individuals in the group varied greatly in personality, articulateness, and interests.

We were reasonably lucky in avoiding the formation of cliques. The only one of significance centered around four members from one union. They stuck together in class and in many social activities. This did not usually carry over in the educational program regarding uniformity of thought or a "party line." From this core, an informal peripheral clique developed which became a poker game. This development was not overtly negative in its impact on the group. It did not lead to factionalism or to any open exclusion.

To a small degree the existence of the clique dampened the full development of the group as a whole. For instance, at least one man's performance as a leader in the Institute was restricted by his participation in the clique. It is possible that the attempts to make the luncheon meal a more meaningful group experience were thwarted in part because of the clique's persistance in sitting together.

The poker game itself served some positive functions. Nevertheless, it is certainly within the range of imagination that some of its regular participants used it too often as an escape from devoting time to more serious pursuits. There is little doubt that the game contributed to a general feeling of fellowship for a sizeable number of the group. On occasion, the bull sessions accompanying

the game were serious and to the point. A few friendships that developed there have persisted well beyond the closing of the Institute itself.

The younger members of the group regularly looked for more athletic forms of recreation. This usually meant going out for an evening of bowling. This, too, led to new friendships and to serious discussion. Occasionally they were accompanied by one of the directors or an instructor.

The Negro members of the group did not seem to be excluded from any of the group's informal activities. None of these men were especially forward in seeking participation with other members of the group. Two of them, the older ones, were reluctant to share with the rest of the group except in the regular Institute program and its planned informal occasions such as the social hour in the co-op room. The other two Negro members responded fairly readily to invitations to participate in activities either at the University or in town. Providing several interracial rooming experiences greatly aided the socializing across color lines.

In general, the relations across racial lines were good. Such strains as occurred were largely of a personal nature although it might be fair to admit that there were some racial overtones. Early in the

Institute, a more liberal white and one of the Negro members raised a complaint about one participant's attitude toward Negroes evidenced in the use of derogatory language. The directors and offended parties consulted on the problem and agreed that no special action was required until the offending man had been given a chance to develop further as a group member. The man underwent a very interesting personal development in a month's time. Beyond that first week, we are not aware that he was in any overt way offensive or exclusive in his relations with Negro members of the group. Not only did he take part in activities at the University but also went out into the town in an interracial group. Later he was able to discuss, in class, some earlier interracial experiences in the union and to reflect on them positively.

Even in this third Institute, a number of the participants came not knowing why they had been sent. There seemed to be little resentment or bitterness, but there was certainly some wondering why the union had selected "me."

There was no open resistance to education as such in the beginning. Later we learned that a few persons had come with a fairly healthy "show me" attitude. Others came wanting the chance for an educational exposure but sure that it would be a dull matter.

But at the end of the first week, spirits were high and a vote of confidence on the value and interest of educational pursuits would have been won handily. This interest perhaps tapered some the second week but began to build again later on. It probably did not diminish again, depending on how a few last-week symptoms are interpreted. Except for a short spell of tardiness in the last week the Institute was characterized by promptness and attendance. There was only one absence during the month that was not of an excusable sort. Most absences, and they were minimal, were excused in advance.

There is little doubt that a significant by-product of the Institute was the growth of friendships across union lines. In a few cases old hatchets were buried. In others, common interests and problems formed a basis for new friendships. Perhaps even more important, differences in trades and industries reflected in union history and structure became understandable. Student evaluations, reported later, indicate the depth of some of the new friendships.

In a region where the labor movement tends to be fragmented and geographically dispersed it is difficult to over-estimate the importance of any activity which builds sound relations across union and geographic lines. The opportunities for such building are all too rare. They may be found even in one week institutes. In a one

month program, where no serious divisions developed, it was just a much more dramatic process and friendships were able to mature. It would be difficult to have observed the group over the month's period without coming to the conclusion that despite differences in motivation and orientation, that, by-and-large, they had found common cause with one another through common interest in job problems and through a sense of the developing labor movement within the region.

Although the group did not exhibit much "rah-rah" group spirit, there were many occasions when a kind of solidarity and support of the enterprise were in evidence. It should be noted in this connection that throughout the month the group members remained quite cooperative in the variety of undertakings in which the Institute caused them to be involved. It seems clear, to the director at least, that on public occasions or when being visited by "officialdom" that the group, in its own way, rallied to the occasion. This supportive behaviour was clearly evidenced in the Institute's one public program and was similarly evidenced when the group was visited by the Executive Director and later the President of N.I.L.E.

Several wives of participants visited the Institute. One wife stayed for the entire month and shared in a

number of sessions. Another wife was present for the first week. One other participant's wife attended the last day's activities. The presence of this number of wives proved welcome and beneficial.

THE PROGRAM

Planning

The outstanding fact about the planning for this third Southern Union Staff Institute was that the whole process could be accomplished more efficiently because of the experience gained in the preceding programs. This was especially true in terms of coming to grips with the major elements to be included in the instructional program, how to give it balance, and how to gauge the timing of the various program emphases.

Profiting from the experience of the two previous Institutes was facilitated by the carry-over in personnel and the reporting from the earlier programs. It was especially useful that the N.I.L.E. director had had a hand in the two preceding programs, that George Guernsey had been fully involved in each of them, that the director was quite conversant with the planning stages of the second Institute, and that we were able to make use of instructors who had participated in one or more of the previous undertakings. None of this is to suggest, however, that the planners were freed from the innumerable details,

shifts in schedule, and related problems that beset such activities.

What was possible was a saving in the cost and time in the use of the program committee. More of the work of the committee could be handled adequately and with understanding by telephone. Conflicting views about program and instructors were minor.

In the planning of program content, it was important to strike a balance between those subjects which the prospective students would consider directly useful to them in their work as full-time union staff representatives and an exposure to broader social and economic concerns. A special part of this balancing was how to integrate the material that had specific civil rights content so that it would be most meaningful and useful.

Of course, there was the usual concern to space the instructors so that each week included instructors of known quality, not only in terms of ability but in terms of how they would be received by the group. In general, we achieved the kind of balance in these regards which we had hoped for, but the task was certainly made much easier because of the competence and acceptability of all of the instructors.

The original plans, as might have been expected, were changed on several occasions because of unanticipated

schedule conflicts on the part of some of the personnel involved. In general, however, the final program had good balance. The overall program can be quickly grasped by referring to Appendix A which is the complete schedule for the month. An indication of the content of the courses will be found below under "curriculum."

Curriculum

The curriculum might be viewed as being split into three distinct, though related, parts: courses, special projects, and special programs. Approximately thirty hours per week were spent in instruction. During the month about ninety hours were spent in class, a minimum of fifteen hours on projects, and twelve hours in special sessions.

Courses

Economics. 10 hours. Marvin Friedman.

Three major areas were covered during the discussion of economics: (1) the need for, and factors leading to, economic growth; (2) imports and exports; and (3) the concepts and measurements of employment and unemployment.

The growth of the population and labor force, the impact of increases in productivity on employment and labor costs, and the major components

of gross national product (spending for consumption, spending for investment, and spending by governments) were discussed. The possible impact of GNP on various public policies was also discussed -- for example, a tax-cut, increased spending by governments, and an increase in the minimum wage -- as a means of achieving and/or maintaining an adequate rate of economic growth.

The discussion on imports and exports was unplanned -- at least insofar as the amount of time that was consumed. But high interest and some misconceptions caused it to be given attention.

The discussions on employment and unemployment concepts and measurements involved, in the main, explaining the monthly household survey. In addition to helping the group understand the source of so much of our basic data on the labor force, unemployment and employment, this discussion pointed out that roughly fifty per cent of the unemployed are not collecting unemployment insurance, and that people who "really don't want to work" are not counted as unemployed.

Arbitration. 10 hours. Russell Allen.

The course on arbitration provided an opportunity to get the group to think constructively and realistically about the problems faced in arbitration and the relation of the arbitration process to the union. A good bit of time was spent on skill development.

Problems such as preparing a case for arbitration, selecting an arbitrator, and appraising the desirability of taking certain kinds of cases to arbitration were aired fully. The difficulties in securing able arbitrators in certain geographic areas or on certain issues were discussed as were problems relating to understanding the arbitrator's role and the kind of orientation he brings to a case.

The skill of the union students was developed by a hard-headed give-and-take between students and instructor and among the students themselves in developing points and issues. This process was further augmented by the preparation and presentation of a mock arbitration case which involved all members of the class.

Southern Labor History. 10 hours. Ray Marshall.

The lectures and discussions in Southern labor history surveyed the details of early union

development in the South and related them to national labor developments and general U. S. history. A good job was done in showing the relevance of labor movement progress and incidents to social developments within the region.

The members of the group responded quite interestedly not only to the details of specific happenings but to relating coherently that somewhat familiar history to broader social developments. As tends to be the case in the study of history, the group was surprised at the amount of detail available about a rather specialized segment when it has been pursued by a competent scholar.

Civil Rights. 10 hours. Don Slaiman.

Under the general heading of civil rights the group discussed the legal developments leading to current laws and the social forces now at play in the field of racial relations. The various roles of the civil rights organizations were presented. Attention was paid to why the labor movement nationally, and on other levels, is concerned with civil rights developments and supportive of positive action by government and

by unions and other private agencies. A number of case studies involving unions were discussed with the group. These included situations ranging from membership exclusion to employment discrimination and included cases where the race relations problems of the community affected local unions as well as the reverse of this situation.

Al Kehrer worked with Slaiman on these sessions. Two other resource persons also were used. They were Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., and Winn Newman, Director of Labor Liaison for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Labor Law. 8 hours. Dan Pollitt.

Two main themes ran through the labor law course. One of these reviewed the law as it applies to organizing, developed some examples, and dealt with problems raised in the class. The other theme was a fairly extensive examination of problems arising out of the law and a variety of proposals which have been suggested to meet them.

Both the instructor and students raised specific cases for comment. Attention was also

paid to the problems involved in using National Labor Relations Board procedures.

Southern Economic Problems. 7½ hours. Vivian Henderson.

Southern economic problems were viewed in terms of the long-run difficulties which the South has encountered in moving from an essentially agrarian, and even plantation, economy into an industrial one. The more rapid industrialization of recent years was examined in terms of its real benefits to the region as well as accompanying problems. The course included a discussion of regional manpower problems and their relation to the national economy.

A portion of the sessions was devoted to the question of poverty within the region and nation. This discussion assisted the group in coming to grips with the economic realities underlying poverty problems as well as assisting it in discovering the kinds of national policies which could contribute to improvement.

Labor's Future in the South and Trends in Collective Bargaining. 8 hours. Ray Marshall.

These two topics were covered in the second week which Ray Marshall spent with the group.

Marshall used his earlier presentations on Southern labor history as a springboard for discussing labor's future in the South. The course focused on current data regarding the extent of organization within each of the Southern states, the kinds of industries organized, as well as successes and failures in N.L.R.B. elections. The social and economic climate in which the union movement in the South finds itself was explored. These items were pulled together to provide the basis for a few projections.

Under "Trends in Collective Bargaining" recent developments in the issues bargained and in union and company strategies were discussed. A variety of fringe benefit proposals -- many now included in contracts -- were considered. The social implications of plans which affect economic security such as pension, welfare, and profit sharing also were given attention.

Organizing. 8½ hours. Alan Kistler and Jim Pierce.

During this course the group discussed tactics and strategy in a variety of organizing situations. It included attention to such

problems as the development of in-plant committees, their representativeness, and the importance of recognizing existing or evolving informal groups within the plant. Employer tactics in an organizing situation were explored in some detail. The group also discussed problems raised within the region by activities of several important law firms which work with management on labor-related problems.

Specific training was provided in such areas as the writing and use of handbills. The group also had a chance to become acquainted with some of the resources of the national AFL-CIO useful for organizing. Time was spent in examining specific organizing campaigns. This was especially true in a detailed look at a recent major drive in the textile industry.

Political Studies. 12 hours. Emory Via and George Guernsey.

A number of separate topics, some of them handled by persons other than the listed instructors, composed the political studies course. The course included a brief look at the American political system and how the labor

movement relates to it. Several current national political issues were discussed with major and detailed attention being paid to public education problems and national policies relating to them.

Special problems such as reapportionment, problems of state government (Bill Collins), Negro-labor political coalitions (Aaron Henry and Claude Ransay), and changing voting patterns and Negro voter registration organizations (Vernon Jordan, Pat Watters, and Reese Cleghorn) were discussed in special sessions.

Reading. 10 hours. Hazel Simpson.

The reading instruction was spread over a two week period, one hour each day. It included comments on motivation and the learning process as a background for understanding specific reading problems. Attention was given to individual difficulties insofar as time and the size of the group permitted. The group worked on increasing both speed and understanding. The now standard techniques of controlled speed projections and reading workbooks were utilized.

Projects

The use of projects in the Institute was developed for several reasons: (a) to vary the educational techniques being employed; (b) to increase awareness of the community, its problems and the forces at play within it; (c) to provide an opportunity for more intense, small group, cooperative work across color and other lines; (d) to improve specific skills such as uncovering resources within the community and interviewing; and (e) to provide an opportunity for a detailed examination of a problem of interest to the individual.

Early in the month, a special session on projects explored possible topics ranging from the improvement of basic skills in union affairs to problems of social concern. The suggestions came from the directors, Al Kehrer, the instructors on hand for that week, and from the group itself. The group was encouraged to think about undertaking projects which would involve them in the community and thereby provide an extra dimension to the month's program.

Five main project areas were selected. In each case the emphasis was on looking primarily at the Athens community including the University itself. The selected project areas were: (1) Local Poverty Programs; (2) Process, Progress and Problems in School Integration; (3) Urban Renewal; (4) The Attitude of Local Ministers Toward Certain Social Changes; and (5) Socially Concerned Student Groups.

Poverty Programs. The Committee on poverty programs first met with the area O.E.O. head to be briefed on the background and development of poverty programs and to receive suggestions of persons to interview. From this initial contact with a man who evidenced real commitment to solving poverty problems and who was openly pleased that union representatives had sought him out, the committee members moved to other interviews and observations of programs in operation.

The committee was able to watch activities of the Neighborhood Youth Corp and talk with staff persons in that program. Further

interviews were held with the directors of Headstart and with a local Catholic priest who had initiated a literacy program which was later absorbed by the public schools. The temporary chairman of the Community Action Program was also interviewed.

The participants in this project, and in others, discovered that there were contending views and factions not only in the general community regarding poverty programs and urban renewal, but specifically among "representatives" of the poor and of minority groups. Several projects were confronted with evaluating the roles of two Negro ministers who represented rival interests. Limited time and exposure made such an evaluation difficult if not impossible, but the group learned from the effort not to over-respond to first impressions and to use judgment in pursuit of further information in evaluating reports even from the "good guys."

School Integration. The committee dealing with education desegregation broke into two teams (one of which was integrated) and interviewed such persons as the assistant

superintendent of schools, the Negro counselor in the central education department, a resigned school board member, a Negro principal and fifteen high school students. This committee learned something about openness as well as evasiveness in the discussion of serious community problems. Their interests ranged from wanting to know why Negro students wish to attend white schools to being concerned about the absence of student teachers from the University in the Negro high school.

The group -- on its own -- developed insight into the parallel between the interviewing of students who might wish to attend an integrated school by school board members or a superintendent and the quizzing of union members, or potential members, by a company's management.

Urban Renewal. The group studying urban renewal interviewed a variety of officials and community leaders concerned with problems involved in urban renewal. They talked with the head of the local urban renewal program, to the mayor, to a League of Women Voters member engaged in a special study of such programs,

to Negro clergymen representing different community factions, and to a small businessman who had been dislocated by urban renewal. The group uncovered much rumor about the malfunction of urban renewal as well as clearly discovering some of the ways in which renewal efforts would be used to the serious inconvenience and disadvantage of those least able to protect themselves.

The committee began to grasp the variety of contending interests as urban renewal plans were proposed, changed, and put into execution. They could see the relation between general city planning and urban renewal projects and the multiple considerations -- including political -- that go into so elementary a process as selecting a renewal site. The committee became aware that even reasonably good social planning can have adverse effects on some individuals if great care is not exercised. They also discovered how new programs proposed (or accepted by some) on the basis of social idealism can run into the real world of contending economic interests.

Local Ministers. The committee interviewing local ministers was essentially a two-man, integrated team. The team interviewed two Negro ministers, a rabbi and a priest. They discussed such problems as the ministers' views on the economic conditions of the poor in the community, the ease of voter registration in Athens, general racial relations in the city, and the ministers' attitudes toward organized labor. The team was impressed with the particular ministers they met although they admitted that their method of selection was likely to insure a positive response. It seemed quite clear, however, that the team not only became better informed about the community and gained an understanding of the role of ministers in it, but that the ministers themselves had a fairly unique experience in their exposure to the members of the team.

Student Groups. The committee dealing with student groups was the least productive. Two reasons account for this. One was the paucity of appropriate student groups to be examined. The second reason related to the committee's responding to its most negative

leadership. This was brought about by a predominance on the committee of members from the clique. In any case, they interviewed two student leaders, a few other students, had discussions among themselves, with one of the directors, and with an interested faculty member about student interest in social problems and politics.

Reporting Technique. In the main the reports of the project committees were lively and informed. The reporting was marked by variety. Each group divided its report among several of the committee members and the technique for presenting the material varied from the reading of a statistical report to presenting questions of interest and supplying the answers, to role-playing situations in which the committee members had found themselves. A good by-product of the projects and their reporting was the active involvement of quieter members of the group. It provided, also, another series of opportunities to work and discuss problems interacially. The projects and the varied reports were well recieved by the union students. As one member reported, after noting that many members of the group

expected the projects to be a time-consuming bore..., "When the... committees had completed their reports, the results were all favorable."

Special Sessions

Eight special sessions were held during the month. Although they are set aside here for separate comment, each of them was either an integral part of the substantive program or contributed to understanding the relevance of staff training to the labor movement in the South.

The first of the special sessions came on the opening evening with an address by Joe Keenan, Secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Board, and a member of the Education Committee of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Keenan talked about the development of the labor movement, its current and changing responsibilities and demands, and the importance of training in preparing union staff members for the tasks that confront them.

Early in the first week, the film, "The Inheritance" was shown. A discussion was led by George Guernsey. The film was well received

by the group and discussed as to content and its usefulness for a variety of union situations.

Paul Anthony, Director of the Southern Regional Council, talked with the group about the South in the mid-sixties. The session provided general background on the changing South; the information and interpretations given here were supportive of later discussions dealing with civil rights.

A special session was arranged with Russ Allen on the handling of technical grievances. The whole group participated in this session, voluntarily, even though a number of the members did not ordinarily handle the kinds of problems being reviewed -- problems relating to job evaluation.

During the second week the Institute sponsored a more public program open to members of the faculty and student body of the University of Georgia and to a few members of the Athens community. This program featured Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. speaking on the nation's stake in civil rights. It was an interesting program, well received by the members of the Institute and by their

guests. This session represented the first time that a major, national, civil rights figure had spoken to a public group on the campus of the University of Georgia. Although the meeting had not received written publicity, it was attended by some 350 persons from the University and Athens communities. Mr. Wilkins was welcomed with a standing ovation at the initiative of the N.I.L.E. Institute participants.

During the third week, the group was visited by Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director of N.I.L.E. This session was used to acquaint the group with the interests and programs of N.I.L.E., the importance and variety of labor education activities, and with some background on the Institute itself.

Also during the third week, we had a special film showing of the "Face of the South" featuring a map-lecture by George Mitchell, former Director of the Southern Regional Council. This proved to be a lively session as the group discussed the utility of the film, currently in the South, in local unions and organizing drives. This session was a further contribution to the total consideration given

to civil rights and racial relations. On the same afternoon, the film, "Investment in Manpower" was viewed and discussed in terms of existing and needed national manpower policies.

In the closing session of the Institute Ralph Campbell, President of N.I.L.E., talked with the group about the importance of university labor education programs to unions as either on-going institutions or as a developing movement. Campbell also spoke to the relevance of staff training for those who are not only in a developing region but also in a field of work, industrial relations, which continues to undergo change.

It was with real regret that efforts to plan a further special program, open to a wider audience, did not succeed. It had been hoped that a speaker of national prominence from the labor movement could be presented to the Athens and University communities. This would have been an important addition to the total Institute. However, conflicts with personal or University schedules prevented such a program from becoming a reality.

Reading, Use of Library, and Individual Projects

The reading course was included in the curriculum not just to improve an individual's skill and to provide him with a sense of accomplishment but to encourage reading on the part of the students during the Institute. In general, all three purposes of the reading course were fulfilled. However, more time, without undue burden, could have been spent by most of the group in extra reading.

As might be expected the materials which were most closely and widely read were those directly connected with a course either as an assignment or as materials distributed for use in class.

A special library of about thirty selected volumes and a number of current periodicals was reserved for the exclusive use of the group. It was seldom used for reading purposes. In the Center's regular library the Institute provided the Bureau of National Affairs labor reference services. The materials received occasional use and the group had an opportunity to become familiar with them. A few participants came to the directors for suggestions of things to read or had been spotted by the directors or instructors for special interests and had materials suggested to them. In these cases the materials seem to have been effectively used.

Three books were given to each student. The first, Toil and Trouble by Thomas R. Brooks, was distributed early

in the Institute so that it could be used in conjunction with the Southern labor history course. Frank Smith's book, Look Away From Dixie, was handed to the group towards the end of the month. After the Institute was over, each participant received a copy of Breaking the Reading Barrier by Doris W. Gilbert as a follow-up to the reading course.

During the month a number of students worked on special side projects of interest to them in the performance of their union staff jobs. There is no way to estimate how many such projects were undertaken. But as an example of what is meant here three endeavors will be mentioned. One was the study of a variety of materials and books relating to problems of time study and a search for further sources of help in this area. A second side project, similar to the first, was related to problems in job evaluation. A third participant needed to make preparations for an N.L.R.B. hearing. In each case the men were able not only to get materials but to consult on the spot with members of the staff about their problems. Frequently, the participants sought one another out for information or advice regarding special problems as they began to learn about another man's competence or experience.

EVALUATION

We did not use very formal evaluation techniques. There were three brief evaluation sessions coming at the

end of each week and a longer evaluation period at the end of the Institute. Beyond these, the evaluation of what took place in Athens rests on the observations of the directors, faculty, and visitors as supported by the comments of the participants themselves and supplemented in a few instances by remarks made subsequent to the Institute either by the participants or by their superiors.

Comments by Participants While in Attendance

Toward the end of the first week the two youngest members of the group remarked that the week had been the "greatest"; they had expected the experience to be a dull one and were tremendously pleased to find how interesting education could be. Another participant said that he had discovered during the first week how he could have saved an election for collective bargaining representation; he expressed the wish that his own international would establish an education program, which, incidentally, it was in the process of doing.

In the evaluation of the first week a member, quite conversant with union education activities, simply said to the group that the presentations during the Institute had been the best he had ever encountered. Another member who felt his reading skill was pretty good, expressed some dismay at finding out how low it was, but was greatly excited over the opportunity to improve it. The same

student, holding a responsible position in his national union and in his state labor body, had found the instruction in economics "most revealing." Other students commented on the course in economics in terms of its helpfulness in understanding national policy, its utility in understanding and countering management arguments, for writing interpretive leaflets, and in understanding what was being written about economic issues. In support of this latter, one of the students pointed out that he had been reading economic materials, especially from the labor movement, all along but that this was the first time that he really knew what they meant.

A similar range of comments were expressed regarding the course in arbitration. Its usefulness seemed to be appreciated both by those who make regular use of the arbitration process and those who have yet to handle their first case.

A thoughtful member of the group remarked on the worth of the courses but expressed a desire to see more content relevant to building trades problems. A number of comments also were made about the usefulness of the reading course. The liveliness of the instructor was especially appreciated. One member felt too much emphasis was placed on speed but his observations were largely countered by the rest of the group.

Several persons said that they had come to the Institute thinking they knew all about their jobs but that they had found out there was a good bit still to be learned and that systematic education could prove most useful.

Toward the end of the first week's evaluation session, another participant remarked that everyone had overlooked the most important part of the week -- the process of becoming acquainted with each other.

The evaluation held at the end of the second week centered in large measure on the sessions on civil rights. The group had had a stiff dose. The subject had been discussed in the course on civil rights and had cropped up in Southern labor history as well. For many of the men this was their first thoughtful exposure to civil rights problems; and, as a part of the program, it was an exposure from which they could not readily escape. Reactions varied. Three or four men were vocal in their opposition to so much time being spent in this way.

One thoughtful member felt that too many problems had been raised without enough answers being suggested. He recognized some value in having the topic batted around in the group but would have liked to have had specific problems such as discrimination in seniority systems dealt with even more concretely. As a matter of

fact, seniority and other problems were considered on a case study basis. It should be understood that he thought raising problems was wise, but he voiced a general frustration that answers cannot be simple and automatic.

Another thoughtful group member raised no special criticism of the discussions on civil rights but confessed that in his area the civil rights movement could "kill me as dead as a door nail." All would admit that he worked a tough territory. To his and the Institute's credit he was most attentive to the civil rights course and subsequent related material. It was a time of real learning which stands to benefit him in the future.

Not all the comments were negative. Most of the men were genuinely interested in finding out more about the work of the Civil Rights Department, the law, civil rights groups, and the work of the EEOC. There was no vocal exception to the groups favorable response to having Roy Wilkins as one of its speakers. Although certain aspects of the civil rights discussion were uncomfortable for some of the men, it was generally recognized that the problems had to be faced. Several students commented on the value of having Don Slaiman on hand and the importance of the Civil Rights Department's work to unions facing racial problems.

It is worth noting that very few complaints were raised about facilities and other Institute arrangements. Most of the comments at the end of the third week centered on the sessions on Southern economic problems and labor law. There were comments on Ray Marshall's sessions on trends in collective bargaining and the future of labor in the South, but after two weeks of his teaching and good relations with the group there was a tendency simply to accept him as an excellent and very helpful instructor.

Several members thought that not enough time had been allowed for discussion of Southern economic and poverty problems. A question was raised as to whether or not Southern economic problems could have replaced the course on economics or vice versa. Some overlap between these courses as well as with the lectures by Marshall seemed apparent.

Regarding the labor law course, there was general agreement that it had been an excellent presentation. There was no criticism of what had been done, but perhaps the majority of the group would have welcomed more time spent on the specifics of the law as it relates to bargaining and organizing as against time spent on discussions of proposals for policy changes. By and large, however, the group would have endorsed the idea of having both kinds of emphases made even if more time were required for the labor law course.

One participant made some mildly negative comments following one of Henderson's sessions. It should be emphasized that these comments were restricted to just that one session. Interestingly enough, this same critic then spent about an hour and a half talking with Henderson about Tennessee politics and was greatly enthused about his personality and insights.

A man who earlier had been one of the few outspoken in his criticism of the attention given to civil rights, in the midst of one of Henderson's lectures turned to his neighbor who shared his views and said, "I've gotten more from this guy on civil rights in the last few sentences than I did during the whole week when we were talking about it." There is little doubt in the director's mind that such a response was greatly dependent upon the preceding emphases on problems relating to racial discrimination.

Some of the political studies sessions in the fourth week included direct race relations material. It was following the session which featured Claude Ramsay and Aaron Henry that a member who had reacted fairly negatively to the civil rights presentations came by the director rather excitedly and said, "this guy (Henry) made real sense; I'm going to talk with him." And he did so.

Two of the Negro delegates commented on the contribution made by Vernon Jordan: "He really went over with the rest of the guys." They also thought that it had been great to have Wilkins attend the Institute.

The final evaluation by the students indicated that they had in fact been challenged during the month. To be sure, they were not in complete agreement as to just what had happened to them in the course of the Institute, but there was a large measure of agreement that the program had been interesting,informative, and that they had learned the value of education and of a variety of education techniques.

One member who considered himself an able organizer and who had been somewhat critical in the early days of the organizing course, took time out in the final evaluation to express appreciation for the quality of instruction in that course.

Several questions were raised about the projects. A few persons thought that they should have been more fully involved in them earlier in the month. The one member of the group who said that the projects were a waste of time was brought up sharply by a friend (both were members of the clique) by the comment that the worth of the projects depended on which one you were a part of. This was an especially sharp needle since

the negative comment had come from a member of the team of the one project failure.

A man who admitted that this was his first labor school spoke very thoughtfully about the Institute program. He had come on a few days notice, he said, without knowing what to expect. In the beginning he thought that much of what was going on was "a lot of baloney." Incidentally, at one point this participant had been strongly criticial of the civil rights content. Now, he was saying, looking back he could tell how much thought had gone into the planning and just how the various pieces of the program fit together. In his words: "the four weeks put together had made a hell of a good program."

There were further expressions of desire to have more "practical" information on the application of labor law to organizing situations.

It was impossible to get a full consensus from the group regarding what they felt to be the most valuable portions of the program. It was clear, however, that most of them felt that the work in economics, arbitration, and labor history was of outstanding importance to them. There were expressions of appreciation for having had an opportunity to watch different educational techniques and to have association with the range of personalities and talents who taught in the instructional program.

The group recognized that in class and out they had been asked during the month to stop and think. They had been confronted with new information, with challenging situations, with opposing points of view, and with a barrage of needles. In the end there seemed to be a genuine recognition that this had been good for them.

Post-Institute Comment

Listed below are a number of comments gleaned from letters and reports received from participants. Individuals will not be identified. The comments are presented purely as individual expressions about the program. They were received during a period which extended from immediately after the Institute until about two or three months later.

"These schools (referring to earlier short-run courses) in my opinion, in no way can be compared with the NILE Southern Staff Labor Institute, and the ability of the chosen faculty to get the message over to the students. Again, I want to thank you and brother George Guernsey for the splendid way you both handled the men in all the difficult situations with such wonderful dignity and without discrimination against anyone."

"Recalling the rapt attention which virtually all the instructors, and guest speakers, received from

the students I can only conclude that many of the students were receiving an introduction to many of the subjects. Of course, the fact that our instructors were of the highest quality does not detract from the general enthusiastic interest of the students."

"Russ Allen's handling of arbitration gave me the tools with which to acquire a 'labor skill' about which I had previously had no acquaintance whatsoever."

"The school was also extremely valuable as a lesson in basic psychology. The lesson in psychology, or perhaps it is better described as sociology, was the way in which several of my fellow students lost, or at least had altered, what was probably a life-time attitude. That attitude was racial discrimination."

"We came from several unions, from several states, from several levels of educational background, and from several 'races'; yet, we left as one -- we were all trade-unionists."

"History, to most people, is usually a boring subject which should have been left forgotten. Dr. Ray Marshall, however, brought to his history classes an experience which few teachers have. He was able to keep his students ... engrossed in the past of Southern unionism. Dr. Marshall also drew a picture of the future of Southern unionism, not always optimistic, but always

fascinatingly holding out the challenge."

"The beginning of the second week a class on civil rights was started headed by Donald Slaiman, Director of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. During this course we had many quests. We had the honor of meeting Mr. Roy Wilkins, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who in my opinion many people should have the opportunity to meet and talk with. We had a night session in the auditorium which was open to the public and it overwhelmed me to see the crowd of students, faculty, and other people who attended."

"This course (labor law) was very informative, but didn't go quite as far as I would like to have seen it go; however, it could be that I was looking for too many answers that weren't there."

"The accommodations at the University were excellent and I wholeheartedly approved of the sharing of rooms with other representatives regardless of race, creed, and color. Many good ideas were exchanged on off-duty times. I hope that I will be able to use the information and knowledge that I have received at this Institute to further our international and the labor movement in the South. I feel that Institutes such as this should be carried on throughout the country for our

international representatives and every international union. It gives the representatives the opportunity to do more studying and researching that he does not have time to do during the busy schedule of being a representative. I would recommend if any other institutes were held such as this that our international be a part of it and send representatives to such an institute, and hope that I will be able to attend further institutes to further my knowledge in the future."

"Now I know how unprepared I am in trying to tackle the great task of trying to promote labor programs and also trying to perform the duties of my union and international union; however, I feel that with the knowledge, experience and insight that I obtained from the Institute, I have grown from a mouse to an elephant. I have no fear now when I attempt to converse with business and management pertaining to any labor problems and activities in trying to strengthen our organization. The Institute has proved beneficial in my everyday work to the highest."

"I also think your selection of staff for the Institute was of the finest; I haven't the words to express my thanks to you for accepting my application as a participant of the Institute."

"I believe it would be a relief to sit in class and then about eleven or twelve o'clock to go out with the gang and have a few beers and pizza in Athens. I have heard from a few of the men that attended the Institute ... I still don't like the word coalition, however, I have been trying to form coalitions of all types except the damned building tradesmen and I might even be caught trying to do that before it's over.

"My first day at school, I was prepared to remain aloof from any representative who did not have former CIO affiliation. I had a built in prejudice which I knew would not be dispelled during my stay at the Institute. I felt that the only dedicated representatives in the labor movement came from the CIO and particularly from my union ... How long can a guy stay on the wrong track? Thanks to the NILE program I was not only able to get rid of my prejudice but in addition, I was pleasantly surprised to find out how willingly the representatives from other international unions extended their hand of friendship and brotherhood and my response to them. I must add that George Guernsey's hospitality room helped a lot in this area."

"A few comments about the program itself: I thought the first week was tough as hell but in thinking it over I believe it is necessary to do this in order to get the representatives' minds off the problems of

their locals, so that the learning processes can set in."

"In the beginning I felt that the duration of the program was much too long. At the start of the last week I would not have been unhappy if the program had been extended. I do not propose to name anyone in particular but the caliber of instructors who conducted the various classes would be difficult to improve upon."

"It would be most unfortunate if programs such as NILE were discontinued. It would be labor's loss."

"I would like to remind you that my colleagues were so embarrassed to find out that they did not read well which made them resentful of themselves .... I must confess that I was surprised at being able to adjust to this method of reading, and now, I would not change for anything in the world."

"While all the subjects were inspiring, the work on the various projects in the Athens community enlightened me tremendously on the growing need for community concern and responsibility by union representatives."

"I have personally accepted and intend to meet this challenge of the union representative and citizen

of my own community to improve and highlight the position of organized labor concerning humanity. Recently I contacted the editor of a local newspaper and he related to me that he was deeply impressed that my organization is concerned with the problems of poverty-stricken people ... This editor informed me that any assistance in my organizing efforts would be gladly given. Through this editor I learned that the human relations council was holding a meeting. I attended this bi-racial meeting. Present were most of the Negro civic organizations leaders and a panel discussion brought to view all the community problems which were almost the same as those we encountered on our project in Athens, Georgia. .... I became a member of the Human Relations Council of Alabama."

"Simply to say I enjoyed the school, sounds dry, but I did very much. I feel that I gained quite a lot from it. Too, it gave me some basics and guidelines to seek answers to other questions relative to the same subjects."

Comments From Other Union Staff

Several comments have come to the attention of the directors from persons having either regional or national responsibilities in unions represented in the Institute. Two of these will perhaps give an indication

of the range of changed behaviour which the Institute helped bring about.

The first comment was from a man with regional organizing responsibilities. He was high in his praise for the effect of the NILE program on his staff man. Although he was impressed with the generally enthusiastic report from the participant himself, he was even more impressed by what he could see as changes in thinking and in practical improvement in job performance. These changes encompassed such specifics as the ability to write leaflets -- a matter with which the superior himself had earlier attempted to assist the man.

In the second case, a national education director received an enthusiastic personal report from a participant in the program. The man related with appreciation the value of the interracial experience including his rooming with one of the Negro delegates. The comment of the national education director was that this man had come a long way in terms of his views on race.

Director's Summary

There is much evidence that the total undertaking was an educational success in terms of the formal program and in the planned, and unplanned, activities outside of the regular instructional format.

Teaching Techniques. Although much of the teaching was by a lecture-plus-discussion method a number of other techniques were employed. Most of the instructors had their classes interacting with materials presented to them. Some made use of small group discussions and role playing. It is still difficult to locate instructors who can skillfully use workshop techniques. The total program, of course, included the use of visual aids and student projects.

More important than the particular techniques used was the fact that faculty members related well to the students and were relaxed with them in and out of class. This meant that even with a lecture presentation the group felt comfortable in asking questions or raising challenges. It also meant that a number of after-hours sessions with the instructors proved profitable.

It probably does not need to be said again that the faculty was an exceptionally good one. It is repeated here simply to underscore the importance in such an undertaking -- where students are pulled together for an unusual length of time, some with a high degree of sophistication on a few subjects and others with only an elementary knowledge -- that the best instructors available be secured. This means that they need to be knowledgeable in their fields, conversant with the labor movement, and have an ability to teach adults. Care in

their selection should be exercised whether such persons come from the labor movement, other agencies, or the host university.

Substantive Program. Much has already been said about the courses. Several comments on the problems and gains exemplified in a special way in the handling of economics and civil rights seem to be in order. In each of these areas, overlapping material was presented. In no case did the director feel that this was simple duplication or wasteful.

In the economics course, Southern economic problems, labor history, trends in collective bargaining, and in the future of the labor movement in the South it is true that similar points were made by the various instructors. Although program planners should avoid overlapping that is unnecessary, we feel confident that in this program it had important beneficient effects. The repetitions, especially coming from different personalities and orientations, led to increased learning and improved perspective.

A similar process took place in the consideration of civil rights. We have already noted criticism claiming an over-exposure to civil rights. These reactions came largely after the second week's concentration on race relations materials and from only four members of the group. Some of these same men responded favorably

to later faculty members who were brought in for special one-shot sessions. Two things seemed to have operated in the situation. One is simply that on a touchy topic some members of the group would respond to a given approach better than to another. The second, noted earlier, is that a real question can be raised as to whether or not the later presentations on civil rights would have been nearly so effective without the earlier attention given that subject. In developing the civil rights content for the whole month, it was the aim of the Program Committee and especially the director, Don Slaiman and George Guernsey to (1) provide in the first week some sessions that would begin a consideration of the problems of a changing South, (2) raise quite directly civil rights problems affecting unions during the second week, (3) expose the group to some civil rights leadership, (4) provide an opportunity to meet Negroes informed on issues other than civil rights, and (5) show the relevance of civil rights concerns to other areas of interest such as economic development and politics. The responses from the men would indicate that we had a high degree of success in this total approach.

The Institute demonstrated the advisability of balancing courses that develop social and economic understanding with those related to more immediate union concerns. Also, the experience of the Institutes argues

for limiting the number of courses and increasing the time spent with each instructor. It is important to understand, however, that in making such an observation we do not undercut, but rather emphasize, the value of having specially selected instructors come in for shorter periods of time. In the third Institute it would be difficult indeed to overestimate the contribution made by such persons as Roy Wilkins, Claude Ramsay, Aaron Henry, and Vernon Jordan.

The Group. In most respects individuals and the group as a whole matured during the month. Certainly, most of the men had an entirely new experience in terms of interracial living including a number of interracial rooming situations. It is impossible to detail all the ingredients that went into changing or, in some cases, simply exposing racial attitudes. Strong reactions were limited. And in about half of those cases significant improvement was observed during the month. One or two members had stronger latent feelings about civil rights than they perhaps realized which surfaced following exposure to the civil rights course. But the month's program provided an opportunity for these matters to fall into a new perspective.

It is not surprising that a few members would have preferred not to be reminded about racial problems and they wanted little preaching on such matters. Yet, with

this there seemed to be an acceptance of what has to be done under the law and under union conditions. However, without special attention there is little hope that such persons would find affirmative steps to take to help attain the equal enjoyment of rights. All of the men, no matter what their previous position on civil rights, stood to profit from a systematic, thoughtful presentation of the subject -- one which detailed union experience (problems and achievements) -- and presented an opportunity to think about race relations in the broad perspective of the national labor movement, democratic values, and human dignity.

A member who had voiced one of the stronger reactions to so much attention being paid to civil rights ultimately saw value in it. He certainly had an intense exposure to new personalities and ideas. This would include, by happenstance, his observing a two-hour, closely argued discussion over serious state political issues between a Negro and white -- both on the faculty -- who held each other in high regard but had strong differences over the matter under discussion. Without proof, it is simply suggested that the chances are this man will never be the same again. He will be better for it.

A number of side conversations took place around the Julian Bond incident (the Georgia Legislature's refusal to seat a Negro legislator because of his Viet Nam views).

This provided, with some discreet goading from the staff, an especially fruitful opportunity to discuss both civil liberties and civil rights issues in a meaningful way.

One white participant who had some of his latent feelings exposed, commented fairly late in the Institute that the Negro participants had withdrawn from the rest of the group and attempted to generalize from this that Negroes are clannish. His comments as they applied to the four Negro participants were only partly true. The older Negro members were reserved in their relations with the rest of the group. Of the other two men, one was quiet but responsive and the other was outgoing. This underscores the need still, insofar as the make-up of the group is a part of race relations education, to be especially sensitive to getting both enough Negro students and to insure that they provide "sufficient variety" as personalities.

It is too natural to focus on the changes in the white members in the group and to overlook that a similar process took place among the Negro participants. For these men, too, it was an unusual experience because of the intensity of the enterprise and its duration. They also learned about potential common bonds, existing goodwill, and about the fumbling efforts of whites to learn new ways. There was an opportunity to judge how each individual, regardless of race, influenced relations within the group.

And that in this and other matters there was no unified white response. Although the Negro members were aware of language and incidents with racial overtones, they were impressed, in general, by their absence.

A word of caution is perhaps in order. It should be realized that I have reported almost all of the negative reactions to the civil rights content or race relations aspects of the Institute. This part of the Institute was always considered to be its most difficult job and yet it was among the primary reasons for having the program at all. This portion of the program could not have succeeded without serious challenges being made to the group. The success of the endeavor is revealed in the general positive acceptance of the approach made, the few strong reactions received, and the degree of progress made even with those who so reacted. The caution, then, is not to let the full reporting of the negative incidents overshadow what was a basically positive educational experience.

Administration. Each of the Institutes has shown the need for on-the-spot, consistent care by someone playing a director-coordinator's role. In this Institute we were fortunate in having two persons to fulfill this function. Though it should not be accepted as a recommendation that future Institutes have two such persons, it was surprising how seldom having co-directors was

superfluous. The two directors provided relief for each other from the chores and such strains as developed during the month. Of course, the need for special attention to administration is accentuated by the very nature of the operation in pulling together men from widely diverse backgrounds, providing an intense program of instruction, and in housing the whole in an institution unfamiliar with such an undertaking. But these are problems which the Institute had meant to assume as a part of its task and it met them successfully.

ADMINISTRATION AND RELATED MATTERS

Recruitment

Most of the planning for recruiting participants for the Institute was left in the hands of the co-director. Again, less was required in terms of formal committee meetings than for previous Institutes. General guidelines had been established and the committee could function with little more than looking over applications and granting final acceptance authority to its chairman. However, it should be underscored that the recruitment task was as arduous as ever, even though aided by the acceptance of the Institute idea in a number of national union offices. An effort was made to expand the number of unions sending delegates.

The recruitment process runs up against the dual problem of giving a national union sufficient time to plan

for the release for a month of a member of its staff and the fact that in some instances it is easier for them to make this decision close to the date of the program. Added to this should be a frank recognition that releasing one or more full-time staff people for a month's time presents very sizeable difficulties to most unions. These vary from deciding how the released man's work will be performed in his absence to the sometimes touchy internal political problem of making a single selection from among the various members on the staff. This problem has personal overtones for those who are selected as well. For instance, unless special care is exercised, a man may well come to the Institute not knowing whether he has been honored or stigmatized. He will not know whether he is the most dispensable member of the staff or whether someone hopes to help him become indespensable.

Full-time local officers also were recruited for the third Institute. This raised a few problems which should be considered in future planning. The close relation between the local officer and his local union, including the union's dependence upon him, suggests that the national union do even more to make clear to the man and the local what the financial arrangements will be and to give him practical relief and protection from the pressures for doing his job in the local while away for an extended period of time.

These problems are raised because they will likely occur again. Perhaps more importantly, a national union's willingness to take on such problems underscores its interest in staff training endeavors. Similarly, it emphasizes the importance of the union's contribution in terms of encouragement to the man, salary support, and underwriting expenses in connection with the Institute. And, of course, the whole undertaking, especially recruiting, was assisted immeasurably by the four or five unions which have been ready and willing to support each of the three Institutes.

Timing

The choice of dates for the third Institute raised some problems. It is not certain, however, to what degree these problems exceeded those resulting from any other choice of dates. Last minute recruitment and schedule changes were made more difficult because of the proximity of the Institute to the Christmas and New Year's holidays. Although the Institute was held in the deep South, winter weather became a factor of importance. It was an unusually severe winter, and on one occasion a few students had difficulty returning from the weekend at home and some scheduled instructors were unable to take part in the program.

It is possible that our dates could have meshed a little better with the end of the normal academic semester in order to secure faculty at a time when we wanted them most.

However, by and large, this problem worked out reasonably well.

Relations With the University

In general, the relations between the University and the Institute were quite good. Such an undertaking has to be sensitive to the impact it makes on the school. For most Southern universities, simply the fact that an institute is composed of union staff people constitutes a new experience. On a very few occasions the Institute staff had to be alert not to receive disadvantageous treatment because of the nature of the group. Such incidents were most limited and usually did not involve matters of any seriousness. However, in making the arrangements for the Wilkins public meeting we were reminded all over again how sensitive and cautious even a university can become, perhaps especially in the Southern setting, when it feels it may receive untoward attention. A few University of Georgia administrators were worried that the meeting would receive widespread advance publicity. The Institute cooperated in this matter because the size of the available auditorium necessarily limited the crowd.

The problems which arose out of the Wilkins meeting served as a reminder that an understanding should be reached between the Institute and the university as to how far the former will be bound by the procedures of the latter in such matters as contact with the press, the

community at large, and the university faculty and student body. This may be an area for greater attention than previously has been the case. The Institute itself, of course, bears some responsibility for behaving in conformance with reasonable university rules insofar as it is a university activity. Although in a set-up like the Center for Continuing Education at the University of Georgia it is at times difficult to differentiate between a university activity and an activity using university services. It is possible, of course, that this cloudiness, especially in a period of transition, serves to some practical advantage for both the university and the groups wishing to use its facilities.

There are a number of things which could be done to ease relations with the institution providing the facilities. These same items would also assist the planning of the Institute itself. If it is humanly possible, an earlier determination of the number of participants, the number of visiting faculty and when they will show, the physical space requirements, and what is really wanted in terms of dining, social and recreational facilities would be of great help. The third Institute did reasonably well on all of these; however, there was a period of uncertainty which proved to be somewhat unsettling to the Center for Continuing Education. On the other hand, the

planners of the Institute had been promised some specific arrangements which the Center could not deliver.

A question might be raised as to whether the fees paid by N.I.L.E. for facilities and staff assistance to the University represented money well spent. What is really asked here, is whether or not that portion of the fee justified by the University's providing a conference coordinator was of sufficient worth to the Institute. It is true that no outsider to the University could fully appreciate the amount of paper work and detailed processing required to make such a program a reality. But during the course of the N.I.L.E. program everything from securing a photographer, to ordering visual aids equipment, to contacts with University faculty really had to be initiated and rechecked despite the presence of the conference coordinator. This is not to say that the coordinator did not play some role in these processes, but it is to suggest that in many cases it was a superfluous one. At times it was necessary to either overlook him or by-pass him altogether. It is difficult to know whether this situation came about because of his newness to the job, a special ineptness on his part, or to the peculiarities of such an institute and the demands it makes on the institution which houses it. Suffice it to say that a good bit of time on the part of both the directors was spent on rather mundane administrative

details, including the coordinator's errors. Although both directors were used to such tasks, in this case it meant being away unnecessarily from the substantive program.

With the exception just noted and in encountering occasional brittleness in attempting to work out arrangements at the desk charged with housing, the staff of the Center was most cordial and helpful.

Physical Facilities

The search for an appropriate place for the third Institute was undertaken largely by the Executive Director of N.I.L.E. in consultation with other persons having a major concern with the program. From the outset of the three Institutes, the aim was to hold each at a different University. A university setting was considered important for several reasons: one, it would provide a favorable educational climate; two, it would allow for the use of university resources in the program; and three, it would acquaint major Southern universities with labor education activities. The decision to go to different universities was considered advisable both in terms of spreading the idea of labor education and because varying the location might aid in recruiting from different areas within the region.

The physical facilities at the University of Georgia were very good in most respects. The participants' rooms were comfortable as to arrangement and quality of furnishings.

They were small for two person occupancy, more than adequate for single occupancy. A number of rooms were divided into two singles by a folding wall. These were converted to double rooms to be shared by three people. This arrangement provided some flexibility as to room cost and as to the assignment of roommates. This also meant that since all the rooms were not singles, it was possible to have interracial rooming.

The group was housed together on one floor with one director's room, a double room, at one end of the hallway and the other director's room at the opposite end. The double room frequently was used as a social room in afternoons and evenings.

We used a single, good-sized, well-equipped classroom. There was a small accoustical problem but otherwise the room was quite satisfactory. A separate room was provided by the University for a library and reading room. Aside from these facilities we used the Center's regular library for housing reference volumes and for general purposes. The building's auditorium and other facilities were available when not otherwise scheduled.

The general atmosphere of the building and surrounding area was very good. We felt we were on the campus without being inundated by it. Recreational opportunities on the campus were limited in practice though in theory

we had access to all University facilities.

Meals

The main dining room in the Center provided good meals in variety and quality. Meals were served on an individual order-and-pay basis. Some complaints arose over meal prices. A few persons ate elsewhere, including in a coffee shop in the building.

One of the disappointments in the physical arrangements was that we were unable, except through extraordinary effort, to have meals together. It had been our understanding after several contacts that the University could provide a group meal each day using the regular menu and with no additional cost. This turned out not to be the case.

Although the general spirit of camaraderie in the group remained very good, there is little doubt that having meals in common once a day would have contributed to group spirit and to the educational process.

At lunchtime it was possible to group some tables together after having pre-ordered individual meals during the coffee break. This turned out to be less than satisfactory. Only about half of the group made regular use of this opportunity.

Faculty and Students

Several fruitful contacts were made with individual students and faculty members. This was especially the case

in the Institute's relation with a visiting professor of labor law. Several conferences were held with him, other members of the Law School faculty, and members of the Institute faculty. He made several volumes of the BNA arbitration reports available to the group. Dan Pollitt talked to his labor law seminar and two of his especially interested students sat in on one of our sessions.

The director had notified a selected group from the University faculty about the Institute dates and the visiting faculty which would be on hand during the month. Rather limited use was made of the N.I.L.E. faculty by University programs but there was a friendly response from several quarters including the deans of the Schools of Law and Business.

Two members of the University's faculty taught in the program. Professor Hazel Simpson taught the course on reading and Professor Bill Collins taught the session on problems of state government. Professor Collins was esepcially interested in the total program of the Institute and had been helpful in its planning and in making some special arrangements with the University. He was also on hand for the opening session and attended a small dinner for Mr. Wilkins on the evening of the public meeting.

The Wilkins meeting itself created a good response from the members of the student body and faculty who

attended. They were genuinely appreciative of the Institute's having provided that opportunity. The audience of 350 persons was brought together almost entirely by word of mouth since there had been no advance publicity. The good turnout represented a substantial interest on the part of a number of faculty persons.

On the day before the Institute officially closed, five members of the faculty and administration met with Ralph Campbell, George Guernsey, and Emory Via to discuss the nature of university labor education and to explore the possibility of developing a continuing interest at the University of Georgia in a program of labor education. This meeting was useful but at best could be described as simply an attempt to plant a few ideas.

We reported above that several members of the faculty and student body gave assistance to the teams working on projects. Our students responded quite well to most of these contacts. They also developed an interest in a few problems at the University including a concern over the wages and working conditions of the Negro employees performing menial tasks at the Center building.

External Relations

Daily Press Coverage

Immediately after the opening of the Institute on January 10, a press release featuring the speech by Joseph Keenan was sent to the Atlanta, Athens, and other papers. Unfortunately, this release received very little attention.

Three news stories appeared as a result of Roy Wilkins' visit to the campus and Institute. The participants in the NILE program marveled at how the news coverage of this event was handled. It was difficult from two of the stories to determine that unions, the AFL-CIO, or even NILE had had anything to do with the Wilkins speech. These two stories also featured what they termed "Wilkins' attack on labor." The Institute members and staff not only thought that his presentation was a good one but quite fair in its handling of union-civil rights issues. The two stories completely overlooked the importance of the sponsorship of the program, especially if Wilkins had indeed "attacked" the labor movement.

The third story was written by a reporter who seemingly had been turned away from the Institute by the University's coordinator. This was a most unfortunate incident. As it turned out later, the reporter thought he had been turned away by a member of the NILE staff. This was in no way the case and the directors were deeply distressed that such an incident had occurred. This newsman, who relied on someone else for his story altogether, at least was able to accurately report the sponsorship of the Institute and the origin of its participants. The student newspaper, one of the earlier two mentioned, along with its inaccuracies, reported portions of Mr. Wilkins' speech with greater sensitivity than did the two daily papers.

Before the month was over the Institute received two further press notices in the Atlanta Journal. One of these was a descriptive article about the Institute itself. The other was a columnist's remarks about a portion of the Institute which he had observed.

Labor Press Coverage

The AFL-CIO News has carried two reports since the close of the program. The first was a front page picture and long caption identifying some of the participants in the Institute and its sponsors. The second article was a full page of pictures taken at the Institute with captions and commentary. On March 7, the AFL-CIO released a news story on the NILE Institute and the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council. Included with the news story was a transcript of a radio program entitled, "Training for the New South" in which Harry W. Flannery interviewed George Guernsey. The main thrust of the fifteen minute program was a discussion of the NILE Institute. It was a lively presentation, in human interest terms, of the program and significance of the Institute.

Several other labor papers have carried stories about the Athens program. They include stories soon after the Institute in the Union News (OCAW), Advance (ACWA), and the RWDSU Record. Others which

have come to the director's attention include: (1) a story in the Laborer for April, 1966, which featured the three members from that union who participated in the program; (2) the IUE News for June 16, 1966, carried a story about the IUE's delegate to the program under the heading "He Can't Wait to Arbitrate," with information about the program, participants, and instructional staff; (3) a full page feature on the Institute in the July, 1966 issue of The Painter and Decorator.

Contact with the Athens Community

Aside from the press coverage, the group had meaningful contact with a number of Athens citizens through its explorations in developing the projects. There were no unusual incidents as the group went out into the Athens community for eating and entertainment. This was the case even though Athens is quite unused to having union staff persons in its midst and is just beginning to become used to the idea of interracial groups. There was no effort by participants to "test" the community, but several of its eating establishments, bars, and bowling alleys became acquainted with members of the group

before the month was over. In a number of instances in each of these activities the groups were integrated.

A local club, operated by and largely patronized by Negroes, afforded a number of the Institute participants an intriguing view of the Athens community. The participants were exposed in a new way to such matters as the life of Negro students at the University, the dimensions of power struggles within the Negro community, and gained new perspectives on the feelings of some Negroes toward whites.

Reportedly, one bank (or one bank teller) bristled a bit and refused to cash a check when one of the items presented for identification was a union card. However, a neighboring bank cashed the check without undue reaction.

Visitors

Several persons from the labor movement visited the Institute during the month who were not scheduled to participate in the regular program. In each case they lent an extra sense of importance to the undertaking just

because they took the time to be there. This was especially meaningful for Institute members from the same union as the visitor. In each case the visitor related well to the rest of the group and seemed to conclude from his brief stay that the program and group were moving along in good shape.

These visitors were:

William Clitheroe
Educational Representative
Southern Territory
International Association of Machinists

Tony Hodnick
Assistant Director of Education
Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union

Fred Hoehler
Education Director
United Steelworkers of America

Robert Powell
Vice President
Laborers' International Union of North America

IN CONCLUSION

It has been my intention to report the one-month Third Southern Union Staff Training Institute in a way which would convey factually much of what took place in Athens. It is hoped that the presentation also gives some feel for the kind of experiences that took place during the instructional program and in more informal

settings. I think the report reflects throughout my feeling that the Institute was a success. I trust that some of the detail included here will be suggestive for future undertakings -- that it might have a kind of "handbook" utility for other efforts.

It is perhaps appropriate to conclude with the observation that further staff training efforts in the South are greatly needed. This is a fact which is daily evident to those of us working in the region. This particular institute, and its two predecessors, demonstrate in a very practical way that (1) it is possible to secure significant union cooperation for a worthy educational program, (2) there are excellent teaching resources available within the labor movement and from universities and agencies, (3) union staff will accept with enthusiasm, quality instruction that deals with their own job problems and with matters of improving social, economic and political understanding, and that (4) specifically there are meaningful formal and informal approaches that can be structured into a program that can assist union staff people in confronting the still unresolved problems of racial discrimination. It is my sincere hope that a way will be found to insure the continuation of this unusual and productive effort.

APPENDIX A

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

THIRD SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

Week I 1/9-14	MORNING 9-11:00	11:00-11:15	11:15-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING 7-9:00
Sun. 9				Registration 2:00-5:00	6:00-Dinner, Joseph Keenan, Guernsey, Via, Watkins
Mon. 10	Economics Marvin Friedman	Coffee	Reading Hazel Simpson	Arbitration Russell Allen	"The Inheritance" George Guernsey
Tues. 11	"	"	"	"	The South in the Mid-Sixties Paul Anthony
Wed. 12	"	"	"	"	Handling Technical Grievances-R. Allen
Thurs. 13	"	"	"	"	First Session on Projects
Fri. 14	"	"	"	"	

Appendix A - continued

Week II 1/16-22	MORNING 9-11	11:-11:15	11:15-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING 7-9:00
Sun. 16					Orientation and Evaluation - 7:30
Mon. 17	Southern Labor History-Ray Marshall	Coffee	Reading Hazel Simpson	Civil Rights Don Slaiman	
Tues. 18	"	"	"	"	"The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights" Roy Wilkins (public meeting)
Wed. 19	Civil Rights Roy Wilkins	"	"	Southern Labor History-Marshall	Southern Labor History-Marshall
Thurs. 20	Southern Labor History-Marshall	"	"	Civil Rights	
Fri. 21	Civil Rights Winn Newman E.E.O.C.	"	"	Free	Free

Appendix A - continued

Week III 1/23-28	MORNING 9-10:30	10:30-10:45	10:45-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING 7-9:00
Sun. 23					Evaluation and Orientation
Mon. 24	Labor's Future in the South Ray Marshall	Coffee	Labor Law Dan Pollitt	Southern Economic Problems - Vivian Henderson	Projects
Tues. 25	"	"	"	Trends in Collective Bargaining - Marshall	Projects
Wed. 26	"	"	"	Southern Economic Problems - Henderson	Southern Economic Problems Henderson
Thurs. 27	Southern Economic Problems Henderson	"	Labor's Future in the South Marshall	Labor Law Pollitt	N.I.L.E. - Joe Mire
Fri. 28	Labor Law Pollitt	"	Projects	"Face of the South" "Investment in Manpower" Films	

Appendix A - continued

Week IV 1/31-2/4	MORNING 9-10:30	10:30-10:45	10:40-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING 7-9:00
Sun. 30					Orientation and Evaluation
Mon. 31	American Political System-Via	Coffee	Negro-Labor Coalitions-Aaron Henry & Claude Ramsey	Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations Jordan-Watters-Cleghorn	
Tues. 1	Organizing Kistler and Pierce	"	Projects	Projects	Organizing-Pierce and Kistler
Wed. 2	"	"	Problems of State Government-Collins	Organizing Allen Kistler	Reapportionment Via
Thurs. 3	Organizing Kistler	"	Political Issues Guernsey	Reports on Projects	Political Issues Guernsey and Film: "Labor's Witness"
Fri. 4	Reports on Projects	"	Evaluation	Closing Luncheon-Campbell	

APPENDIX B

N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

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Appendix B - Continued

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APPENDIX C

N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

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New York, New York

737-1366 NILE (Tues-Wed ST 3 4940)

1911 "F" St, N.W. NILE AM Union JAN 9, 1966 548-1311

526-5581

Week I 1/9-1/14	MORNING 9-11:00	11:00-11:15	11:15-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING 7-9:00
Sun. 9				2:00-5:00 Registration	6:00- Dinner Joseph Keenan, Guernsey Via, Watkins
Mon. 10	Economics Marvin Friedman	Coffee	Reading Hazel Simpson	Arbitration Russell Allen	The Fishentane - Geo. Guernsey - ~~Handling Technical Grievances - R. Allen~~
Tues. 11	"	"	"	"	The South in the Mid-Sixties - Paul Anthony
Wed. 12	"	"	"	"	Handling Technical Grievances
Thurs. 13	"	"	" Band lunch	"	First Session on Projects
Fri. 14	"	"	"	"	

20
Keenan —
Coleman
Via
Watkins
Simpson
Freedman
Allen
Kebner
Brooning
Volk's Wife

1 [35 copies 1st week Schedule —

2 [35 copies for 1st week Staff list.

Allen
Anthony
Friedman
Keenan — Simpson.

Allen — see Mrs Nunez re Arbitration

Coiey — re Time Study & Arbitration

AFL-CIO Reg. Office
524-5001

Week II 1/16-1/22	9-11	MORNING 11-11:15	11:15-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING
Sun. 16					7:30 Orientation and Evaluation
Mon. 17	Southern Labor History Ray Marshall	Coffee	Reading Hazel Simpson	Civil Rights Don Slaiman	
Tues. 18	"	"	"	Civil Rights Slaiman & Wilkins	"The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights"-Roy Wilkins — Co-op
Wed. 19	Wilkins "	"	"	Marshall ~~Civil Rights~~ ~~Slaiman & Young~~?	
Thurs. 20	"	"	"	Civil Rights 11:30 ~~Blackwell~~	Southern Labor History ~~Civil Rights (Can Davis make this instead of Fri?)~~ → 7:00
Fri. 21	CIVIL RIGHTS ~~II~~	"	"	Free	Free

Dist Dept. Conflict

524-7762
Henderson

Week III 1/23-1/28	9-10:30	MORNING 10:30-10:45	10:45-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING
Sun. 23					Evaluation & Orientation
Mon. 24	Labor Law Dan Pollitt	Coffee	Labor's Future in the South Ray Marshall	Southern Economic Problems - Vivian Henderson	~~Public Meeting(?)~~ Projects: 4: Schools Poverty & Welfare Rural 7: Student Groups 8: Ministers
Tues. 25	Labor's Future in the South Marshall	"	Labor Law Pollitt	Trends in Collective Bargaining -Marshall	Projects: 3:30 - Parent 5:00 - Schools 5:30 - Student groups. 7:00 - Minsters
Wed. 26	Pollitt Southern Economic Problems - Henderson	"	Marshall	Southern Economic Problems-Henderson	~~Projects~~ Henderson ~~Marshall~~
Thurs. 27	Southern Economic Problems-Henderson	"	" Marshall	Pollitt ~~Trends in Collective Bargaining - Marshall~~	CCOP ~~C.O.P.E.~~ Don Pocwell. Wilbur Hobby Phil Weightman Joe Mine ?
Fri. 28	~~Marshall~~ Pollitt ~~Projects~~	" Projects	"	~~C.O.P.E.~~ Face of South	

Ray Marshall
Ella Rooks
Academic Yr
Centers Dist.
Room 202 Baldwin
Mar - 3:30
Carroll Mathis
Some Stuff to pick up -
To call? to Capers

Campbell

Kistler, Henry, Ramsey, Pierce, Collins

~~Hyde~~ Cleghorn, Watters, Jordan

Week IV 1/31-2/4	MORNING 9-10:30	10:30-10:45	10:45-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING
Sun. 30					Orientation & Edel
Mon. 31	Via Organizing ~~Bill Kircher~~ ~~Allen Kistler~~	Coffee	American Political System - Emory Via Ramsey-Henry (?) or Projects	Changing Voting Patterns & Negro Voter Organizations Jordan-Watters-Cleghorn	Changing Voting Patterns cont. Kistler (7:30 ?) {Ramsey? Henry?}
Tues. 1	" Pierce	"	~~Reapportionment~~ - Via Projects	~~Political Issues~~ Projects ~~George Guernsey~~ →	~~Pol. Issues~~ ~~Guernsey~~ Kistler + Pierce
Wed. 2	" Pierce	"	Problems of State Govt. Wm. Collins	Organizing ~~Kircher~~ Kistler	Reapportionment E. Via
Thurs. 3	"	"	Political Issues- Guernsey	Reports on Projects	Campbell & Family. Guernsey ~~Public?~~
Fri. 4	Reports on Projects	"	Evaluation	Closing Luncheon Campbell —	21 Campbell (33 places)

Ramsey leaves early Tues

Slavin working on

Kistler — Organizing Dept.

Campbell — meet with groups — Neil v

[Jan. 9, 66] ~~Contain in Pt~~ ~~Entl~~

File

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APPENDIX ___

DATA ON N.I.L.E. INSTITUTE PARTICIPANTS

NAME	ADDRESS	AGE	UNION	EDUCATION	PREVIOUS LABOR ED. PROGRAMS	POSITION	HOW LONG?	YRS. IN UNION
CHITTY, Lawson C.	Dade City, Florida	49	RWDSU	HS-1½yrs.	No	Pres.; f-time org.	10 mos.	6(?)
COPE, Hub	Mayfield, Kentucky	56	ACWA	Grade S.	Yes	Bus.A.	7 yrs.	22(?)
CORY, Fred W.	Chattanooga, Tennessee	27	TWUA	College	Yes	Int.R.	1 yr.	1
EARLY, John J.	Nashville, Tennessee	41	CWA	H.S.	Yes	E.Tenn. Director	6 mos.	17(?)
GORE, L.E.	Greenville, S. Carolina	23	IUD	2 yrs.Col.	No	Organ-izer	3 yrs.	3 yrs.
JENNINGS, John W.	Greensboro, N. Carolina	56	UTSE	1 yr.Col.	Yes	SE Region Director	1 yr.	20
JOHNSON, Guy	Jesup, Georgia		OCAW			I.Rep.		
LAX, Kenneth W.	Ft. Worth, Texas	29	IBEW	H.S.	Yes	I.Rep.	2½ yrs.	
LEE, Robert W.	Fenton, Missouri	55	LPIU	H.S.	No	I.Rep.	½ yr.	39
McALILEY, Keith	Carmel, Indiana	38	IBEW	H.S.	No	I.Rep.	8 yrs.	18
McQUEEN, H. H.	Shreveport, Louisiana		ILU					
OWEN, Hugh	Memphis, Tennessee	39	OCAW	Coll.	Yes	I.Rep.	3 yrs.	13

PETERS, Robert J.	Bartow, Florida	36	ICWU	H.S.	Yes.	Pres. & B.Rep.	3 yrs.	13
ROBINSON, Elbert	Mobile, Alabama	31	LIU	11th Gde.	No	Organ-izer	2 yrs.	11
ROBINSON, Fred C.	Rome, Georgia	41	IBEW	H.S.	No.	I.Rep.	2 yrs.	19
ROBINSON, Willis G.	Connelly Spgs. N. Carolina	32	UERMW	H.S.	No	Local Pres.	2 yrs.	4
STEWART, James E.	Louisville, Kentucky	41	LIU	½ yr. H.S.	No	Asst. B.Rep.	3 yrs.	16
STOKES, Virgil A.	Monroe, Louisiana	40	Painters	H.S.	Yes	Gen'l. Rep.	4 yrs.	16
WICKLIFF, Wallace	Bellefont. Ohio	32	IBEW	Grde S.	No	I.Rep.	3 yrs.	12
WILLIAMS, Jimmie L.	Fairfield, Alabama	45	USA	H.S.	Yes	Staff Rep.	1 mo.	25
VOLK, Michael	Orlando, Florida	56	UAW	1 yr.H.S.	Yes	I.Rep.	25 yrs.	29

N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

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January 9 - February 4, 1966

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[Jan. 9, 1966]

NOTES ON VISITING FACULTY FOR
N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

ALLEN, Russell. Professor Allen has worked on the staff of a national union as well as being a university faculty member. He is conversant with union research and education problems, trends in collective bargaining, job evaluation.

ANTHONY, Paul. Mr. Anthony is the new director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. He is an able and articulate spokesman on regional problems, especially as they relate to the changing patterns of racial relations. He is a thoughtful commentator on the continuing and emerging problems faced by Southern states and communities as well as on the difficulties and hopes in the federal role in civil rights and allied areas.

CLEGHORN, Reese
WATTERS, Pat. These two men are currently working on a major study of the impact of voter registration drives on Southern politics. Their interest in and knowledge of state and regional problems is far-ranging. Watters has paid some special attention to student action groups.

DAVIS, Walt. Mr. Davis comes out of an extensive union experience; he has served on the staff of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. His current position puts him into regular contact with the problems that unions and employers have in complying with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 dealing with employment discrimination.

FRIEDMAN, Marvin. Mr. Friedman is a research economist working in the AFL-CIO's Research Department. His specialties include national economic policy (its direction and making), union interest in national economic policy, the research function in unions.

HENDERSON, Vivian. Mr. Henderson is the President of Clark College in Atlanta. He was formerly a professor of economics at Fisk University in Nashville. He has served as a visiting professor to North Carolina State College where he engaged in a major research program sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund on manpower problems and outlook in the South. He has received wide recognition for his work in the manpower area. He is well acquainted with problems of Negro higher education.

HOBBY, Wilbur.
POWELL, Dan.
WEIGHTMAN, Phil. Each of these people is skilled in the operation of the political education program of the labor movement. Weightman has served as a minority group specialist with the national Committee On Political Education. The other two men serve their respective areas and have extensive contact with unions and political groups through the region.

JORDAN, Vernon. Mr. Jordan is director of the voter program of the Southern Regional Council. He is knowledgable regarding the impact of Negro voting on Southern politics, Negro voter organizations, the problems of registration and voting in the South ranging from official resistance through private intimidation to the problem of voter apathy.

KIRCHER, William. Mr. Kircher has long been associated with the Organizing Department of the AFL-CIO. He recently was named as the director of that department. He knows intimately the kinds of problems that face unions in their organizing efforts and the current and planned programs by the AFL-CIO and many of its affiliates to expand membership.

MARSHALL, Ray. Professor Marshall is probably the nation's foremost expert on Southern labor history. He has published extensively in the field of union problems in the South and union racial problems in the South and nation. He is a labor economist with a detailed and practical acquaintance with the labor movement.

POLLITT, Daniel. Professor Pollitt is thoroughly conversant with the growing field of labor law. He has served as a governmental and congressional consultant. He is currently heading a major study of the National Labor Relations Board.

SLAIMAN, Donald. Mr. Slaiman is a perceptive analyst of union problems with a primary interest in union responsibilities and problems in the areas of civil rights and racial relations. His academic work includes study in the U. S. and abroad.

WILKINS, Roy. Mr. Wilkins is widely known as the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He has brought to the civil rights movement, and to the nation, a needed depth of perception and sound judgment. He will be on campus for too short a period to be used in a classroom situation; however, a public address has been arranged for the evening of January 18. He will speak on "The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights." This presentation will be in the auditorium of the Center building. Interested faculty and students are cordially invited to attend.

YOUNG, Andrew. Rev. Young is an able and thoughtful strategist who serves as a top aide to Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. One of his current interests is in the program of S.C.L.C. in Chicago.

CAMPBELL, Ralph. Professor Campbell is Director of Extension of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations. In this position he supervises an extensive management and union education program. Campbell is widely known as an industrial relations and management training specialist. He also serves as board chairman of the National Institute of Labor Education.

KEHRER, Elmer. Mr. Kehrer heads the Southern office of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. He has served in the past as the Regional Director for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He is a thoughtful commentator on union problems in the South.

MIRE, Joseph. Dr. Mire is the Executive Director of the National Institute of Labor Education. This organization has been headed by a board of university, union, and public persons interested in the development of labor education in the nation. Dr. Mire is fully acquainted with the variety and extent of labor education programs in the United States and in much of the rest of the world. He is a specialist in comparative labor movements.

VISITING FACULTY
FOR SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE
SPONSORED BY NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION
January 9 - February 4, 1966
'66

(Please note dates when individuals are expected on campus. See attached sheets for brief notes on these persons.)

VIA, Emory F. Institute Director. Director of Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

GUERNSEY, George. Institute Co-Director. Associate Director, Education Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

* * * * *

Jan. 10-14 ALLEN, Russell. Michigan State University. Arbitration.

Jan. 11 ANTHONY, Paul. Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. The South in the Mid-Sixties.

Jan. 31 CLEGHORN, Reese. Associate Editor, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voter Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Jan. 20 DAVIS, Walt. Labor Liason, Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, Washington, D.C. Civil Rights and Equal Employment.

Jan. 10-14 FRIEDMAN, Marvin. Associate Director, Research Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Economics.

Jan. 24-27 HENDERSON, Vivian. President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia. Southern Economic Problems.

Jan. 27-28 HOBBY, Wilbur. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Durham, North Carolina. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 31 JORDAN, Vernon. Director of Voter Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Jan. 31-Feb. 3 KIRCHER, William. Director, Organizing Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Organizing.

Jan. 16-25 MARSHALL, Ray. Department of Economics, University of Texas. Southern Labor History. Labor's Future in the South. Trends in Collective Bargaining.

Jan. 25-28 POLLITT, Daniel. School of Law, University of North Carolina. Labor Law.

Jan. 27-28 POWELL, Dan. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Memphis, Tennessee. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 17-20 SLAIMAN, Donald. Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Civil Rights and the Labor Movement.

Jan. 31 WATTERS, Pat. Director of Information, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Jan. 27-28 WEIGHTMAN, Phil. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 18 WILKINS, Roy. Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York. The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights.

Jan. 19 YOUNG, Andrew. Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia. Civil Rights.

U of Ga. Contacts re NILE Program [Jan., 1966]

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Professor W. DeWitt Harrell
Community & Resource Dev.

Dean William Tate
Dean of Men

Dean M. Louise McBee
Dean of Women

Professor N. J. Wood
Economics and Statistics

Dean J. A. Williams
Education

Dean Gerald B. Huff
Graduate Schook

Professor J. H. Parks
History

Professor J. W. Fanning
Institute of Community and
Area Development

Professor H. R. Smith
Management
Dean Lindsey Cowen
School of Law

Professor William T. Blackstone
Philosophy and Religion

Professor George Newsome
Philosophy, Education

Professor G. S. Parthemos
Political Science

Professor J. H. Parks
Social Sciences Division

Professor Charles A. Stewart
Dean, Social Work

Professor Frederick L. Bates
Sociology and Anthropology

Professor John L. Cox
Student Activities

Dean Daniel J. Sorrells
Student Affairs

Rev. Dick Houston
Baptist Student Center

Rev. Dawson Teague
Canterbury Club

Dr. Barton A. Dowdy
Christian College

Dr. Ila Rooks
Disciples Student Fellowship

Rabbi Frank Fischer
Hillel Foundation

Rev. Richard Deffner
Lutheran Fellowship, Trinity

Rev. Ed Breuer
Lutheran Student Association
Father C. Malone
Newman Club

Rev. Russell Edwards
Wesley Foundation

Rev. Roland Perdue
Westminster Fellowship

J.B.

Put in final form
Leave blanks where we do not have info
If we have an answer but its uncertain fill in with pencil & question mark—
Please proof it.

Data on MLE INSTITUTE Participants

Previously in Labor Ed Programs.

GRANT NO. _____
REPORT NO. _____

~~ADVERTISING~~ NAME	~~PRINTING~~	~~BROADCASTING~~ City	~~SUPPLIES~~ AGE	UNION ~~TRADES & TRANSPORT~~	EDUCATION ~~TELEPHONE TELEGR.~~		Job in UNION	How Long?	How Long in union (years)
1. CHITTY,	Lawson C.	Dade City, FLA	49	RWDSU	1½ yrs HS	X	Pres; 7-time ORG.	10 MOS	6?
2. COPE,	Hal	Mayfield Kentucky	56	ACWA	Grade 5	✓	B.A.	7	22?
3. CORY,	Frederick W.	Chattanooga TENN.	27	TWUA	College	✓	I R	1~~yr~~	1~~4~~
4. EARLY	John J.	Nashville TENN	41	CWA	H.S.	✓	E. TENN DIRECTOR	6 MOS.	17(?)
5. GORE	L. E.	Greenville S.C.	23	IUD, AFL-CIO	2 yrs College	X	ORGAN-IZER	3	3
6. JENNINGS	John W.	Greensboro N.C.	56	UTSE	1 yr. College	✓	SE Region DIRECTOR	1	20
7. JOHNSON	Guy	Jesup, GA.	?	OCAW	?	?	I.R.	?	?
8. LAY,	Kenneth W.	Ft. Worth TEXAS	29	IBEW	H.S.	✓	I.R.	2½	?
9. LEE	Robert W.	Fenton MISSOURI	55	IPIU	HS	X	I R	½	39
10. McALLEY	Keith	Carmel IND.	38	IBEW	HS	X	I R	8	18
11. McQUEEN	Hen H	Shreveport LA	?	ILU	?	?	?	?	?
12. OWEN,	Hugh	Memphis TENN	39	OCAW	College	✓	I R	3	13
13. PETERS	Robert J.	Bartow FLA.	36	ICWU	HS	✓	Pres. + B. Rep.	3	13

what does this mean Participation in other Union ed. Programs

[Jan. ?, 1966] NILE So. St-ff Inst.

GRANT NO. _____

REPORT NO. _____

~~ADVERTISING~~ NAME	~~PRINTING~~	~~SALARIES~~ CITY	~~SUPPLIES~~ AGE	UNION ~~TRAVEL & TRANSPORT~~	EDUCATION ~~TELEPHONE & TELEGR.~~		Job in Union	How Long	How Long in Union
14. ROBINSON,	Elbert	Mobile ALA	31	L14	11th Grade	X	ORGANIZER	2	11
15. "	Fred E.	Rome GA	41	IBEW	HS	X	IR	2	19
16. "	Willis G.	Connelly Springs N.C	32	UE R-MW	HS	X	Local PRES.	2	4
17. STEWART	James E	Louisville KENTUCKY	41	L14	1/2 yr. HS	X	ASST. BUS. REP	3	16
18. STOKES	Virgil A	Monroe LA	40	B Painters D & P	HS	V	Gen'l. Rep.	4	16
19. WICKLIFF	Wallace G.	Bellefontaine OHIO	32	IBEW	Grade S.	X	IR	3	12
20. WILLIAMS	Jimmie L.	Fairfield ALA	45	USA	HS	V	STAFF R.	1 MO.	25
21. VOLK	Michael	Orlando FLA	56	UAW	1yr-HS	V	IR	25	29

January 10, 1966

Professor William Collins
Government Department
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Professor Collins:

I appreciate your having been on hand for the opening dinner last night. I am embarrassed to find that we inadvertantly charged you for the meal. You were our guest so I am enclosing a check to reimburse you for your outlay. I look forward to seeing more of you during the month.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff
Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosure

January 12, 1966

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan Pollitt:

James Beaird is a visiting professor of law at the University of Georgia's Law School this year. He is on leave from the Labor Department where he is an associate solicitor. I believe that he has also served in the past as an associate general counsel to the N.L.R.B.

He knows of your coming to the Athens campus for the NILE institute and wants to know if you would meet with his labor law seminar either on Monday or Wednesday afternoon of that week. The seminar meets from 2:00-2:30 p.m. which would be all right for your schedule with us.

There are seven law students in the seminar; each has had a basic course in labor law. The topic could be of your own choosing. I don't have the impression that Beaird has any funds for a special honorarium. He strongly feels that the students need further exposure. I take it part of the problem is simply to show that labor law can be approached in a way not unfriendly to unions. I think he would also welcome comment relating labor law to other issues along the line of your Stanford Law Review piece on the N.L.R.B. and race hate.

In any case, Beaird knows of you and your works and would greatly like to have you show for a class. I suggest that you simply write him direct if you feel you can help out. If not, I would be happy to hear from you and will handle the matter from that point.

We are off to a good start this week. We look forward to having you with us.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

P. S. To expedite communucation, please write c/o Center for Continuing Education, University of Georgia, Athens.

[Jan. 9-10, 1966]

Via, Emory F., Institute Director; Director of Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. ~~Date~~

Guernsey, George, Institute Co-Director; Associate Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO, Wahhington, D.C. ~~Date~~

Allen, Russell. Michigan State University. January 10-14. Arbitration.

Anthony, Paul. Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc. , Atlanta, Georg. ~~Mxbyxxkkyxxxxxt~~ Jan. 11. "The South in the Mid-Sixties".

Cleghorn, Reese. ~~Assoc. Dir.~~ Associate Editor, Atlanta Journal, Atlana. Jan. 31. Changing Voter Patterns & Negro Voter Organizations

Davis, Walt

Friedman, Marvin. Associate Director, Research Department, AFL-CIO, Washington , D.C. Jan. 10-14. Economics.

Henderson, Vivian. President, Clark College, Atlanta. Jan. 24-27. Southern Economic Problems.

Hobby, Wilbur. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Durham, N. C. Jan. 27-28.

Jordan, Vernon, Director, Voter Project, Southern Regional Council, Inc. Atlanta. Jan. 31. Changing Voter Patterns & Negro Voter Organizations.

Kircher, William, Director, Department ~~of~~ Organizing, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Jan. 31-Feb. 3. Organizing.

Marshall, Ray. Department of Economics, University of Texas. Jan. 16-25 ~~28~~. Southern Labor History. Labor's Future in the South. ~~Trends~~ TRENDS IN Collective Bargaining

Pollitt, Daniel. School of Law, University of North Carolina. Jan. 25-28. Labor Law.

Powell, Dan. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Memphis, Tennessee. Jan. 27-28.

Slaiman, Donald. Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, Washington D.C. Jan. 17-20. Civil Rights and the Labor Movement

Watters, Pat. Director of Information, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Jan. 31. Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Weightman, Phil. Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Jan. 27-28.

Wilkins, Roy. Exectuive Secretary, National Association for the Advancemat of Colored People, New York. Jan. 18. "The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights."

Young, Andrew. Ex. Dir. _____, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia. Civil Rights.

55I

January 12, 1966

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Associate Editor
Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Reese:

Here are some items giving background on the Institute in Athens. You had asked earlier about the possibility of a story; from my biased view there are a number of stories here, perhaps even a feature article.

We look forward to having you with us on the afternoon of January 31 but of course a visit at any other time would be most welcome. The 31st will be close to the end of the Institute and of course you would be free to talk to students, visiting faculty, and people here at the Center about what has been taking place. By that time I should also have a stack of pictures.

The first week has gone extremely well, with the group proving to be interested and hard-working.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EDDir USWA Fred Hoefler
Org Dir IBEW — Winder
Robt. Powell
V-P
Zahorsky

NILE EVALUATION:

completed are:

list of instructors
and staff

list of delegates

program

(these have not been xeroxed, but will be this p.m. when the machine is back in operation)

from appendices we need:

1. daily press coverage

2/ program (aboce)

3. "variety of unions" represe. nted in the Institute .

IBEW

4. Visitors
Tony Hodnik Ed Stoff
OCAW

January 14, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "S" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Enclosed are the following:

8 personal checks from registrants (for 2 registrations)	$ 135.00
a cashiers check	159.81
My personal check	62.55
	$ 357.36

These checks cover the following income items:

19 registrations @ $15.00	$ 285.00
share for opening dinner for 27 persons @ $2.25	60.75
share for coffee one week	11.61
	$ 357.36

SSI

We will be collecting for two more registrations and will have further coffee money. Beyond this there will be the share of income from the final lunch.

Things have gone quite well this week.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
Enclosures

Jo: Emory Via

SSI

February 15, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire
Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

While it created some problems here because of his extended absence, we were delighted that Emory Via could direct the Southern Staff Institute at Athens. Among the benefits was the exposure it gave several of our staff people to the participants and the opportunity it gave them to know in considerable detail of the work of SRC. I think both groups learned a great deal and hope we can have like cooperation in the future.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Please ret. to files km

2/14/66

Paul:

Any response to last paragraph of Jal's letter. Think in terms of the 3 institutes. Leo & Vernon played some part in the others.

Gary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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JAMES E. WOLFE

February 11, 1966

Professor Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I hope you have recovered by now from the NILE Institute. It must have been quite a strain on you, and perhaps even more so on your family. Apologize to Margaret for me about it will you.

Our Executive Committee meets March 11, and will you plan to have this as a target date for a recommendation on the conduct of the Human Relations project, so that it can be considered by the Committee. 1/

I wonder whether our Southern Staff Institutes have had any direct or indirect impact on the Southern Regional Council in terms of its own involvement in programs with labor groups. If so, I think it would be nice to have from Paul Anthony a letter to that effect which I could then forward to the New World Foundation, which financed the program. I know they would appreciate this.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

PS 1/ Would like to see a preliminary proposal earlier though, if possible!
Joe

58

14 January 1966

Mr. Joseph Keenan, Secretary
International Brotherhood of
Electrical Workers
1200 15th Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Keenan:

We were tremendously pleased to have you with us for the opening session of the N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute. It was important to the Institute to have it get off to a good start. Having a man of your caliber with us, and your speech, helped do just that.

The Institute has proceeded at a good pace with an excellent response from those attending.

I want to thank you for your interest in this program and for your willingness to take time out of a hectic schedule to join us. The National Institute of Labor Education, George Guernsey and the Education Department, and the participants here join me in this expression of appreciation.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb

Xerox copies to:
Joe Mire
George Guernsey

January 28, 1966

Professor Ralph Campbell
Director of Extension
New York State School of
Industrial and Labor Relations
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dear Ralph:

You are scheduled to be with us for the closing of the NILE Institute on Friday, February 4, at lunch. We would like you have a short talk of about twenty minutes about the Universities' role in labor education. If you like you could draw comparisons to management training.

I have reserved a room for you at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education where we will be meeting for Thursday evening.

Plans are not yet definite for a meeting on Thursday for University faculty and administrators to discuss a state university's role in labor education; at this meeting we will describe programs . I trust it will come off because there is a budding interest. I hope you will be here for such a meeting.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

Visiting Faculty for Southern Union Staff Institute

Sponsored by National Institute of Labor Education

January 9 – February 4, 1966

(Please note dates when individuals are expected on campus
(See attached sheets for brief notes on these persons)

VIA, Emory F., Director; Director of Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

GUERNSEY, George, Co-Director; Associate Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIo, Washington, D.C.

Freedman, Marvin, Associate Director, Research Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C

Anthony, Paul, Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Davis, Walt, Labor Liason, Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, Washington, D.C. last Friday.

Kircher, William, Director, Department of Organizing, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

Powell, Dan, Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Memphis, Tennessee.

Hobby, Wilbur, Committee on Political Education, AFL-CLO, Durham, N.C.

Weightman, Phil, Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington D.C.
"Teh 1966 Election Outlook"
date tentative.

Watters, Pat, Director of Information, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

Jordan, Vernon, Director of Voter Project, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

Cleghorn, Reese, Associate Editor, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta, Georgia.

Allen
Anthony
Cleghorn
~~Cottins~~
Davis

Friedman
Henderson
Hardin
Kircher
Hobby
Marshall

Pollitt
Powell

Simpson
Slaman

Watters
Weightman
Wilkins
Young

Director: Emory F. Via, Director of Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga.

FACULTY

Prof. Russell Allen
Labor Program Service
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Hazel Simpson
Continuing Education Center
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

exact title. The Rev. Andrew Young
Southern Christian Leadrship Conf.
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta

Mr. Donald Slaiman, Director.
CR Dept. AF -CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Prof. Ray Marshall
Dept. Economics,
Univ. Texas
Austin.

Prof. Daniel Pollitt,
School of Law
Univ. N. C.
Chapel Hill

Check title — Mr. Roy Wilkins, Ex. Secy.
N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th St
NYNY

Faculty Mr. Robert Watkins, Coordinator
Center for Continuing Education
U.Ga.
Athens

Joe Mine (?)

Ralph Campbell
last day

Marv Friedman
?

Paul Anthony

Joseph Keenan, Sec.
Int'l. Bro. Elec. Workers
?

Prof. Vivian Henderson, Pres.
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Bill Kircher,

Vernon Jordan, Dir. Voter Program
Pat Watters, Dir. Information
Reese Cleghorn As Ed. Atl Const.

~~William Collins~~, Dir.
Inst. of Govt.
UGa.

CO-DIRECTORS
V. A
Guernsey

Walt Davis

MIRE?
AL Kehner? 1st 2 wks.
Call & ask.

February 7, 1966

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Roy:

I want to thank you for coming to the N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute. Your sessions - with the more public group and the union group - were stimulating and helpful. We will never know the full impact of your being there but the reverbrations were still coming in from our students and from the University students and faculty until I left Athens last Friday.

It was good to get to know you personally and to have you do just the kind of thing we needed by your presence and by the kind of presentations you made.

N.I.L.E. and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO join SRC and me in expressing our appreciation for your being with us in Athens.

Please let me know your expenses related to your trip to the University of Georgia.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 7, 1966

Mr. Frederick W. Cory
404 Tunnel Blvd., Apt. 2-J
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Fred:

Enclosed are the materials on time study which you requested. I hope they will continue to be of some use to you. Please let me know if there is any further way in which I can be of assistance to you.

I am sending your name to the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin which sponsors an annual Industrial Engineering Institute for full time union staff; I think this Institute does the best job of training union staff in time study and job evaluation and related problems of any program of which I know. They will send you an announcement of next summer's program when it is ready just in case you may be interested.

It was a real pleasure getting to know you in Athens and I look forward to a continued relation with you during this year.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

February 7, 1966

Mr. Willis G. Robinson
Route 2, Box 920
Connelly Springs, North Carolina

Dear Willis:

Enclosed are the materials on job evaluation which you requested. I hope that they will continue to be of some help to you. Please let me know if there is any further way in which I can be of assistance to you.

I am sending your name to the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin which sponsors an annual Industrial Engineering Institute for full time union staff; I think this Institute does the best job of training union staff in time study and job evaluation and related problems of any program of which I know. They will send you an announcement of next summer's program when it is ready just in case you may be interested.

It was a real pleasure to get to know you in Athens and I look forward to a continued relation with you during this year.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

February 7, 1966

Mr. Robert Watkins
Georgia Center for Continuing
Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Bob:

The enclosed came to me today. Would you sort this one out and see that we are billed correctly on our final billing. I assume that some gratuity is owed for the January 9th dinner but you will recall that we included a gratuity in the charge for the February 4th luncheon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: Gratuity statement from Headwaiter

February 10, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

Enclosed are two lists showing the amount owed instructors for their teaching and for expenses. We do not have an expense statement from Wilkins as yet.

You will hear from me regarding the remaining expenses of the Institute as soon as I receive the bills from the University of Georgia. Should they send these to you rather than to me, I think it would be a good idea for me to see them prior to their payment.

I felt that the Institute ended in good shape and can be marked as a real success.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

SST

February 16, 1966

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Associate Editor
The Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Reese:

This is to thank you personally and officially for coming over to the NILE Southern Union Staff Institute. Your contribution to the program was most helpful, and I am glad that our union participants had the opportunity to meet you.

Further, we appreciated your column making reference to the Institute and its participants. I still feel that it was a good and useful program.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 16, 1966

Mr. Marvin Friedman
Research Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Marv:

It was a real pleasure to get to know you during the recent NILE Southern Union Staff Institute. Your own contribution was a great help not only in making for a good opening week, but also because the union participants were remembering and thinking about things you said throughout the Institute.

I know that George wants to join me in this expression of appreciation as does NILE officially. We are greateful for your cooperation, insight, and willingness to ably do the basic teaching job.

I hope the future will hold further opportunities when we can work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 16, 1966

Professor William Collins
Institute of Government
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Bill:

It would be impossible to express adequately my appreciation for your cooperation and support in the recent NILE Southern Union Staff Institute. It was good to have the association with you although I am sure we did not help your busy schedule any.

Of course, the whole group would want me to thank you for the session which you handled so ably on state government problems. It was useful to us all.

N.I.L.E. officially and George Guernsey would want to join me in thanking you for your participation in our program. I trust the future will bring other opportunities for us to work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 16, 1966

Professor Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Ray:

Let me convey our sincere appreciation for your part in the recent N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute. I am joined in this expression by N.I.L.E. and the cooperating AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights.

It was a real pleasure to be with you during the Institute. The union staff participants were high in their praise of what you brought to them personally and in class. I trust things settled down for you at the University once you returned.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb

February 16, 1966

Professor Russell Allen
Labor Program Services
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Russ:

A belated note to you for your tremendous contribution to the N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute. You helped greatly by getting us off to a good start, a fact appreciated by George and me, all of the union participants, and officially by N.I.L.E.

It was good being with you for the week you were with us. You gave the program through your instruction and interest the touch it needed.

I trust that the future will hold further opportunities to work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

February 16, 1966

Professor Ralph Campbell
Director of Extension
New York State School of
Industrial and Labor Relations
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dear Ralph:

It was indeed good to get to see you in Athens at the recent NILE Southern Union Staff Institute. We greatly appreciate your willingness to come to Athens and take part in our closing days and final ceremony. Your remarks to the group were helpful and to the point. I especially appreciate your taking on the task of attempting to relate labor education interests to members of the University community. This was ably done and I am sure will be helpful in future developments.

I still feel that it was a good undertaking. I am glad to have been a part of it and that it provided us an opportunity to get together even though briefly.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 16, 1966

Professor Hazel Simpson
Department of Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

I want to thank you personally and on behalf of the National Institute of Labor Education and the cooperating AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights for your part in the recent Southern Union Staff Institute. You did a good job by us -- one appreciated fully by your union-students and those of us administering the program.

I have debated whether to say anything further to you following the remarks by Professor Campbell at the final luncheon. Since in the rush of closing out the Institute I missed talking with you personally, let me add a word now. Actually, you got from Fred Robinson's comments and mine the truth of the matter. One, your contribution and personality were highly appreciated. Two, the criticism in our evaluation session was not aimed at the instruction, but at a variety of other things, including self-dissatisfaction on the part of some students, a desire for a longer course, a recognition that the short run gains might not stick without further intensive work. I believe that Campbell both misinterpreted these remarks and used a most unfortunate way of phrasing his comments which were really intended to support the development of reading skill and the habit of reading.

This is perhaps more than enough to one of your professional background and understanding. However, it seemed to me that there was a personal element here which I did not wish to ignore, one in which I was joined by all of your recent students.

Again our thanks for your cooperation and contribution to what we consider a most successful Institute.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 17, 1966

Mr. Allen Kistler
Organizing Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Allen:

It was a real pleasure to get to know you during the recent N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute. You did a good job by us in the course on organizing. It is, of course, an important subject to cover and one greatly appreciated by the group.

N.I.L.E. and George join me in expressing our appreciation for the thought and care you put into this effort. It was a most useful part of what we consider a very successful program.

I trust there will be other programs in which we can cooperate.

Sincesely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 17, 1966

Professor Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Vivian:

I want to thank you officially and personally for your participation in the N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute. You did a good job by us. Members of the group on a number of occasions indicated how your classroom comments or side discussions had been important to them.

N.I.L.E., George, and I join in saying how much we appreciated your taking time out of a busy schedule and under tough weather conditions to be with us. We feel that the Institute was most successful and that you contributed greatly in making it that way.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 17, 1966

Mr. Aaron Henry
213 Fourth Street
Clarksville, Mississippi

Dear Aaron:

I want to thank you personally and officially for being with us during the recent Southern Union Staff Institute sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights. You and Claude make a good team in getting across some very basic points, realistically, about a changing South and the need for us all to be better participants in constructive change.

N.I.L.E. and George Guernsey join me in expressing our appreciation for your willingness to make the trip over and for sharing your experiences and insights with us.

I look forward to further opportunities to cooperate in programs with you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 18, 1966

Mr. James Pierce
Southern Coordinator
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
2121 Commonwealth Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Jim:

Let me thank you personally and officially for being with us during the recent Southern Union Staff Institute sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the Departments of Education and Civil Rights of the AFL-CIO. It was most helpful to have you share your experience and insights with the group. You did a good job for us and the whole section on organizing was an important part of what we consider a quite successful Institute.

N.I.L.E. and George join me in expressing appreciation for the time and effort which you gave this undertaking. I hope that the future will bring other opportunities for us to work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 18, 1966

Mr. Claude Ramsay
Mississippi AFL-CIO
1335 Lamar Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Claude:

I want to thank you personally and officially for your participation in the recent Southern Union Staff Institute sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights.

You and Aaron brought a special quality of reality and insight to the Institute which was most useful. The union participants commented often about what it meant to them to hear of your experiences and interpretation of events in Mississippi.

N.I.L.E., George, and I want you to know how much we appreciate your taking time from a busy schedule to join in our program. I trust that the future will hold further opportunities for us to work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

MFDP COMMUNICATIONS

February 18, 1966

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

I want to thank you personally and officially for your participation in the recent N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute. You did the good job which we expected. It was most helpful to have your presentation on labor law and on proposals for national labor policy. The union participants commented frequently on what you brought to them in the classroom and personally.

N.I.L.E., George, and I join in expressing our appreciation for the time and effort which you put into this program. I personally welcomed the opportunity to get to know you.

I trust the future will hold further occasion when we can work together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Institute

EFV:jb

February 18, 1966

Professor Hazel Simpson
Department of Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

I failed to get from you two copies of the materials which you used in your class with the Southern Union Staff Institute. You had indicated that it might be more convenient to give them to me after the course was completed. Would it be possible for you to send these on to me so that my files will be complete? It would be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 23, 1966

Mr. George Guernsey
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

At the risk of repeating what you already know, I want to thank you on behalf of NILE and myself for your outstanding contribution to the recent NILE Southern Union Staff Institute. Your concern for the proper education of trade union leaders is a real asset to us all and your thoughtfulness and constant attention in running a good Institute is something always sorely needed.

Joe Mire and NILE would want me to have them join in this expression of appreciation.

I look forward to the next cooperative endeavor.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 23, 1966

Mr. Donald Slaiman, Director
Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

I would be remiss ~~intnoo~~ thank you officially and personally for your help in planning and your participation in the recent NILE Southern Union Institute. As always it was good to work with you again. The cooperation in this Institute from you and the Civil Rights Department was most appreciated by NILE, by your colleagues in the Education Department and by me.

I look forward to the next round that we can do together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Jean — you may want to read Fred Cox's comments — return to me

April 19, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : Russell Allen, Michigan State University
Bill Elkuss, ACWA
Marv Friedman, AFL-CIO
Al Kehrer, AFL-CIO
Ray Marshall, University of Texas
Joe Mire, NILE
Larry Rogin, AFL-CIO
Don Slaiman, Civil Rights
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

George

FROM : George T. Guernsey, Department of Education, AFL-CIO

SUBJECT: 1966 NILE SOUTHERN STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

I thought you would be interested in these two reports prepared by delegates who attended the Georgia NILE Institute. I don't think these should be used publicly. Cory's report was prepared at my request.

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosures: 2

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
MAR 28 1966

IMPRESSIONS OF THE SOUTHERN STAFF INSTITUTE

by

Frederick W. Cory

A recent edition of the AFL-CIO News noted that the union staff attending the Institute at the University of Georgia were there to "sharpen their skills". This is, no doubt, partially true. Only partially though, for, to some extent areas of knowledge were encountered which were entirely new for many of us in attendance.

Recalling the rapt attention which virtually all of the instructors, and guest speakers, received from the students I can only conclude that many of the students were receiving an introduction to many of the subjects. Of course, the fact that our instructors were of the highest quality does not detract from the general enthusiastic interest of the studonts.

I can not, of course, report for my fellow students on what was of particular value to them. If I were to rank the subjects as to "most liked", or "least liked" I would not be doing justice—none were "least liked." I do recall the economics sessions as very useful to me.

During my stay at West Virginia University I had several courses in economics, all of which were slanted toward 'free enterprise' or 'capitalism'. That is, the Keynesian system of economics was prominent by its absence from the lectures. Thus, I left the university with what might be termed a 'businessman's orientation towards economics'. Indeed, most Americans, my fellow students at the S.S.I. included, have this particular outlook due mostly to the ideas we glean from reading our

daily newspaper. The economics as taught by Marvin Freedman at the S.S.I. were refreshingly Keynesian. By his corrections of my oral opinions early in the S.S.I. I realized almost immediately that my economics were the 'businessman's'. For this reason, the classes in economics will leave a lasting impression on me.

The classes in arbitration offered me a chance to see if I have any of the skills needed in order to become an attorney. If the judgement rendered by the arbitrator on the mock case we had is any indication of what ability I have—then I had better forget studying Law. On the other hand, I have the consolation that the company's case could hardly be expected to prevail at a Labor school.

By the above I do not intend to make light of the arbitration classes. Russ Allen's handling of arbitration gave me the tools with which to acquire a 'labor skill' about which I had previously had no acquaintance with whatsoever.

The school (S.S.I.) was also extremely valuable as a lesson in basic psychology. The lesson in psychology, or perhaps it is better described as sociology, was the way in which several of my fellow students lost, or at least had altered, what was probably a lifelong attitude. That attitude was racial discrimination.

During the early days of the Institute remarks which exhibited racial bias were frequently to be overheard. When the month had ended, so had the biased comments. Perhaps this was because those few persons who had been biased realized that they were 'outsiders' to the group as a whole. Thus, their desire to be accepted may have lead them to temporarily set aside their bias.

Although the need to be accepted may have been the motive I think, however, that there is a better answer to explain this change in behavior. The Brotherhood of the Labor Movement is, I hope, what brought

about the removal of racial bias. The bringing together for one month men from fourteen Internationals to study, to live, to eat, and to drink together as the equals they are is probably the greatest lesson which the S.S.I. had to offer. We came from several unions, from several states, from several levels of educational background, and from the several 'races'; yet, we left as one—we were all trades-unionists.

History, to most people, is usually a boring subject which should have been left forgotten. Dr. Roy Marshall, however, brought to his history classes an exurberance which few teachers have. He was able to keep his students at the S.S.I. engrossed in the past of Southern unionism. Dr. Marshall also drew a picture of the future os Southern unionism, not always optimistic, but always fascinatingly holding out the challenge.

At the outset George Guernsey's'projects' had most of the students believing that a useless, time-consuming bore was facing them. When the various project committees had completed their reports; the results were all favorable. The projects proved to be useful, interesting, and an easy method of making the students aware of the role which they, and the unions from which they came, could play in the various fields of community action.

Unfortunately, all of the projects had to be cursory as to the depth of investigation which could be undertaken. Nonetheless, the results were significant. One group undertook to question clergymen of all races as to the effect various governmental policies and programs were having upon the city of Athens, Georgia. Another investigated the entire spectrum of the War on Poverty, and its impact on the university town. And still another project group evolved into a trio of "muckraking" trades-unionists. The group was composed of Willis Robinson (an I.U.E. Local Union President from Hickory, N.C.), Jimmie Robinson? (a United Steelworkers Representative from Birmingham, Ala.), and myself.

I had the somewhat dubious distinction of being the chairman of

the "muckrakers" . Our project was to look into the Urban Renewal program as it existed in Athens, Ga. Although Athens has two such Urban Renewal programs we choose to probe the workings of UR51; UR50 being nearly completed by this time. UR50, incidentally, involved the removal of sub-standard housing so that high-rise apartments, fraternity, and sorority houses could be built for the convenience of the University of Georgia. An interesting scheme in itself.

UR51 originally called for the removal of sub-standard housing in the downtown area of Athens in order to make way for various federal buildings, etc.(we had some difficulty discovering what the 'etc.' was supposed to be). Unlike the Poverty Programs, Urban Renewal projects do not require representation of the various economic levels within a community. Instead, an UR project is run by the current local political administration entirely. Around this fact developed the problems of the Athens program.

Various leaders in the community were excluded, so that comparatively low-influence newcomers could be included on the advisary boards of the UR project. For example, a Catholic priest who for years had aided the community with various projects was excluded. A Negro minister, the leader of the local NAACP unit, was also excluded. Representation of the religious groups within the Athens community was given to a young Negro minister. Curiously, this clergyman was also appointed Probationary Officer(some persons interviewed resented his patrolling town as a Sheriff would, others claimed he was doing a magnificent job since he had once prevented a teen-age gang war from developing).

This young clergyman also had an idea for building apartments for middle income senior citizens of both races. An admirable idea (for which he recently received approval for an FHA loan) on the face of it; but, here our committee had misgivings too. We found that our questions

as to what happened, or would happen, to those low-income families who had to be removed always proved embarrassing to those persons who we were interviewing. The answers to this question ranged from blank stares to the astounding answer that in many cases the housing to which the citizens were being relocated was as bad as that from which they had been removed. It seems that in the case of the Negro residents adequate housing could not be found; thus, many of these unfortunates are quartered in a shanty-town outside of the city limits(this probably disposes of the responsibility which the city should bear).

The latest idea of the UR governing body is that some of the houses in the UR51 area be renovated and then the dis-located families be moved back into them—but, this will take time.

A more humorous situation was my interview with a local scrap dealer whose business was marked for removal by the UR project. It was interesting that this man was so eager to tell someone of his plight, that he would even tell it to a Union Representative. The scrap dealer feels that he has been so mis-used by the town officials that he vowed to take his case to the Supreme Court. He eloquently pleaded that he was performing a valuable service to mankind—removing abandoned cars from the public streets!

He did, however, have a good case. His business fell into a category not covered by the original UR Act. Originally the Act said that machinery to the value of $25,000 could be re-located at UR expense. Unfortunately, the scrap dealer had one piece of machinery valued at $300,000. Subsequent changes in the law said that the U.S. would pay 2/3's of the cost over $25,000 if the local UR authority paid the other 1/3. This, however, Mr. Loef(the scrap dealer) said the UR board refused to do. But, at the same time they were continually threatening to condemn his property, and then charge him rent for the period before he

could re-locate.

One of Mr. Loef's bitterest complaints was over the value of his property as set by the UR officials. Although the UR project had an architect, and a building contractor on its advisary board; the Loef scrap yard had been principally assessed by a former employee of Mr. Loef's who is now on the UR board. The former employee is currently employed as the janitor of the City Hall!

The most interesting development of our project must be said to be the manner in which we were received by those we were interviewing. It was startling. To the Union Representative who works in the South, the slamming doors, cursings, threats, and insults are all too common. It is in fact an everyday occurrence for those of us who seek to bring unionism to the South. Yet, in Athens we met none of this rude, unsavory treatment. We interviewed Urban Renewal project directors, politicians, clergymen, businessmen, the leaders of civic groups, and the man in the streets. Interestingly, the fact that we were all labor representatives seemed to roll off of our contacts "as water rolls off of a duck".

Most of the questions we asked were probably downright embarrassing to those we expected an answer from. And, for the most part, the answers were 'to the point'. I recall an interview I had with the President of the League of Women Voters. This woman, a Mrs. Stegeman, is prominent in Athens society, as is her doctor husband. She received me politely and answered all of my questions in the frankest manner. In fact, she seemed delighted that I was interested in knowing about the Athens UR project, and of her role in the project.

The Urban Renewal project committee's report was in its entirety similar to the several previous paragraphs. We had unearthed numerous inferences of the inadequacies of UR51. Although we probably were on the trail of some rather unethical practices; for the most part what we

discovered was probably the jealousies, and animosities of any small city.

This report has been short. To have done justice to the Southern Staff Institute would probably have required the writing of a short book, if I haven't done that already. Much more could be said of the Institute. But, briefly, the instructors were excellent. The subject matter was well received by the students because it was filling a void in our knowledge. The guest speakers were exhiliarating because of their timeliness and their ability. A short list of the guest speakers will illustrate this point. Among others there was: Roy Wilkins, Secretary of the NAACP; Reese Cleghorn, assistant editor of the Atlanta Journal; the President of the Mississippi AFL-CIO; the President of the Mississippi NAACP; Don Slaiman, Director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dep't.; and there were numerous others of equal calibre. In short, the Southern Staff Institute was well worth the time, money, and effort which was expended by the Internationals participating, and by the delegates in attendance. I would recommend to anyone that may have the opportunity to attend a future AFL-CIO Education Department Staff Institute that they 'grab it'. It was a unique experience.

10 copies

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union

INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE

March 14, 1966

Mr. A. F. Grospiron, President
Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers
International Union
P. O. Box 2812
Denver, Colorado 80201

Subject: Report on Southern Union
Staff Training Institute

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am attempting to give you a report of the impressions pro and con that the Southern Union Staff Training Institute sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in collaboration with the Department of Education, AFL-CIO, and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO, which was held at the Continuing Education Center at the University of Georgia from January 9, 1966 through February 4, 1966.

I had the honor of attending and representing our Union at this Institute, and here I had the pleasure of meeting many International Representatives from other International Unions and making new friends in labor.

On Sunday January 9, 1966 between 2:00 p.m and 5:00 p.m. we began to register in and be assigned to rooms. I was assigned to a dormitory type room sharing it with two (2) other International Representatives. One of these men was Herb Cope, with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who was from Mayfield, Kentucky; and the other was John Jennings, who is affiliated with the United Transportation Service Employees from North Carolina. All the Representatives who were attending this Institute were on the same floor in one wing, which made it possible for us to stay in close contact and made it possible for us to have many discussions concerning the projects and union problems after class.

On Sunday afternoon at 6:00 p.m. we all had dinner together with Joseph Kenan, who is affiliated with the IBEW and who presented the opening speech of the Institute, with remarks from Emory Via, Institute Director and Director of the Labor Programs of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and George Guernsey, Institute Co-Director and Associate Director of the Educational Department of the AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C.

On Monday January 10, 1966 classes began at 9:00 a.m. and ran through 12:00 noon with coffee break in the middle of the morning. Classes reconvened after lunch at 2:00 and ran through 4:00 p.m.

During the four (4) weeks of courses approximately three (3) nights a week we had additional classes from 7:30 to 9:00 p.m.

One of our classes was conducted by Marvin Freidman, Assistant Director of the Research Department of the AFL-CIO. Brother Freidman's class was on Economics in which he brought out many good points on how Unions affected the economics of our country and how we could use these in negotiating and organizing. Brother Freidman did an excellent job in breaking this course down into layman's language, and keeping the interest of all the students. I feel that myself and all the students gained much from this course.

Professor Hazel Simpson, Associate Professor of the Department of Education of the Univesity of Georgia in Athens, taught a two (2) week course in Skills of Reading. This course usually takes about six (6) weeks, but Professor Simpson tried to put it all into the two (2) weeks. I feel that this course pointed out to many of us how we might improve in our reading. However, in my opinion more could have been gained if Professor Simpson had been alloted more time in the Institute.

Professor Allen Russell taught a week's course in Arbitrations and Grievances in which many good points were brought out. The climax of the course was when the students were divided into two (2)groups. One group representing the Company and one group representing the Union; we then had and arbitration. My part in this activity was the aggrieved employee and I might add that the Union won this case.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of the Southern Council, Inc., talked with us on the South in the Mid 60s. His talk was quite interesting on how the south was beginning to change and I am sure many of us received points that can be used in the future.

Professor Ray Marshall, with the Department of Economics at the University of Texas, taught a class on Southern Labor History. This class lasted two (2) weeks, and I was amazed by the information that Professor Marshall had on the south that would be helpful to all International Unions. In my opinion he is a well qualified man to teach Southern Labor History from beginning to end. Professor Marshall also taught a class which was titled Trends in Collective Bargaining. However, this subject was not covered to the extent I would like to have seen it covered because of a lack of alloted time. Professor Marshall taught a third (3) class which was titled Labor's Future in the South in which he came forth with many good ideals and theories and has great hope for labor in the south, which I feel that he backed up with facts to show us if we move in the right direction we can accomplish our goals.

The beginning of the second week a class on Civil Rights was started headed by Donald Slaiman, Director of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. During this course we had many guests. We had the honor of meeting Mr. Roy Wilkins, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whom in my opinion many people should have the opportunity to meet and talk with. We had a night session in the Auditorium which was open to the public and it overwhelmed me to see the crowd of students, faculty and other people who attended. Mr. Wilkins topic that evening was the National Stake in Civil Rights. After his talk he had a question and answer period, which he handled himself in an excellent manner. We had several other speakers on Civil Rights who were ~~Randolph Blackwell with the Southern Christian Leadership, Walter Davis~~ Vernon with Equal Opportunity. Brother Slaiman, who was teaching the class on Civil Rights, had many good points and explained thoroughly how the Civil Rights Act affected labor, but as a Professor teaching a class it was hard for him to hold the interest of the students because some were not interested in the subject, but in my opinion mostly because of the manner of his delivery.

Professor Dan Pollitt, Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina, taught a class in Labor Law. Professor Pollitt also serves on a committee for the Senate in drawing up changes concerning the Labor Relations Laws. This course was very informative, but didn't go quite as far as I would like to have seen it however it could be be that I was looking for too many answers that weren't there.

Professor Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College in Atlanta, Georgia, taught a class on Southern Economics. Professor Henderson did an excellent job in breaking down the economics in the south; showing up where Unions could have a big hand in changes in the south. However, this course overlapped some with Professor Marshall and Brother Freidman, but many points were brought out by Professor Henderson that the other courses did not cover and will be beneficial in organizing and negotiating in the south.

Wilbur Hobby, Dan Powell and Phil Wheatman from the Political Education Department of the AFL-CIO were scheduled for sessions but due to weather and icy conditions they were unable to reach the Institute. This time was taken up by showing movies on labor and discussions with the Professors and teachers that were there.

Allen Kistler out of the Organizing Department of the AFL-CIO, assisted by Jim Pierce, head of the organizing in the south for IUD, taught a class in Organizing. Many good points were brought out in organizing showing how some of the organizing drives have failed in the south in the past.

Emory Via taught a class on American Politics. It was quite interesting. A class was also taught in Changing Voting system and Negro Voters Organizing and forming Coallitionss with Unions. This was taught by Vernon Jordan with Voting Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Pat Watters, Director of Information of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and Reese Cleghorn, Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal,

Aaron Henry, President of the Mississippi State NAACP, Claude Ramsey, President of the Mississippi State AFL-CIO and Mr. Jordan gave talks on negro voters organizing after which they were open for questions and answeres, which proved to be very interesting and informative.

George Guernsey taught a course on Political Issues, which was quite informative and many questions were raised in this course. Brother Guernsey kept us going on political issues and other subjects concerning the union movement before and after class, breakfast, lunch and dinner. You could say that after regular classes Brother Guernsey's Institute began, which was very informative and educational.

A class was also taught on Southern State Governments by Prof. William Collins of the University of Georgia. In his class, which in my opinion was too short, he brought out how the southern states tie up action with movements and red tape.

While at this Institute we divided into groups of three (3) and four (4) and were given projects. On my project there were three (3) other men that picked the same title and they were Gene Gore, affiliated with the AFL-CIO IUD, Guy Johnson, affiliated with the International Chemical Workers Union and Albert Robinson, affiliated with the Laborers International Union. Our project was on how the Athens area faced the problems of integration of the grade shhools and high schools and what progress had been made in the desegregation of the school system. We found that great progress had been made without too much disturbance even though the Klan was very active in trying to keep this from happening.

In closing this report I would like to say it was a great honor and previlege for me to attend this Institute. The accommendations at the University were excellent and I wholeheartedly approve of the sharing of rooms with other representatives regardless of race, creed and color. Many good ideals were exchanged on off duty times. I hope that I will be able to use the information and knowlege that I have received at this Institute to further our International and the labor movement in the south. I feel that Institutes such as this should be carried on throughout the country for our International Representatives and every International Union. It gives the Representative the opportunity to do more studying and researching that he does not have time to do during the busy schedule of being a representative. I would recommend if any other Institutes were held such as this that our International be a part of it and send Representatives to such an Institute, and hope that I will be able to attend other Institutes to further my knowlege in the future.

Again, many thanks for giving me the opportunity to attend this Institute.

Sincerely and Fraternally,

Hugh Owen

Hugh Owen
International Rep. OCAW

HO/mb
CC: Al Wickman
George T. Guernsey
Emory Via
B. C. Brick

SAME LETTER SENT TO: All participants in the NILE Southern Union Staff Institute, except John Jennings.

February 23, 1966

Mr. Hub Cope
Business Agent
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America
214 North First Street
Mayfield, Kentucky

Dear Hub:

Your reading manual from the Southern Union Staff Institute should be in your hands by now. Let me know if this is not the case.

The photographs should be coming through shortly. I hope the wait will not be too long.

I would be most pleased to hear from you regarding any reactions you have had to the Institute now that you have been away a couple of weeks and are back at work.

I trust it will not be too long before I see you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 24, 1966

Mr. Robert Watkins
Conference Coordinator
Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Bob:

I received the bills from the University today. They will be forwarded to Joe Mire at the National Institute of Labor Education shortly.

Would you please let me know what has happened to my order for photographs and those ordered by other participants? I have already received inquiries from some of the men.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 24, 1966

N 3
Expenses

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

Enclosed are the bills* from the University of Georgia and the Southern Regional Council. They come to a little more money than I had anticipated, but both seem to be in good order.

[*There are in another folder - Archivist]

You may wish to see my notes on the individual bills from the University and to note the breakdown of what is covered by some of those bills.

The S.R.C. bill includes my expenses which are listed separately. Receipts for most of the items are available if you need them, although in many instances they were turned in to the Council with my expense statements.

Beyond these bills you have the expenses incurred by your office and by travel for ~~you~~ and Campbell. Guernsey has submitted bills for the books which he secured for the group. Wilkins should be sent $150.00 to cover his expenses; I understand that he does not normally submit a statement. This amount should comfortably cover his out of pocket costs and is $50.00 less than I was budgeting. However, we had an extra transportation expense in getting him to Athens. It would be good if we could send Ray Marshall an extra $25.00 for his costs in having two exams proctored so that he could be with us.

At the risk of adding to the confusion, I am enclosing an interim summary of expenditures and income. I hope it will help keep things sorted out even though it is not complete in some respects.

Let me know if there is anything that requires further explanation.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

SEE FOAM BOND

EXPENSES AND FEES OWED S.R.C. BY N.I.L.E.

Relative to Southern Union Staff Institute, January 9-February 4, 1966

Fee for loan of Emory Via as director Institute	$ 1,500.00
Expenses for Emory Via	
Hotel, Athens, Georgia	176.13
Meals (includes two small group entertainment meals)	151.00
Transportation	
To, from and inAAthens	87.80
Two Washington trips (charge to committee?) (includes meals and hotel)	185.51
Miscellaneous charges	17.17
Materials used in Institute (Notebook dividers, magazines, labor law pamphlets, film rental)	18.52
Office Supplies and Equipment	7.16
Telephone	142.95
Special transportation for Wilkins	33.80
Secretarial expenses	124.53
Gratuities (secretaries, Information Center; coffee service and one group breakfast - paid by EFV)	21.27
TOTAL	$ 2,480.84

SUMMARY OF NILE SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE EXPENDITURES

Instructors fees (exclusive of $ 310.00 to U. of Ga.)		$1,135.00
Instructors expenses (exclusive of those charged through the U. of Ga.)		992.90
University of Georgia (includes $ 800.00 already paid)		2,022.49
Southern Regional Council charges		2,480.84
Expenses incurred prior to November 9, 1965 by NILE (approx.)		233.17
Materials procurred by George Guernsey (approx.)	122885	122.85
Estimate of expenses for Joe Mire and Ralph Campbell		300.00
	TOTAL	$ 7,350.05

BUDGETED FOR INSTITUTE	$ 7,150.00
INCOME FROM INSTITUTE (includes $ 200.00 from AFL-CIO of which $ 19.51 is to be returned)	673.88
TOTAL AVAILABLE FOR INSTITUTE	$ 7,823.88
TENTATIVE UNSPENT BALANCE	$ 473.83

SSX

April 28, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

Your patience regarding the evaluation report is a marvel to behold. I have let almost everything to get in the way. I will make every effort to get a rough draft to you before your Board meets. If not that, something.

Best personal wishes,

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1911 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: 737-1366

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April 27, 1966

Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I wonder how you are coming along with your report on the Southern Staff Institute. The annual meeting of our Board will be held May 6, and I would appreciate some information from you before that date.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

NILE
So. Staff Inst.

May 5, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

The enclosed is far from what I had hoped to have in your hands by now. I trust it will serve at least as a general briefing for you in talking with the Board. You will note that even these fewwpages start more fully but then quickly take on a more abbmbrated form.

The report will be more full and better organized. I would think that the rough draft could be made available to you and George before too long.

My apologies for the delays.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

See P.S. on green copy —

DIRECTOR'S INTERIM REPORT FOR THIRD
N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

Introduction

How can a month-long educational experience of courses, challenge, thought, and personal relations be evaluated? When the positive experiences are so varied as to include an adult student's delight in discovering what a ham omlette is (and having one) to the first interracial living experience for some, to the recharging of the emotional and professional batteries of the directors, what can one say about the whole?

This report springs from the bias that the third Southern Union Staff Institute, sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education, was a great success. To be sure, the report will include a number of suggestions for improvement and specific incidents which have negative overtones. But overwhelmingly, the month's program was a rewarding experience for the union staff attending, the instructors, and for the two directors.

What follows in this report is a more detailed look and evaluation of some of the elements that entered into the development and execution of the institute.

Planning

The outstanding fact about the planning of the third

Southern Union Staff Institute is that the whole process could be accomplished more quickly and efficiently because of the experience gained in the preceding institutes. This was especially true in terms of coming to grips with the major elements to be included in the program, how to give it balance, and how to guage the timing of the various program emphasis. Profiting from the experience of the two previous insitutes was facilited by the carry over in personnel and from the reporting of the earlier programs. It was especially useful that the NILE director had had a hand in the two preceding programs, that George Guernsey had been fully involved in each of them, that the director had been quite conversant with the planning stages of the second institute, and that we were able to make use of instructors who had participated in one or more of the previous undertakings. None of this is to suggest, however, that the planners were free of innumerable details, shifts, and related problems. Certainly, both directors were appalled all over again at the amount of time required to get the program into final shape. What was possible was a saving in the cost and time needed from the program committee. More of the work of the committee could be handled adequately and with understanding by phone. Conflicting

views about program were minor as were those about possible instructors.

Similar comments could be made about the task of the recruitment committee. Basically, this was the work of the co-director. Less was required in terms of formal committee meetings. General guidelines had been established and the committee could function with little more than looking over applications and granting final acceptance authority to its chairman. However, it should be underscored that the recruitment task was as onerous as ever, even though aided by the acceptance won for the institute in a number of national union offices. An effort was made to expand the number of unions sending delegates. Full-time local officers were included for the first time. This latter fact raised a few problems which should be considered in future planning. The relation between the local office and his local union suggests that the national union do even more to make clear to the man and local what the financial arrangements are and to give him protection from the practical pressures for doing his job in the local while away for a extended period of time.

Facilities: Generally quite good. Rooms comfortable as to arrangement and quality of furnishings. Small for two persons. Used as singles or else as two joining rooms for three pereons. Heat failure during the cold spell caused discomfort for about two days. Group was housed together on one floor. Directors on opposite ends of floor. Co-op room a part of a double room used by co-director. The classroom was very good except for an acoustical problem. A library was provided.

Meals: Generally very good in quality and variety. Some complaint about price and some group members began to eat elsewhere than at the main dining facility. Except for the three planned meals, the possibility of successful group meals was limited. The only provision beyond planned menus, involving substantial extra costs, was the grouping of several tables in the main dining room. This proved to be of very limited usefulness. We had hoped to have one group meal a day.

The general atmosphere of the building and surrounding area was good. We felt we were on the campus without being innundated by it. Recreational opportunities on the campus were somewhat limited in practice though in theory we had access to all university facilities.

Timing: It is possible that some planning and recruitment problems arose out of the program's early start after Christmas and New Year. Further, winter weather became a factor of some importance even so far South for part of the program.

Relations with the University: Mixed. The Continuing Education Center, staff, in general, were friendly. Some worrisome troubles developed over such items as rooms (initially and for faculty and guests later on), costs, special program arrangements, and follow-

through on details. A good bit of this could probably be traced to the peculiar ineptness of the conference coordinator assigned by the University to the NILE program. This assignment resulted after the original arrangements had been made when the initial coordinator resigned to take another position. Our relations with the conference director and with University of Georgia faculty participating in or visiting the program ~~was~~ were quite good. In summary, the general physical arrangements were superior; the program assistance offered by the university had to be regularly supplemented and prodded by the directors. In light of this a real question is raised as to whether the conference fee could be justified.

The faculty: High quality. There was great variety befitting the multiple aims and needs of the program. The return of Marshall and Pollitt proved a real asset. Russ Allen brought a special and needed quality to the beginning week through his experience, degree of identity, and teaching methods. Marv Friedman's materials on economics cropped up again and again throughout the month. A longer evaluation of faculty will be made later. Suffice it to say that the variety of staff provided new perspectives, an opportunity to see similar problems through the eyes of more than one expert, and a chance to effectively reach a larger number of people (even on the same subject) because of these factors. It would still be useful, however, to have more teaching time from fewer strong teachers. Our attempts to do this this year were largely frustrated.

The group: Clearly marked by variety. They came from twelve states and fourteen unions. There were native southerners, those working in the south with origins elsewhere, four Negroes. Some of them were full time local presidents or business agents and others were international representatives. We may have learned that it is possible to have too many persons from one national union (four out of twenty-one). Personalities, educational background, union experience, community experience, social awareness were markedly different. They came, even in this third institute, not knowing in some cases why they had been sent. There seemed to be little resentment or bitterness, but there was certainly some wondering as to why the union had selected "me". There was no obvious resistance to education as such. Later we learned that some came with a fairly healthy "show me" attitude. Others came wanting the chance for an educational exposure but sure that it would be a dull matter. At the end of the first week spirits were high and a vote of confidence on the value and interest of educational pursuits would have been handily won. This interest perhaps tapered some in the second week and began to build again later on. It probably did not diminish again depending on how you interpret a few last week symptoms -- lateness, with which some attention began to be cured. Except for a short spell of tardiness in the last week the institute was characterized by promptness and attendance. There was only one absence during the month that was not of an excusable nature. Most absences, and they were minimal, were excused in advance.

The men came to know each other as time went on. Cliques were limited and of no apparent significance except for the four members from the same union. It was clear that one of the meaningful happenings during the month was the friendship and

understanding developed across union lines. In a large number of cases the same could be said about friendships developed across racial lines.

Courses: The courses aimed at developing economic and social understanding, improving union and personal skills, to update information, and to stimulate thought. Teaching techniques varied. It may be that we still fail, in some courses, to get sufficient interplay with students soon enough to effectively judge how well understanding is developing. But the instruction in nearly every case was informal and responsive to student questions and discussion. In the end there was a large scale acceptance of the basic format of the program and the kind of content that had been included. There were useful suggestions for improvement. And there were comments in some areas which may be instructive even though they fit a pattern of what we have grown to expect.

There was little doubt of the acceptability of the basic union courses such as arbitration and organizing. There was a good response to labor law with some suggestions to spend less time on policy questions and more on what is needed in the field -- frequently coupled with the suggestion to take more time to do both. The instruction in economics was well received, a little concern about duplication ampng the instructors, but substantial evidence that the duplication whether through repetition or the differences in approach meant that more people were reached or the material was better understood.

The material on civil rights clearly reached home in a number of ways. These included negative reactions, some of which were effectively countered by subsequent instruction. In

a few instances the comments were such as to give us some pause as to how to approach the subject. The reactions, again, came at the time when there was a concentrated dose. To some degree this seemed to represent a resentment at being called upon to talk about civil rights and racial relations in so direct a fashion. It was as if there was a general acceptance that we live in a changed world, but let's go on about our business rather than talk about it so much. This is perhaps too brief a mention here to warrant inclusion. I will develop it more fully later. Clearly, much of what took place in this area was constructive and helpful -- nearly every member of the group admitted this in terms of at least some of the approaches to the subject. This included several persons who had expressed their disagreement, privately or in evlauation, over ~~that~~ any substantial attention ~~was~~ being paid to civil rights.

<u>Projects</u>: A valuable part of the total program. Only one of the reporting groups could be considered a failure. The others must be rated from good to excellent. They learned about a specific community and some of its problems. More importantly, they discovered that with planning and thought they <u>could</u> learn about a community. New skills were acquired and old skills put to work in a new situation. Projects included the following topics: the poverty program, urban renewal, student political and social action groups, local ministerial opinions, and school desegregation.

<u>Other developments</u>: During the month the idea of education as a tool for growth -- for the individual and the union -- seemed to take on practical meaning for most of the group.

Many side conversations with instructors and each other showed substantial growth in areas of interest and information. Problems related to racial relations, democratic concepts, community relations, organizing, and union growth were repeatedly discussed.

A number of men had special problems about which they received practical and highly valued information as a part of the "side activity" of the institute. Included here would be detailed help given on job evaluation, time study, and problems related to an N.L.R.B. Hearing.

A conscious effort was made to develop the idea of university labor education among members of the University staff and faculty. This consisted largely of informat conversations with selected persons. This effort was significantly supported by Ralph Campbell's visit to several individuals and participation in one small group meeting. The idea of labor education has been let loose, there is good interest on the part of a few faculty people, but the immediate outlook at the University of Georgia is quite dim.

Supplemented ?

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New York, New York

NEWMAN, Wynn
Labor Liason Office
Equal Employment Opportunities Commission
Washington, D. C.

File

1966 NILE SOUTHERN STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia, Athens

January 9-- February 4

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RWDSU Local 43 (2/65)
P. O. Box 847
Dade City, Florida 33525

Hub COPE
ACWA Local 607 (8/59)
214 N. 1st Street
Mayfield, Kentucky

Fred W. CORY
TWUA (5/65)
404 Tunnel Blvd., Apt 2-J
Chattanooga, Tennessee

John J. EARLEY
CWA (8/65)
462 Hogan Road
Nashville, Tennessee

Eugene GORE
AFL-CIO IUD
Box 8654, Station "A"
Greenville, S. Carolina

John W. JENNINGS
UTSE Local 2026 (3/65)
1311 Ardmore Drive
Greensboro, N. Carolina

Guy JOHNSON
ICWU (3/65)
Rt. 2
Broxton, Georgia
c/o Jesse Harper

Kenneth W. LAX
IBEW Local 2171 (7/63)
1610 Commerce Bldg.
Ft. Worth, Texas 76102

Robert W. LEE
Lithographers L 10-P (6/65
83 W. Lakewood Drive
Fenton, Missouri 63026

~~*Zell LIPSEN~~
~~Painters, Brotherhood of~~
~~c/o 1925 K St., N.W.~~
~~Washington, D. C. 20006~~

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IBEW Local 1570 (3/58)
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Laborers Local 229
1314 Milland Street
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Hugh OWEN
OCAW Local 3-550 (6/63)
2503 Clearpark Drive
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ICWU Local 377
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Laborers Local 70
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IBEW Local 847 (7/63)
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William G. ROBINSON
IUE Local 182 (12/63)
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Painters Local 901 (10/63)
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Wallace G. WICKLIFF
IBEW Local 1907 (12/63)
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Jimmie Lee WILLIAMS
Steelwkrs L-2405 (11/65)
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National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

1911 F STREET, N.W.
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August 8th,1966.

Mr.Emory F.Via,Director,
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta,Ga.

Dear Emory:

I just finished reading the draft of your report on the Southern Satff Institute. I think it is rather good and quite satisfactory.It has some interesting insights to provide. I have only a few suggestions:

Page 23 second paragraph:I find the first sentence possobly misleading.Why not say "positively": A brief description of the reports of the project committees follows".You may also want to put the report of the "student committee" at the end of the chapter instead of at the beginning.

Page 26:The last part of the second sentence on "Special Sessions" is perhaps not too clear.

Page 31:Any point in adding a list of the visitors right here?

The faculty,though listing several "one stand" participants, leaves out my name.

I am anxious to get the report soon.How about duplicating?Since you have the stencils there I would hope it can be done there,though we shall of course pay for it. I think I could probably use at least 100 copies.

I shall go after Guernsay for a quick response.

Many thanks and kind regards.

Sincerely yours

Joe Mire

Joseph Mire.
Executive Director.

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

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GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

November 11, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letters of November 1st and 4th. In the meantime, I trust you have received the five copies of the report on the Southern Staff Institute.

Ray Marshall suggested at our Board meeting that we attempt to measure the impact of the institutes,

a. on the students;

b. on the unions - locally and nationally;

c. on the communities, and

d. on universities.

I am exploring this matter with a few foundations.

As for meeting dates, I have no present commitments for December 5th to 15th. However, this is getting close to my retirement here and I would therefore not be sure that I could make a meeting at that time.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

JM:t

JOSEPH MIRE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
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December 17, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Let me simply itemize some of the areas I recently called you about so that when we meet, on Tuesday, we'll have a list to work from.

In talking to Don Slaiman, I told him that I had spoken to you about your letter and that we were to get together to iron out some of the details of the final program. I obviously think that Don should handle the Civil Rights class for a week and that you ought to organize the Political Science sessions. I think I indicated in our meeting, though, that I'd like to work with the COPE people on the sessions which they do and that, if we have a program with Aaron Henry and Claude Ramsay on the Coalition, I'd like to work on that session too.

Now, to the list:

(1) If possible, we should have a second public meeting and use Nat Goldfinger, Andy Biemiller, or a top international union officer. (I mentioned Leonard Woodcock of the UAW as a possibility because of his work in the field of higher education.) Or we should have someone of Woodcock's caliber.

(2) I feel that Wilbur Hobby should be added to the program with Dan Powell because he covers part of the South.

(3) We'll have to put Nat in the first week of teaching, if we are to get him. (Here we're not sure of Nat, but we can get an adequate substitute from the Department of Research.)

(4) I'd like Mike Miller for Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of the third week. (If this is out because of money, I guess there is nothing we can do.)

(5) I think it's important to try to get Vivian Henderson to stay over night for the full week, especially when the percentage of Negro delegates will be larger this time than it has been at either one of the two earlier institutes.

continued. . .

(6) I think it's better to work Russ Allen's class the same period every day and change the project period to the evening.

(7) We ought to try to move Dan Powell, Phil Weightman, and Wilbur Hobby to the earlier part of the fourth week so that they would get more of a chance to mix with the delegates. All of the COPE staff people will work directly with these delegates in the 1966 campaign.

(8) Can we hold up the session on Southern Justice until we see another draft of the program?

(9) I'll probably order copies of Frank Smith's book, Congressman from Mississippi, and the labor history book, Toil and Trouble, by Brooks for each delegate. (I'm now trying to find a copy of Frank Smith's new book, Look Away from Dixie, and will try to look at it before I order his earlier book.) These books would be paid for out of the $15 registration fee for materials. I assume that we'll have to pay at least $5 for a book for the reading course.

I'm going to see Nat Goldfinger and Bill Kircher on Monday, December 20th. I'm also checking with COPE on the dates that Dan Powell, Wilbur Hobby, and Phil Weightman CANNOT COME. (As you pointed out, the COPE Area Conferences will be held during the same period we are holding the Institute.)

I told Joe that it was okay to accept the nine applications we have thus far, but to hold up on Early of CWA. I'm still hopeful that we'll have, with luck, 16-18.

Two problems that now worry me most:

(A) The reading instructor. (This course has to be given.)

(B) How we're going to work out the rooming arrangements, especially when the University is so adamant about not checking out over the weekends. I'd assume that on the 2nd weekend of the Institute, everyone will check out.

I'll call you Monday afternoon to let you know when I plan to arrive and to arrange a time to meet with you on Tuesday. If at all possible, I want to have a meal with Marty Morand and to see George Gill.

Think about this: At the Texas Institute Ray Marshall did a session on "New Trends in Collective Bargaining" and "The Future of the Labor Movement" in his last week's classes. There was a good deal of interest on the two sessions he did on "New Trends."

Yours in hope,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Dir., Dept. of Education
Co-Director, 1966 NILE Institute

GG:cem
oeiu #2 afl-cio

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 10, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I appreciate your letter of January 6 and the enclosed memorandum concerning the program for the Southern Union Staff Institute to be held January 9 - February 4 at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education.

I am passing this along to Mr. James Ralph Beaird, a Visiting Professor of Law here, who is Associate Solicitor of Labor on leave. I am sure he will be interested in these proceedings.

Very truly yours,

Lindsey Cowen

Lindsey Cowen
Dean

LC-dh

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Jackson 2-6764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 10, 1966

Professor William Collins
Government Department
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Professor Collins:

I appreciate your having been on hand for the opening dinner last night. I am embarrassed to find that we inadvertantly charged you for the meal. You were our guest so I am enclosing a check to reimburse you for your outlay. I look forward to seeing more of you during the month.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via/sh.

Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff
Institute

c/o Mr. Robert Waldrons
Continuing Education Center

EFV:jb
Enclosure

Dear Emory,
You are a scholar and a gentleman.
Thanks.
We are looking for a visit from you at the Institute
Bill Collins

1/16/66 — Eval Session

I week

John

Reading — excited — didn't know were so low

Economics — most revealing

Mike

best presentations of his educational career —

Overallar

Arbitration very helpful

McQueen — Arb. helpful —

Reading vital to him

Fred Robinson —

Elbert Robinson

Arbitration helpful — has not been in before

learned kind of language for clauses — in general — feels

can tighten up with mgt. now —

Jim Stewart —

Economics helpful in dealing with mgt — to

not take a "no" from mgt.

Gene Hare — Economics helpful in writing leaflets —

read economics material —

V. Stokes — good courses —

need more building trades —

J. Robinson — been reading material all day — 1st time knew what it meant

1/16/66 Eval. Session I - Week

Bob Lee — Ideas → Future USWA

Too much emphasis on Speed

Countered by Wallace —

J. Williams —
grounds
on being asked about evening programs —

Stokes —
PA — well served —

Mc Queen —
want get everything you need right here —
thought he already knew everything — now find out didn't know much — start learning —

Bob Peters —
Everybody skipped impatient of association with each other —
One of better schools ever gone to —

III

FACULTY

N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

Week III - January 23-28

HENDERSON, Vivian. President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.

HOBBY, Wilbur. Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Durham, North Carolina.

MARSHALL, Ray. Professor of Economics, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

POLLITT, Daniel. Professor, School of Law, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

POWELL, Dan. Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Memphis, Tennessee.

WEIGHTMAN, Phil. Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

From Evaluation Session — attentiveness, sincerity, interest in reports

Saturday ~~Sunday~~ — 22nd 9:00 PM.

EV (Leading at community with new interest)

Way cross Subs station of Channel #6 Panel on Unions

Albany — Labor History — Film — "This Union Card"?

Eval Session begin III week — absent LOPE, Stewart, Hay Wickliffe, McAliley — Gerency —

Eval.

7/23/66 ⊗ II week

Dom —

Fred R. raised problems — where are answers

Back & forth —

Wanted more specific about Seniority —

McQueen could have been done faster

Jobs — Negros on Moral Labor not, concentrate on Labor, not so much on Negroes —

Wms EEOC — Civ Rts Dept of AFL-CIO Cooperation

? Materials on Cards —

Marshall — Them was saying —

1) certain typical, normal demands
2) not all seniority will work —
3) Easier to start right than to come later —

Volk — Roy Wilkins —

Stokes — Civil Rts movement could kill him dead as doornail

Fred R in Social Room — Hope people don't think I am some sort of integrationist (meaning segregationist) — Then to show good faith went on about overturning of Church Const. & his initiation to make open.

Eval —

Financial Arrangements
resp for. E. Robinson
J. Stewart

Others seemed to have in hand —
last minute arrangements, local union officers, perhaps Int'l did not clear sufficiently — Stevensy able to smooth out (Stewart?)

Attendance excellent

Jennings role — "preached at" ?

Interracial forays into community —
1 or 2 bowling, Pizza, dinner

Rooming together — o.k.
IBEW + CWA clique — 4 from one union split between group end of hall and singles.

Lack of "project" work in class
cf. Reading & Arbitration to prest

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
ATHENS, GEORGIA

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 17, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for sending me the Southern Regional Council report relative to the Training Institute at the Continuing Education Center. I sincerely appreciate the very gracious invitation and hope that I shall have an opportunity to mix and mingle with some of your participants.

It has been some years since our paths have crossed but I hope that we can rectify this in the future.

With all good personal wishes,

Very truly yours,

J. Whitney Bunting (ve)

J. Whitney Bunting
Dean

JWB/ve

J.B.

2 copies of this

Stay —

for NLE

Kuhner —

Simply send Kuhner his.

Gary

Home Edition

ATHENS BANNER-HERALD

SERVING ATHENS AND NORTHEAST GEORGIA SINCE 1832

VOL. CXXXIV. NO. 251 — TELEPHONE 543-2513 P.O. Box 912 (30601) — ATHENS, GEORGIA, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1966 — Sunday, 10c Daily, 5c — 28 PAGES TODAY

Weather

Increasing cloudiness and cold today. Mostly cloudy and not quite so cold tonight and Thursday.

BY JAYCEES

Martin Named 'Man Of Year'

By COKE ELLINGTON
Banner-Herald Writer

Paul Martin was honored as "Young Man of the Year" and Cecil Martin was named "Boss of the Year" Tuesday night at the annual Jaycee Distinguished Service Awards Banquet and Bosses' Night at the Athens Country Club.

Paul Martin, who has twice served as president of the Athens Jaycees, received three nominations for the high honor.

The 35-year-old president of Maynard and Martin Inc. is a member of the Salvation Army advisory board and chairman of Division A of the Salvation Army Building Fund Drive.

An alumnus of Southern Technical Institute, the "Young Man of the Year" is a member of the Athens Area Chamber of Commerce, Moose Club, Elks Club, American Legion, Trojan Club, Touchdown Club, and the Southern Tech Alumni Association Board.

"Boss of the Year" Cecil Martin is state design engineer for the Soil Conservation Service.

A 39-year-old native of Elberton, he is a University of Georgia graduate and lives in Oconee County.

In his nomination of his boss, Dan McGill wrote that he had requested a transfer in order to work under Martin. The nomination described Martin as a boss who is "always working nor the best interests of his subordinates.

Featured speaker Jim Fanning, assistant general manager of the Atlanta Braves, said they hope to bring Atlanta a pennant-winning ball team.

Fanning said the Braves don't believe the idea is wishful thinking, either.

Telling a crowd of about 200

PAUL MARTIN
'Man Of The Year'

Late News Briefs

Chance Of Snow

A slight chance of snow mixed with rain tonight is predicted by the U. S. Weather Bureau for the Athens area. Rain is forecast for tonight and Thursday.

Youth Killed

ROME, Ga. (AP) — A 19-year-old employe of the Georgia Power Co., L. C. Stanfield, was killed early today when his automobile overturned on U. S. 27 north of Rome.

Menzies Retires

CANBERRA, Australia (AP) Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies, the senior government chief in the British Commonwealth, announced today he is retiring after 16 years in office.

Congress Asked For War Money

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Johnson formally asked Congress today for an extra $12.761 billion to finance the war in Viet Nam, declaring: "We hope the aggression will end; we must be prepared if it does not."

Again Johnson was unable to say whether his current effort "to open a road to a peaceful settlement" will be successful or not.

"We will continue to press on every door," he said.

"But until there is a response —and until the aggression ends —we must do all that is necessary," the President said, "to support our allies and our fighting forces in Viet Nam. That is the purpose of the present request."

The request was in the form

Epidemic Strikes Nursery

FAMILIES SLAIN

Viet Cong Execute Women, Children

Hours Before Truce

SAIGON, Viet Nam (AP) — The clock brought the Viet Cong tonight into their self-proclaimed four-day truce for the lunar new year after they had staged a series of attacks, the bloodiest at a camp for 2,000 Vietnamese refugees.

American armed forces remained on full alert. It was still unclear whether the Communist truce offer—advertised as effective at 11 p.m. (10) a.m. (EST)—covered U.S. and other Allied troops.

Thirty-three persons were killed and 54 wounded as the guerrillas swept down before dawn on the sleeping camp on the outskirts of Tam Ky, a provincial capital 350 miles northeast of Saigon. Many of the victims were women and children.

U.S. advisers said the raiders set fire to thatched huts, executed whole families on the spot, mangled the bodies and kidnaped nine men. They left behind leaflets denouncing U.S.

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Featured speaker Jim Fanning, assistant general manager of the Atlanta Braves, said they hope to bring Atlanta a pennant-winning ball team.

Fanning said the Braves don't believe the idea is wishful thinking, either.

Telling a crowd of about 200 that it would be hard for a young ballplayer to break into the Braves lineup, Fanning mentioned veterans Henry Aaron, Mack Jones, Felipe Alou, Jose Torre, Gene Oliver and Eddie Mathews.

Fanning described Braves manager Bobby Bragan as "a fiery guy I'm sure you'll enjoy watching."

Fanning, who said he had been "a rinky-dink ballplayer" with a lifetime batting average of .186, said the Braves are not representing just Atlanta, but the whole Southeast.

He told the Jaycees and their guests, "We want you to feel a part of us, because w definitely feel a part of Athens."

Jim Trobaugh introduced Fanning.

Jaycee president Charles Griffeth presided at the banquet.

Tom Faulkner presented the "Boss of the Year" award and A. C. Marshall presented the "Young Man of the Year" award.

Harry Thompson gave certificates of appreciation to local news media, the Banner-Herald, the Daily News and radio stations WGAU and WRFC.

For War Money

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"We will continue to press on every door," he said.

"But until there is a response —and until the aggression ends —we must do all that is necessary," the President said, "to support our allies and our fighting forces in Viet Nam. That is the purpose of the present request."

The request was in the form of a letter to Speaker of the House John W. McCormack.

It urged Congress to act promptly.

The second supplemental defense money request this fiscal year will provide, among other things, for adding 113,000 men to the armed forces and for buying their equipment. Civilian personnel will be increased by 94,000.

Most of the new troops will be allotted to the Army and Marine Corps, the services fighting the ground war in Southeast Asia. A few thousand men will be given each to the Air Force and Navy.

If Congress approves, as expected, the U. S. armed forces will go to 3,093,000 men — highest since a year after the Korean war.

Johnson's formal request to Congress was expected to provide details on the proposal for $12.346 billion in military money and $415 million for the economic side of the U. S. effort in Viet Nam.

The in-depth specifics may not emerge until Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara testifies in support of the money request Thursday.

Epidemic Strikes Nursery

DETROIT (AP) — About 15 children who attended a suburban nursery are hospitalized with tuberculosis, health authorities report.

"All are in generally good condition," said Dr. John J. Hanlon, Detroit and Wayne County health director. "We think they'll come along all right. I'm very optimistic."

Hanlon called the nursery outbreak a "very, very localized epidemic. It's a phenomenon that seems to be occurring with increasing frequency in the country."

Shortly before Christmas Day, a family doctor found a lesion on a small girl's leg. He reported to health authorities.

A few days later another girl was found apparently infected with TB. Her doctor also reported to health officials.

Investigation brought out that both girls had attended the nursery.

All 57 nursery children received tests for TB. Most responded in the negative, no infection.

U. S. PARATROOPER, WOUNDED BY VIET CONG SNIPER, EVACUATED FROM BATTLE AREA
Communists Launch New Attacks Today Only Hours Before Scheduled Four-Day Truce

AP Wirephoto

American armed forces remained on full alert. It was still unclear whether the Communist truce offer—advertised as effective at 11 p.m. (10) a.m. (EST)—covered U.S. and other Allied troops.

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U.S. advisers said the raiders set fire to thatched huts, executed whole families on the spot, mangled the bodies and kidnaped nine men. They left behind leaflets denouncing U.S. operations as a "dirty war of aggression against the people of Viet Nam."

As to the Viet Cong cease-fire, one intelligence source said hard information had been received that American GIs would not be included.

As in the case of the Christmas truce, the Saigon government and its American and other allies have ordered a cease-fire of their own. But it is to run for only 78 hours instead of the 96 hours set by the Viet Cong.

The Allied cease-fire is to go into effect at 12 noon Thursday and end at 6 p.m. Sunday.

A U.S. spokesman said American military operations already under way will continue until noon Thursday.

The U.S. 1st Infantry Division tangled for more than an hour with a battalion of Viet Cong, about 500 guerrillas, in the afternoon in jungles 22 miles northwest of Saigon. The Communists broke off the action after American air support was called in.

By midafternoon the U.S. planes had flown 49 sorties against the Communists. The infantrymen were engaged during a sweep dubbed Operation Buckskin. Their casualties were described as light. Communist losses were not immediately estimated.

As the Viet Cong descended on the refugee settlement at Tam Ky from surrounding airfields, they simultaneously launched a mortar and recoilless rifle attack on the Quang Tin Province headquarters, 300 yards north of the refugee camp. Parts of the camp may have been caught in the crossfire, but a government spokesman denied any fire was directed at the camp.

A mortar fell through the roof of a billet housing men of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, but none of the Americans was injured and there was only negligible damage to the rest of the complex. Two Vietnamese guards were wounded.

U.S. advisers who entered the Tu Hiep refugee camp after the 40-minute siege said it had been turned into a chamber of horrors. Women wept over the bodies of their children. A three room school that had been built only three months ago was blown to bits.

DEATHS

Mrs. Barbara Russell, Washington
William Meixsel, Commerce
Mrs. Pearlie Tolbert, North Charleston, S.C.
Mrs. Mary Patrick, Whitehall

Estimated Cost: $400,000

Sen. Broun Seeks To Double Number Of State Patrol Cars

ATLANTA (AP)—Sens. Paul Broun of Athens and Jimmy Carter of Plains are not satisfied with the $18.5 million supplemental appropriation bill offered by Gov. Carl Sanders, and both say they are going to try to change it.

Broun wants $500,000 "in order to double the number of State Patrol cars on the highways and increase the GBI by at least 10 men who would be specialized in auto theft and anti-gambling."

The Athens legislator said he had been assured by Col. Lowell Connor, state public safety director, that an extra $400,000 would allow him to double the number of cars on patrol. This could be done, Broun explained, by putting just one man in each car instead of two.

The additional cars would greatly reduce the number of accidents and deaths on Georgia's highways, Broun said.

Carter wants considerably more—about $4.5 million — that he would distribute to local school systems for maintenance and operation. He maintains that many systems are being hit hard by the need to increase local participation in school costs and this would help ease the burden.

Carter said he plans to investigate the possibility of raising the supplemental budget by including anticipated income through the next fiscal year.

Broun said he "has some ideas where we can get the money" to expand the patrol, but he declined to say where just yet .He added, however, "This is a lot more important than other places we're spending money."

The two senators launched their moves for changes in the supplemental spending as the Senate Appropriations Committee began consideration of the House - passed measure. The committee planned to continue after Senate adjournment today, and Sen. Hugh Gillis of Soperton, the chairman, expressed the hope the bill would be ready for a vote in the Senate at least by next Monday.

In the House Tuesday, a bill to increase the cost of hunting and fishing licenses by $1 was approved 122-17. Several amendments to the administration-backed proposal were accepted, including one to allow landowners to hunt or fish on their own property without a license.

The bill hikes hunting licenses from $2.25 to $3.25 per year, fishing licenses from $1.25 to $2.25 and combination licenses from $3.25 to $5.25. The increases go into effect April 1—if the measure is passed by the Senate.

Rep. George Busbee of Albany, the administration floor leader, estimated the increases would raise about $850,000 for expansion of state game and fish programs.

Rep. Fulton Lovell of Clayton, former longtime director of the Game and Fish Department, put through an amendment deleting a clause that would have allowed the Game-Fish Commission to adjust non-resident hunting and fishing fees in line with those of neighboring states.

Lovell charged that the Sanders administration had "put a sleeper in the bill," and said if the commission wants to change non-resident fees another bill should be introduced.

The House Ways and Means Committee gave quick approval to administration - backed bills that would require payment of ad valorem taxes when automobile tags are purchased and restoring to Georgia merchants a 3 per cent rebate for collecting the state sales tax.

A Senate committee blocked a bill by Sen. William Gregory of Columbus to set a maximum 56-hour work week for firemen in the state's six largest cities—Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah, Macon, Albany and Columbus.

Gregory said most firemen now work 72 hours a week. But there were so many objections to the proposal that it was sent to a subcommittee.

Commissioners Approve Community Shelter Plan

The Clarke County Commissioners Tuesday approved development of a community shelter plan to protect the populace from the dangers of nuclear fallout.

The approval followed a report by County Engineer Jim Holland, who recently attended a meeting on fallout shelters at Battle Creek, Mich.

Holland's report said the plan would show the location and capacity of each shelter, areas of population assigned to each shelter and the route of travel individuals should follow to reach their assigned shelter.

The prime objective of the plan is to assign every resident to a specific space and instruct them on the best way to reach that space.

The Athens-Clarke County area rates first in the state in Civil Defense preparedness. With a peak population of 52,000, there are 46 shelters that will accommodate 65,000.

Development of the community shelter plan is to be financed by the office of Civil Defense through the Corps of Engineers.

The Corps of Engineers will contract with the Athens-Clarke County Planning Commission for preparation of the plan.

Approval of the Mayor and Council of Athens is necessary before the contract can be signed and the development of the plan started.

The community shelter plan will be developed by the planning commission in cooperation with the Corps of Engineers, the Athens-Clarke County Civil Defense organization, the Mayor and Council of Athens and the Clarke County Commissioners.

The Commissioners approved an allotment of $4,000 to the local Civil Defense organization, an increase of $500 from last year.

A resolution commending M. C. Gay for his nine years of service on the Board of Education was adopted by the Commissioners.

They received a $2,000 check from the Health Department for money budgeted, but not spent last year.

The Commissioners approved lease of more space at the airport to the Federal Aviation Agency. The space is in the old weather bureau quarters of the old terminal building at Ben Epps Field.

NAACP Leader Wilkins Speaks At Georgia Center

By TERRY PICKETT
Banner-Herald Writer

Lynchings, KKK rides and other outrages may be overlooked, according to Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association of Colored People, because the Negro's real gripe lies in "this denial for 75 years of a proper public education."

"Year after year the educational system in America has handicaped black boys and girls and condemned them to compete on a low level. They have been tripped before they quit spinning tops and playing with dolls," Wilkins said.

Wilkins addressed members of the Southern Union Staff Institute at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education Tuesday at 7:00 p.m.

The address was held at a closed and unannounced meeting in the auditorium of the Center in Athens. Newsmen were turned away at the door and told that the address would not be "a news story".

Robert L. Watkins, coordinator for the conference, said closing the meeting to the public was not done because the Center or the labor officials wanted to suppress the news.

Watkins described the speech as educationa in nature and said opening the meeting to the public "would not have been conducive to the educational experience."

The institute is the third of its kind and has been held formerly in Texas and North Carolina. It is an adult education class for trade unions leaders sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education.

Members attended from twelve states and represented fourteen participating AFL—CIO unions.

The conference will span the better part of a month at the Georgia Center.

In his address, Wilkins accused unions of keeping Negroes out of better jobs by devices like the apprentice system.

The South might prove the most genuinley progressive section in its race relations, Wilkins said, because Southerners tend to approach human problems personally.

Both whites and Negroes have a long way to go before they can really see each other as individuals, he added.

There is a danger that the massive industrialization of the South could complicate matters, however, by altering the Southern personality into the more impersonal mould of other Americans, Wilkins said.

At any rate, the change in the Negro's status has arrived, the director said, and they find themselves in 1966 where they thought they were in 1865 and 1954.

Participating members in the institute and selected professorial groups attended the hushed-up address.

Wilkins spoke for nearly an hour and answered questions another thirty minutes.

— No News Story — from author

1-20-66

Wilkins Cites Labor Fault

By DON RHODES

Roy Wilkins, national secretary of the NAACP, said in a speech given at the Georgia Center Tuesday night that labor leaders must recognize and solve the problem of discrimination among workers.

Speaking before some 350 members of the Southern Institute of Labor Education, Wilkins commented that in 1960 there were 57 million whites and six million Negroes employed in this country. He said of the two million employed Negro women, 900,000 were doing low-paid household duties.

"Over one-half of the Negro work force in America is in low categories," he said. "These are poor people. This explains why the Negro is driving for opportunities, why he wants to be more than a street sweeper or a cleaner of toilets. He wants to get out of low-pay categories. He wants to get ahead.

"Labor is beginning to see this and beginning to do something about it. New resolutions are being formulated, but where the resolutions count is on the job, There has been some progress in Federal work, but still the rank and file lacks training and opportunity."

He stated that this is the cause of many riots. "In the recent Watts riots, one in every three Negroes was unemployed. They had nothing to do. No jobs. The world is against them so why shouldn't they be against the world? Why should they care?"

Wilkins said that the 1960's have been a period of turbulance, sit-ins, protests and birth of the song "We Shall Overcome" because the Brown school decision of 1954 was resisted rather than accepted. He said this resistance was marked chiefly by schools being desegregated at a rate of less than one per cent a year from 1954 to 1964.

"In 1966 the Supreme Court is still arguing over the illiteracy of Negroes because in 1936 and 1916 they didn't do their jobs in their home territory of seeing that Negroes had a decent education.

"If I've had one white man say to me I've had 500, 'You know, I had a colored boy in my class.' And that was supposed to prove desegregation was working. It doesn't prove anything of the sort."

He said that the greatest sin this country has committed against the Negro minority is the inequality of opportunity regarding public education.

Another subject Wilkins commented on at length was the treatment of Negroes in textbooks. "There is really no history of Negroes in textbooks. You never know Negroes contributed something. The expression that this is a 'white man's country' was rooted in the fact that nobody knew it was anybody else's country. Even the Negroes were saying that. Nothing is said about the Negroes' accomplishments."

(Continued on Page Five)

WILKINS LEADS NEGROES WELL

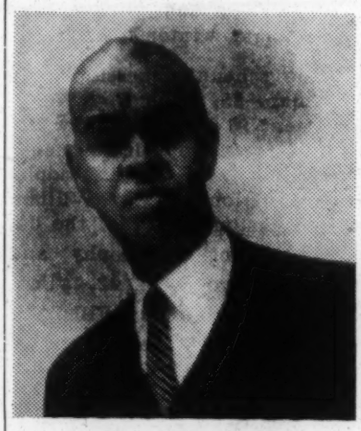
Roy Wilkins, national secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and quite a qualified representative of the civil rights movement spoke at the University Monday night. He was sponsored by the Southern Institute of Labor Education which was holding a meeting at the Georgia Center.

Wilkins, who represents the responsible Negro in America and whose organization has contributed most to the attainment of Negro rights by the legal and judicial processes, told the group that his race is tired of low paying jobs and that one of the only ways it can move ahead is through adequate education. Although the nation has done much over the last five years in providing Negroes the opportunity to an education equal to white students, there is still much to be desired, especially in the South.

And we feel Wilkins and the NAACP will see to it that Negroes receive even more opportunities by responsible, legal actions rather than riots and appeals to issues, such as Viet Nam, which are not even related to civil rights.

* * *

AN AMUSING ANCEDOTE: Attending the meeting Monday night at which Wilkins spoke were four members of Demosthenian who voted against a motion to invite Dr. Martin Luther King to address the literary society. It is reported that one of the four actually gave Wilkins a standing ovation after the civil rights leader's speech.



ROY WILKINS
Speaks at Center

WILKINS . . .

(Continued from Page One)

Mentioning the killings of Viola Liuzzo and the Rev. James Reeb, Wilkins movingly said, "How can you go home, get a gun, get in your car and go looking for people to kill like you're hunting elephants? As long as there are people like that, the race question won't be solved."

The nation is in a period of transition, Wilkins said. "You can't divide freedom. Individual freedom is there or it's not there. The Negro has been under a dark intensity of prejudice in every facet of his life. All the Negro wants is justice."

THE RED AND BLACK
UNIV. of GA.
1/20/66

Unionists Gather in Athens For Labor Studies of South

By MARY HUTCHERSON
Atlanta Journal Correspondent

ATHENS, Ga., Jan. 22—During the month of January a group of 21 trade unionists, a group intimately concerned with the progress of the labor movement in the South, is engaged in a program of intensive study which possibly could have far-reaching effects in the southern labor picture.

The men, representing a dozen southern states and ranging in age from 23 to 62, are all participants in the Southern Union Staff Institute, sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO, now in session at the Center for Continuing Education at the University of Georgia.

ACCORDING to George Guernsey, associate director of AFL-CIO Department of Education, Washington, and codirector of the Institute, the 21 participants represent 14 international trade unions. All are fulltime union men — organizers, business agents, service representatives — and their attendance at the NILE-sponsored institute is paid for by the various unions.

For six or seven hours a day, the men attend lectures, seminars, and discussions that range from southern labor history to civil rights to development of rapid reading skills.

INSTITUTE DIRECTOR, Dr. Emory F. Via, director of the labor program for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, explained that the institute objectives are, in general, to help the participants better their understanding of their society and of the various problems in the South and through this understanding to help them function more effectively.

And Mr. Guernsey added: "I think the labor movement is slowly recognizing that people need to be trained for this fulltime work, that they need to know more about society and especially true of the South. The reasoning behind this institute is the concern the labor movement has in trying to strengthen itself in the South."

THE PROGRAM at Georgia, Dr. Via noted, is the third in a series of three such institutes, the others having been held at the University of North Carolina and the University of Texas. And although tangible results of the previous programs are difficult to pin down, Mr. Guernsey called attention to three participants of the Texas program (which like this at Georgia dealt at some length with the war on poverty) who are now members of poverty war-community action boards in their own communities.

Thus, although the concern of the institute is primarily with the 21 participants, Dr. Via emphasized that, because what the labor movement does in the South and in the nation is of great importance to the public, labor education programs ultimately affect the public.

1966 NILE SOUTHERN STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

University of Georgia, Athens

STAFF FOR THE institute comes from all over the country. Prof. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas is teaching southern labor history. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, addressed the group earlier this week on civil rights.

Daniel Pollitt of the University of North Carolina School of Law will conduct sessions on labor law.

Reese Cleghorn of the Journal and Pat Watters, formerly of the Journal and now with the Southern Regional Council, will discuss changing voting patterns.

Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College in Atlanta, will participate in discussions of southern economic problems; and William Kircher, director of the organizing department of AFL-CIO, will discuss organizing.

IN ADDITION to the 18 or 20 visiting teachers and lecturers, a number of members of the University of Georgia faculty will take part in the institute.

"The southern labor movement is very concerned about training its people," Mr. Guernsey commented. And the month-long institutes such as this are "probably the best thing that has been done in long-range staff training."

1/27/64

Joe Mine Session

group response good —

interest in local labor ed.

was evident

group seemed to respond

to some degree loyalty to ~~[illegible]~~

institute when confronted with

visit from NILE director

Poker clique

good to excellent discussions on Sitin

in Co-op

AFL-CIO

Transmittal Slip

DATE: Jan. 27, 1966

TO: Emory Via

FROM: Marvin Friedman

☐ Note and File	☐ Prepare Reply For My Signature
☐ Note and Return To Me	☐ Take Appropriate Action
☐ Return With More Details	☐ Per Your Request
☐ Note and See Me About This	☐ Signature
☐ Please Answer	☐ Advice Please
☐ For Your Approval	☐ Attach Complete File and Return

COMMENTS:

Summary of the Economics Course

There were three major areas covered during the week -- (1) the need for, and the factors that lead to, economic growth, (2) imports and exports, and (3) the concepts and measurements of employment and unemployment.

In discussing economic growth we went into the growth of the population and the labor force, the impact of increases in productivity on employment and labor costs, and the major components of Gross National Product -- spending for consumption, spending for investment and spending by governments. We discussed the possible impact on GNP of various policies -- for example, a tax cut, increased spending by government, an increase in the minimum wage, etc. -- as means of achieving and/or maintaining an adequate rate of economic growth.

The discussion on imports and exports was unplanned -- at least insofar as the amount of time that was consumed. However, since there were some misconceptions about the role of trade and its impact on the American economy, it was time well spent. We discussed here the difference between hourly wages and unit labor costs in the U.S. and foreign nations, and the fact that the U.S. exports more than it imports.

The discussion on employment and unemployment concepts and measurements involved, in the main, explaining the monthly household survey. In addition to helping the group to understand the source of so much of our basic data on the labor force, employment and unemployment, this

discussion pointed out that roughly 50 percent of the unemployed are not collecting unemployment insurance, and that people who "really don't want to work" are not counted as unemployed. It also helped to point out that unemployment is greater than the published statistics would indicate because, for example, part-time workers (even one hour) are counted as employed, and workers who may be discouraged and therefore do not actively seek employment are excluded from the unemployment figure.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

February 9, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I'm beginning to plow out from under. I got home okay and hope to work on a story for the AFL-CIO News sometime this week.

Needless to say, I enjoyed working with you for the month. It's quite an exciting experience to be with 21 full-time guys from the South for a month. It will probably keep me alive for the next six months at which time I'll look around for another one-month program.

I'm enclosing a story on reapportionment in Colorado which I thought would interest you.

I'll be writing to you again shortly.

Sincerely yours,

George

George T. Guernsey
Assistant Director of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosure

The News is using a pix this week. Still hopal to get a one-page pix featurel later!

Unemployment Rate at Nine-Year Low

AFL-CIO News

Vol. XI | Issued weekly at 815 Sixteenth St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006 $2 a year | Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. | Saturday, February 12, 1966 | No. 7

Senate Drops 14(b) Repeal, Meany Condemns Dirksen

Jobless Rate Declines to 4 Percent

By Robert B. Cooney

The nation's jobless rate finally reached the elusive "irreducible" goal of 4 percent in January, the Labor Dept. has reported. It is the lowest rate in nearly nine years.

The department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, in reporting the decline from 4.1 percent in De-

Filibuster Tactics Labeled 'Shabby'

By David L. Perlman

The Senate dropped its effort to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act after failing to break the Dirksen filibuster.

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield conceded defeat after his cloture motions to limit debate fell short of the two-thirds majority required by Senate rules. The first vote, Feb. 8, was 51-48 for cloture. An anticlimactic second vote two days later was 50-49 to limit debate.

As AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany put it, the cloture vote "conclusively proves that a majority of the Senate favors repeal of 14(b) and will so vote if

Permanent 'GI Bill'

Meany Condemns Dirksen

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By Robert B. Cooney

The nation's jobless rate fi- ly reached the elusive "in- m" goal of 4 percent in Jan- y, the Labor Dept. has re- ted. It is the lowest rate in rly nine years.

The department's Bureau of bor Statistics, in reporting the line from 4.1 percent in De- nber, attributed the steady im- vement in the job picture over past year to "the very substan- growth in consumer demand."

Economic Step-Up

The January rate reflected "the pped-up pace of economic ac- ty," the report said, with both post-Christmas drop in jobs and usual rise in unemployment less n seasonally anticipated.

Unemployment rose over the onth by 400,000 to 3.3 million; e expected seasonal rise was 00,000. Employment declined 1.5 million, about 200,000 less an expected, to 71.2 million.

The 4 percent jobless rate for uary means 40 of every 1,000 rkers in the labor force were ac- ly seeking work and could not d it.

Of the 3.3 million unemployed, million are adult men, 1 million lt women and 775,000 teen- rs. The report said nearly all jobless men, 80 percent of the

(Continued on Page 8)

ederal Court trikes Down exas Poll Tax

Austin, Tex.—A three-judge fed- al court invalidated the Texas poll x, terming it "an unjustified re- iction of one of the most basic hts."

The constitutional challenge ad been brought by the Justice ept. under instructions of the 5 Voting Rights Act, which s a congressional finding poll taxes put an "un- hardship" on poor no "legitimate state ave been used to n voting.

pending in d Virginia, ose a tax l elec-

SOUTHERN STAFF institute held by the National Institute of Labor Education at the University of Georgia, Athens, drew 21 full-time representatives from 14 international unions. Shown during a conference between sessions are, from left, Ray Marshall of the University of Texas; Michael Volk of the Auto Workers; John Jennings of the Transport Service Employes; Dir. Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights and James Stewart of the Laborers. The institute was co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education.

Economic Report Hit:

Wage Policy Termed 'Negative, Unfair'

The wage policy of the President's Council of Economic Advisers "is extremely negative and grossly unfair," the AFL-CIO told a congressional committee.

The council has not only displayed a "callous disregard for fairness" in calculating the wage-price guideposts, the federation declared, but "is once again asking workers to bear the burden of fighting inflation."

The AFL-CIO's views on the council's economic report were outlined in a statement to the Joint Congressional Economic Committee by AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Walter P. Reuther, chairman of the federation's Economic Policy Committee. The statement was presented by AFL-CIO Research Dir. Nathaniel Goldfinger.

The current economic situation, the federation declared, requires the adoption of a "positive wage policy designed to provide workers with greater purchasing power and to establish a more balanced distribution of national income." This is a matter of "compelling importance," the statement said, yet the "wage policy proposed by the Council of Economic Advisers is extremely negative and grossly unfair."

The council's economic report, the statement continued, "provides a host of reasons for avoiding panic about wage pressures." But despite all this evidence the council revised its method of figuring wage-price guideposts "in an attempt to repress wages."

Declaring there was "no justification" for setting a 3.2 percent guidepost on wage increases for

(Continued on Page 6)

Filibuster Tactics Labeled 'Shabby'

By David L. Perlman

The Senate dropped its effort to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act after failing to break the Dirksen filibuster.

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield conceded defeat after his cloture motions to limit debate fell short of the two-thirds majority required by Senate rules. The first vote, Feb. 8, was 51-48 for cloture. An anticlimactic second vote two days later was 50-49 to limit debate.

As AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany put it, the cloture vote "conclusively proves that a majority of the Senate favors repeal of 14(b) and will so vote if permitted to do so." He added:

"The AFL-CIO is, of course, deeply disappointed that the democratic process in the Senate has been thwarted by the shabby parliamentary tactics of Sen. Dirksen and a minority of senators. Our future plans will be discussed at the next AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting which will open on Feb. 21."

The actual majority for repeal was known to be higher than the cloture vote since several senators traditionally opposed to cloture have said they would support the repeal bill. And one strong repeal supporter, Michigan's Pat McNamara (D), was in the hospital during the two votes.

Actually the Senate never even got to the stage of considering the House-passed repeal bill. As happened last fall, Senate Republican Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen mounted a filibuster against Mansfield's routine motion to make the repeal bill the business before the Senate.

The frustrations of the two-and-a-half week filibuster broke through the usual clublike camaraderie of the Senate as the cloture showdown vote approached.

Mansfield, pale from a sickbed

(Continued on Page 7)

Permanent 'GI Bill' Enacted

Congress passed its first major legislation of the new session—a permanent GI Bill of Rights including educational and housing benefits for all persons serving at least six months in the armed forces. Eligibility will date back to Jan. 31, 1955, when the benefit program set up for Korean War veterans expired.

The House and Senate votes were unanimous, speeding the measure to the President. The House quickly agreed to the single Senate amendment. A similar bill, with somewhat bigger benefits, passed the Senate last year with strong support from labor and veterans' groups.

Although the Senate sidetracked its own bill in favor of the House version, the legislation was a major victory for Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough (D.-Tex.), longtime sponsor of a "Cold War GI Bill of Rights." Yarborough over the years bucked the opposition of three Administrations to push the program.

House Veterans Affairs Chair-

(Continued on Page 6)

Unions in Labor Board Elections Given Right to Roster of Employes

The National Labor Relations Board has adopted a new rule requiring employers to furnish, for union use, names and addresses of employes eligible to vote in any representation election it schedules.

The rule requires management to provide the employe roster within seven days of board action setting an election date.

The unanimous decision of the five-member NLRB was reached Feb. 6 to become effective 30 days later.

The board refused to set aside the results of elections lost by unions which had earlier been denied a list of names and addresses by employers.

The ruling went part way in meeting the request of the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions for improvement in NLRB election rules. The board, however, ruling in two related "captive audience" cases, rejected union requests for a rule requiring equal time for unions to address employes on premises used by an employer to defeat union organizing attempts.

Calling union attention to the new names-and-addresses rule, the board said it should "provide employes with increased opportunity for communication from all sides in pre-election campaigning."

The board therefore deferred reconsideration of other present rules—which do not usually permit

(Continued on Page 7)

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United Transport Service Employees

AFFILIATED WITH THE AFL-CIO
815 RED CROSS STREET
WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF
DIRECTOR
SOUTHEASTERN REGION

February 17, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
NILE Southern Union Staff Institute
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

I want to express my appreciation for the guidance you gave me during my stay at the University of Georgia, Center for Continuing Education, as a student of the Southern Union Staff Institute. This was a great experience for me; although, I have attended smaller union staff schools for a number of years. They usually lasted from one to two weeks.

These schools in my opinion, in no way can be compared with NILE Southern Staff Labor Institute, and the ability of the chosen faculty to get the message over to the students. Again, I want to thank you and Brother George Guernsey for the splendid way you both handled the men and all the difficult situations with such wonderful dignity and without discrimination against anyone.

Mr. Via, I have not received the pictures that I ordered. Will you kindly check into this matter for me and find out the trouble and let me know.

Again, many thanks for a wonderful labor school and a wonderful Staff. With best wishes, I remain

Very truly yours,

John W. Jennings

John W. Jennings
UTSE, Regional Director

JWJ/ejs

cc: Mr. George T. Guernsey

AREA CODE 919
762-0584

561

United Transport Service Employees

AFFILIATED WITH THE AFL-CIO
815 RED CROSS STREET
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Very truly yours,

John W. Jennings

John W. Jennings
UTSE, Regional Director

JWJ/ejs

cc: Mr. George T. Guernsey

March 1, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Emory;

I recieved your letter & was pleased to hear from you. I have recieved the reading manual & have worked with it as times has permitted.

Emory [simply to say I enjoyed the school sounds dry, but I did very much. I feel that I gained quite a lot from it. Too it gave me some basics & guide lines to seek answers to other questions relative to the same subjects.] Again let me say thanks for your help & I look forward to seeing you when I get back to Atlanta.

Sincerely
Greg Johnson

P.S. I saw your picture in the I.L.G.W.U. paper.

Amy Johnson

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Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St N.W.
Atlanta Ga. 30303

Att: Mr. Emory Via.

E. T. MICHAEL
DIRECTOR, REGION 8
REGIONAL OFFICE
525 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE 2, MARYLAND

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA • UAW

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LEONARD WOODCOCK . VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE . . . VICE-PRESIDENT

PHONE: 855-2880

IN REPLY REFER TO:
FLORIDA UAW AREA OFFICE
1825 W. OAK RIDGE ROAD
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

March 2, 1966

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

My reactions regarding the recently concluded National Institute of Labor Education Program held at the University of Georgia remains unchanged. I am just as enthusiastic about the program now as I was on the last day at our luncheon.

My first day at school, I was prepared to remain aloof from any representative who did not have a former C.I.O. affiliation. I had a built-in prejudice which I knew would not be dispelled during my stay at the Institute. I felt that the only dedicated representatives in the Labor movement came from the C.I.O. and particularly from my union, the U.A.W. How long can a guy stay on the wrong track? Thanks to the N.I.L.E. Program I was not only able to get rid of my prejudice but in addition, I was pleasantly surprised to find how willingly the representatives from other international unions extended their hand of friendship and brotherhood and my response to them, I must add that George Guernseys hospitality room helped a lot in this area.

Last week Wally, one of the I.B.E.W. representatives called me from Mississippi, just to say "hello" and chat a bit. This most certainly was a carry-over from the school.

What a wonderful opportunity this was - not only to get an education but also to make new friends that can only help to solidify our labor movement.

A few comments about the program itself: I thought the first week was tought as hell but in thinking it over I believe it is necessary to do this in order to get the representatives' minds off the problems in their locals, so that the learning processes can set in.

In the beginning I felt that duration of the program was much too long. At the start of the last week I would not have been unhappy if the program had been extended. I do not propose to name anyone in particular but the caliber of instructors who conducted the various classes would be difficult to improve upon.

They came prepared and knew their subjects exceptionally well.

I thought the program was of great benefit to both servicing and organizational representatives who had been on the staff of their international unions for just a few years.

Shown what to do, or what not to do, without the need for trial and error on basic problems enabled these students to bridge the gap of many years of experience which our labor movement had to gain the hard way, of trial and error. The new approaches in organizing, servicing, civil rights, labor law, economics, community services, education, government, and international affairs were interesting and educational to me and all the students. Punctual and a perfect attendance record throughout the entire four-week program, in my opinion, is very unusual and speaks well of the program.

I talked to my boss last week (Brother E. T. Michael, Director in Region #8.) I told him about the school and the program. He was very interested in the school's activities.

International union educational programs for staff and leadership in my opinion are very essential and necessary and tend to bring the International Union and its members closer together. However, they are limited in scope and the opportunity to discuss problems and exchange ideas on what the whole labor movement is all about does not exist in a limited educational program. It would be most unfortunate if programs such as N.I.L.E. were discontinued. It would be Labor's loss.

I am very grateful that I had the opportunity to attend the Institute and my Mrs. wants to thank both you and George Guernsey for letting her participate.

With sincere and best wishes,

Michael Volk

Michael Volk
International Representative, UAW

MV/dlg

opeiu46aflcio

P.S. Thank you for the reading manuel.

cc: E. T. Michael
George T. Guernsey
John Yolton

Via

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

NA. 8-3870

FOR RELEASE: AM PAPERS, MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1966

The AFL-CIO, in cooperation with the University of West Virginia, will train 100 local union officers from the 11 Appalachian states to help in the fight against poverty in that area, George Guernsey, assistant director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education, announced in an interview on AS WE SEE IT, AFL-CIO public service program, heard on the ABC national radio network (Sunday, 12 noon, EST).

The program will be sponsored by the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council, headed by Miles Stanley, assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany, and the university. Union officers will alternate classes at the university with working on local problems beginning in April and continuing into the fall, Guernsey reported.

The AFL-CIO Department of Education has just completed a series of three month-long Southern Staff Training Institutes to help meet the problems of the new South, Guernsey said. The institutes were held at the University of Georgia, the University of North Carolina, and the University of Texas, and were attended by 57 full-time southern staff members from 18 states.

"One of the reasons I think we were able to have general institutes with international unions cooperating is because of the race problem in the South, and the need to solve it," the AFL-CIO spokesman declared. "But I think, by and large, the growing community responsibility of international representatives is coming to the front."

As an indication of the varied union activites and interests, Guernsey told of a typical day in which labor officers interviewed the president of the League of Women Voters on the problems of urban renewal, talked with the head of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Athens, Georgia, met with the Northeastern Georgia poverty director, spoke with the Athens assistant superintendent of schools on public school desegregation, and conferred with the head of the Athens National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Union officers in each institute attended classes from 9 to 12 noon, from 2 to 4 p.m., and three nights a week from 7:30 to 9, for a month. University professors, from the University of Texas, the University of North Carolina, Clark College in Atlanta, and Michigan State University, were among those who taught in Athens. In addition, the AFL-CIO sent Guernsey; Don Slaiman, director of the Civil Rights Department; Alan Kistler, from the Department of Organization, and Marvin Friedman, from the Department of Research.

Roy Wilkins, president of the NAACP, was sponsored for a talk at the university, and spoke to an overflow crowd of faculty and students. He remained to answer questions for 45 minutes.

# # #

AS WE SEE IT
AFL-CIO Public Service Program

Sunday, March 6, 1966
American Broadcasting Company

SUBJECT: "Training for the New South"

PARTICIPANT: George Guernsey, Assistant Director, AFL-CIO Department of Education

MODERATOR: Harry W. Flannery

Time: 14:00

FLANNERY: AS WE SEE IT.

To help meet the new problems of the South in civil rights and other areas, full-time staff representatives of unions with locals in the South have been going to school. The latest month-long Southern Staff Training Institute was held at the University of Georgia in Athens, Georgia.

To tell about the institute and its purposes, here is one of the instructors, George Guernsey, assistant director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education. He is interviewed by your reporter, Harry W. Flannery, for this radio station of the ABC network and the AFL-CIO.

First, George, tell me what five men were doing on one day in late January in Athens.

GUERNSEY: Fred Correy from the Textile Workers Union, based in Chattanooga, Tennessee, was interviewing the president of the League of Women Voters on the problems of urban renewal. Virgil Stokes, a national representative of the Painters Union from Shreveport, Louisiana, was talking to the head of the Neighborhood Youth Corps of Athens, Georgia. Fred Robinson, a representative of the IBEW, who makes his home in Rome, Georgia, was meeting with the Northeastern Georgia poverty director finding out how the new community action program in Athens was going. And Albert Robinson, a Negro business agent for the Laborers' Union from Mobile, Alabama, was sitting with three other delegates from our institute, interviewing the assistant superintendent of schools of Athens on the progress that had been made in desegregating the public schools. And, finally, a veteran of many labor struggles, Mike Volk of the UAW, who incidentally came out of the sit-down strikes but now based in Florida, was meeting with a Negro minister who happened to be head of the NAACP in Athens, discussing with him the power structure of the community.

FLANNERY: This was all connected with a particular project. What was the name of this project?

GUERNSEY: This was the Southern Staff Training Institute. We have had three of these; they are sponsored cooperatively by the National Institute of Labor Education, a private organization, and the AFL-CIO Education Department and the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. The National Institute of Labor Education has a small foundation grant that helps to pay part of the cost of the institute. The institute at the University of Georgia, held from January 7 to February 4, was directed by Emory Via from the Southern Regional Council, incidentally, on leave from the Wisconsin School for Workers, and myself. We had 21 full-time southern staff representatives from 14 international unions representing 13 states. They were there for a solid month, going to class from 9 to 12 in the morning, from 2 to 4 in the afternoon and three nights a week from 7:30 to 9. Now, this is a pretty intensive study program.

FLANNERY: Who were the professors?

GUERNSEY: Some of the distinguished professors that we had were people like Professor Ray Marshall of the University of Texas; Professor Dan Pollitt, former administrative assistant to Frank McCulloch of the NLRB, from the law faculty of the University of North Carolina; president Vivian Henderson, the new president of Clark College in Atlanta, and Professor Russell Allen of Michigan State University. Along with these distinguished academics, we also had our own staff: Don Slaiman, director of the Civil Rights

Department, spent a whole week teaching some of the backgrounds on the new laws and the problems of civil rights; we had Alan Kistler from our own organizing department here at the AFL-CIO, and Marvin Friedman, from our research department, dealing with national economic problems. And even a busy man like Joe Keenan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, came down and opened the institute on Sunday night, January 7.

FLANNERY: I believe you brought Roy Wilkins there, too, the president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

GUERNSEY: Roy was one of the outstanding resources that we were able to bring to this institute. We sponsored a public meeting for him at the university. This is the first time that a distinguished Negro leader has spoken at the University of Georgia. We were a little worried about how many students and faculty members would turn out in a hall that would hold about 300, but I am happy to report that the hall was over-flowing, and when our 21 delegates were introduced to the group as part of the meeting, they got a good round of applause. Not only did Roy do a public meeting and spend three-quarters of an hour answering questions, he also did a two-hour session for our own delegates on some of the ways in which labor and civil rights groups can build toward their common goals, especially in the South.

Another program which I thought was quite interesting was a program using two resources from the state of Mississippi. First, our own Claude Ramsay, the President of the Mississippi AFL-CIO and, secondly, Aaron Henry, the head of the NAACP in Mississippi. This program, which went for about two hours in the evening dealt with the practical problems of building a coalition with Negro and labor groups in the South, especially in the political field. I think they got a lot of concrete help out of this program and I think our delegates will be able to do a better job on the coalition in the South.

FLANNERY: What are you trying to do, generally? You are talking about doing a better job in the coalition in the South, and you had an organizing man there, you had a civil rights man there. What is the broad picture of your effort in connection with this National Institute of Labor Education, George?

GUERNSEY: I think what we are trying to do in this one month is to give about half the time to what we call the tool subjects -- the bread-and-butter subjects -- subjects like arbitration, organizing, effective political action and then half the time to broad problems of the South. For instance, Ray Marshall taught a course in Southern labor history; Vivian Henderson taught a course in Southern economics. These are the kinds of things that we feel southern staff members need to understand better if they are going to function in the South.

Every once in a while we wonder whether anything effective grows out of this kind of a program. I was thinking a little bit about three or four delegates that attended our institute at the University of Texas in 1965. Two of those delegates had three sessions on the poverty program and I remember them discussing whether or not this would be of any value to them. One of them, a CWA representative from South Carolina . . .

FLANNERY: That's Communications Workers of America.

GUERNSEY: is now on the poverty board in Columbia, South Carolina, and another, an International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers representative in Mississippi is on the community action board of a small town in Mississippi where they are developing a poverty program. Another delegate from one of the institutes has been tremendously effective in working with the Negro community in the state of Tennessee and was one of the key workers in helping to election Ross Bass to the Senate. A third delegate -- and I am not sure we taught him this -- but he won an election in Memphis for 400 workers and a new local has been set up and we would like to

think that we at least helped him to learn how to organize more effectively in this institute.

FLANNERY: What kind of local is this, George?

GUERNSEY: This is a local of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Stores -- I think it is a cotton compress group.

FLANNERY: You have had more than one institute, I am gathering from what you are saying now. How many have you had?

GUERNSEY: In the last four years, we have had three institutes -- all sponsored jointly with the National Institute of Labor Education. The first was held in 1963 at the University of North Carolina, where we had 18 delegates -- all southern staff members. The second was held at the University of Texas in February, 1965, where, again, we had 18 delegates -- all from the South. And then our third one at Georgia where we just finished with 21 delegates. This means, Harry, that in the period of about 3½ years, we have trained 57 full-time southern staff members in this one month program. They have come from 18 states; some of them are from outside the South but they work in and service southern states and we have had approximately 22 international unions cooperating in the programs.

FLANNERY: Are you planning further programs?

GUERNSEY: At this time the grants from the foundations to the National Institute of Labor Education have run out, but we feel, in the AFL-CIO, that these programs have been so valuable that we are quite certain, one way or another, the program will go on. When you get 57 people who are willing to spend one month in a fairly rarified atmosphere studying the problems that are facing the labor movement and the nation, I think you have something that you can't let go of and we ought to go on with it.

I would like to emphasize that these southern staff people are confronted with new kinds of problems. One of the reasons I think we are able to get a general institute with various international unions cooperating is because of the race problem in the South and the need to solve this generally. But I think, by and large, the growing community responsibility of international representatives is coming to the front and some of the training that we are doing in the South is helping to get us representation on the various boards and the various committees. So, I would assume that some how or another this will go on.

FLANNERY: The community action part of it is one of the most important aspects, I imagine. Is that true, George?

GUERNSEY: Oh, yes. When we go back to my five men that I introduced you to at the beginning of the program, one of the things that was interesting is that not very many of them thought that these community projects would be valuable. And we had to push them a little to get them out into the community and talking to the representatives of the various agencies in Athens. One of the interesting things is probably that 30 community leaders in Athens were interviewed by our representatives in these projects. All of our representatives identified themselves as being from the labor movement and all but two of the representatives who were interviewed were friendly to the labor movement, were very helpful and commented that this was an activity that labor ought to engage in more. I think we did ourselves a lot of good in the community.

FLANNERY: George, I understand that you have another program contemplated in West Virginia and in the states around West Virginia. What is this?

GUERNSEY: Well, it is a new program in the Appalachian region which is being sponsored by the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council, headed by Miles Stanley (Assistant to AFL-CIO President Meany) and the University of West Virginia. The poverty program has made a grant of approximately a quarter of a million dollars to train local

union people in the Appalachian region to do an effective job in fighting poverty. During this next year, we will train 100 local union officers from the 11 Appalachian states in four one-week programs. In other words, they will come in the first part of April for a week, they will go back home and work a couple of weeks on the problem, they will come back into the university the last part of April, they will then go back into their communities and work for four or five months and then in the Fall we will bring them in for a third week and finally a fourth week. There will be three members of the University of West Virginia staff who will follow through in working with these people in their local communities.

FLANNERY: Thank you, George Guernsey, assistant director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education.

Your reporter, Harry W. Flannery, invites you to be with us next week at this same time when AS WE SEE IT again comes as a presentation of the AFL-CIO and ABC public affairs. This program has been brought to you by the ABC network and the affiliated station to which you are listening.

MEMO FROM

GEORGE GUERNSEY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
AFL-CIO
815-16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

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1818 Dumesnil Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir. Dept. of Education
815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
MAR 8

Dear Prof. Guernsey:

First, let me express my gratitude and appreciation for your guidance and assistance with the NILE institute. Now, I know how unprepared I am in trying to tackle the great task of trying to promote Labor programs and also trying to perform the duties of my union and international union; however, I feel that with the knowledge, experience, and insight that I obtained from the institute, I have grown from a mouse to an elephant. I have no fear now when I attempt to converse with business and management pertaining to any labor problems and activities in trying to strengthen our organization. The institute has proved beneficial in my every day work to the highest.

Start

I also think your selection of staff for the institute were of the finest; I haven't the words to express my thanks to you for accepting my application as a participant of the institute; I am very grateful for the sacrifice that you and Dr. Via are making to promote a better way of life for all mankind. I have my report ready to deliver to the membership at our next union meeting this month. I also thank you for the additional material that you sent to me.

Yes, I miss the other union representatives very much, most of all (Robbie's snoring) smile, and I think that Wally was watching for the laborers to raid his jurisdiction and the Operating Engineers slipped in the back door down at Miami. (smile)

I was very enthusiased to see that my picture was on the front page of the AFL-CIO News. The address that you have for me is fine. I sincerely hope that I have the pleasure of meeting you again soon. I was supposed to be in Washington, D. C. for the Building Trades Conference from March 20 to 24, but turned thumbs down in order to catch up on my home work.

Let me say again, it was a great experience to attend the NILE institute at the University of Georgia and I know that the Education Department of the AFT-CIO has made a great step in the right direction in sponsoring these institutes on Labor education and organized Labor will soon reap the harvest.

Increased activities haven't permitted me to pass judgment on the Hangman, but I know that if a "Guernsey" had anything to do with it, it would have to be good.

Sincerely yours,

James Stewart

James Stewart

March 9, 1966

Mr. Herbert Cope
District Manager
Mayfield District
S.W. Regional Joint Board
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
202½ South 6th Street
Mayfield, Kentucky 42066

Dear Hub:

Thanks for the copy of your release on the Southern Union Staff Institute. It was very good to have your comments.

Please let me know if I can be of any service to you in the future.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

RICHARD BRAZIER
Vice-President
Director

WM. C. HALL
Regional Manager

NICK J. MARSELLA
Asst. Regional Manager

HERBERT COPE
District Manager

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
General President

FRANK ROSENBLUM
General Secretary-Treasurer

HYMAN BLUMBERG
Executive Vice-President

MAYFIELD DISTRICT
SOUTHWEST REGIONAL JOINT BOARD
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
AFL - CIO
202½ South 6th St. Mayfield, Ky. 42066 CH. 7-4714

Copy for Meyl

177

UNION LEADERS FROM SEVERAL STATE GATHER IN ATHENS GEORGIA FOR A MONTHS STUDY OF LABOR IN THE SOUTH

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Setting in classes with these men under the leadership of Emery Via and George Guernsey, was a wonderful experience for me. The course had such able teachers as Ray Marshall, who taught Labor History in the South, Don Slayman, who held classes on Civil rights, and Marvin Freidman who taught economics, along with Russell Allen, who discussed Arbitration. Also Hazel Simpon taught reading, and Roy Wilkins spoke on the Nation Stake in civil rights.

It was a wonderful month at the University of Georgia and it will live a long time in my heart and mind. When you put all the things we studied into one big bundle, it is worth a lot to me in my every day dealing with people and in my association with the plant superintendent. I believe I am now better qualified to perform my duties than I was before I attended Nile Institute.All of the classes were very educational, but if you were to ask which class I enjoyed most, I guess I would say Ray Marshall --History of the South, and Russell Allen--Arbitration.

Herb Cope

learning has no ~~age~~ limit

GEORGIA CENTER For CONTINUING EDUCATION

university of georgia/athens

March 11, 1966 30601

Dr. Emory Via
Director of Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

More than a month has passed since the SOUTHERN STAFF INSTITUTE at the Georgia Center. It was a real pleasure for me to meet and mingle with the group. There is no doubt that the meaningfulness of the experience for me was greatly enhanced through your efforts.

Thank you again and come back to see us when you get over this way.

Sincerely,

Chester

Chester W. Leathers
Supervisor
Department of Conferences

CWL:vw

Note address change

on 2nd Sheet.

Return this for me.

March 14, 1966

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Department of Education AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

Enclosed you will find a copy of my report and comments on the NILE Institute held at Athens, Georgia. I realize that this report is somewhat late however since I have returned I have been busier than a cat trying to cover up on a tin roof.

The Representative who was relieving me had illness in his family and did not get to service my area, and this put me further and further behind. Since I have been back I have been mostly negotiating contracts. However, I do have two (2) organizing drives going on;one at the Dupont Plant and one at Delta Cylinder Co.

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I have appreciated your correspondence and information, and certainly would like to have off the record discussions as we sometimes engaged in while in Athens. Has your son's record moved up any on the hit parade? I hope it hits the top. I will be in Atlanta sometime during the first three (3) weeks in June, and will try to get hold of Emory Via for a visit.

I will be in St. Louis for the OCAW Staff Meeting the week of April 17th.

With every good wish in your new adventures.

Sincerely and fraternally

Hugh Owen
International Rep. OCAW

HO/mb

P.S. On my return from the Institute along with the heavy schedule I have moved. My new address is 2371 Whitney, Memphis.

HO

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union

INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE

March 14, 1966

Mr. A. F. Grospiron, President
Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers
International Union
P. O. Box 2812
Denver, Colorado 80201

Subject: Report on Southern Union
Staff Training Institute

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am attempting to give you a report of the impressions pro and con that the Southern Union Staff Training Institute sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in collaboration with the Department of Education, AFL-CIO, and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO, which was held at the Continuing Education Center at the University of Georgia from January 9, 1966 through February 4, 1966.

I had the honor of attending and representing our Union at this Institute, and here I had the pleasure of meeting many International Representatives from other International Unions and making new friends in labor.

On Sunday January 9, 1966 between 2:00 p.m and 5:00 p.m. we began to register in and be assigned to rooms. I was assigned to a dormitory type room sharing it with two (2) other International Representatives. One of these men was Herb Cope, with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who was from Mayfield, Kentucky; and the other was John Jennings, who is affiliated with the United Transportation Service Employees from North Carolina. All the Representatives who were attending this Institute were on the same floor in one wing, which made it possible for us to stay in close contact and made it possible for us to have many discussions concerning the projects and union problems after class.

On Sunday afternoon at 6:00 p.m. we all had dinner together with Joseph Kenan, who is affiliated with the IBEW and who presented the opening speech of the Institute, with remarks from Emory Via, Institute Director and Director of the Labor Programs of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and George Guernsey, Institute Co-Director and Associate Director of the Educational Department of the AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C.

On Monday January 10, 1966 classes began at 9:00 a.m. and ran through 12:00 noon with coffee break in the middle of the morning. Classes reconvened after lunch at 2:00 and ran through 4:00 p.m.

During the four (4) weeks of courses approximately three (3) nights a week we had additional classes from 7:30 to 9:00 p.m.

One of our classes was conducted by Marvin Freidman, Assistant Director of the Research Department of the AFL-CIO. Brother Freidman's class was on Economics in which he brought out many good points on how Unions affected the economics of our country and how we could use these in negotiating and organizing. Brother Freidman did an excellent job in breaking this course down into layman's language, and keeping the interest of all the students. I feel that myself and all the students gained much from this course.

Professor Hazel Simpson, Associate Professor of the Department of Education of the Univesity of Georgia in Athens, taught a two (2) week course in Skills of Reading. This course usually takes about six (6) weeks, but Professor Simpson tried to put it all into the two (2) weeks. I feel that this course pointed out to many of us how we might improve in our reading. However, in my opinion more could have been gained if Professor Simpson had been alloted more time in the Institute.

Professor Allen Russell taught a week's course in Arbitrations and Grievances in which many good points were brought out. The climax of the course was when the students were divided into two (2)groups. One group representing the Company and one group representing the Union; we then had and arbitration. My part in this activity was the aggrieved employee and I might add that the Union won this case.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director of the Southern Council, Inc., talked with us on the South in the Mid 60s. His talk was quite interesting on how the south was beginning to change and I am sure many of us received points that can be used in the future.

Professor Ray Marshall, with the Department of Economics at the University of Texas, taught a class on Southern Labor History. This class lasted two (2) weeks, and I was amazed by the information that Professor Marshall had on the south that would be helpful to all International Unions. In my opinion he is a well qualified man to teach Southern Labor History from beginning to end. Professor Marshall also taught a class which was titled Trends in Collective Bargaining. However, this subject was not covered to the extent I would like to have seen it covered because of a lack of alloted time. Professor Marshall taught a third (3) class which was titled Labor's Future in the South in which he came forth with many good ideals and theories and has great hope for labor in the south, which I feel that he backed up with facts to show us if we move in the right direction we can accomplish our goals.

The beginning of the second week a class on Civil Rights was started headed by Donald Slaiman, Director of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. During this course we had many guests. We had the honor of meeting Mr. Roy Wilkins, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whom in my opinion many people should have the opportunity to meet and talk with. We had a night session in the Auditorium which was open to the public and it overwhelmed me to see the crowd of students, faculty and other people who attended. Mr. Wilkins topic that evening was the National Stake in Civil Rights. After his talk he had a question and answer period, which he handled himself in an excellent manner. We had several other speakers on Civil Rights who were Randolph Blackwell with the Southern Christian Leadership, Walter Davis with Equal Opportunity. Brother Slaiman, who was teaching the class on Civil Rights, had many good points and explained thoroughly how the Civil Rights Act affected labor, but as a Professor teaching a class it was hard for him to hold the interest of the students because some were not interested in the subject, but in my opinion mostly because of the manner of his delivery.

Professor Dan Pollitt, Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina, taught a class in Labor Law. Professor Pollitt also serves on a committee for the Senate in drawing up changes concerning the Labor Relations Laws. This course was very informative, but didn't go quite as far as I would like to have seen it however it could be be that I was looking for too many answers that weren't there.

Professor Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College in Atlanta, Georgia, taught a class on Southern Economics. Professor Henderson did an excellent job in breaking down the economics in the south; showing up where Unions could have a big hand in changes in the south. However, this course overlapped some with Professor Marshall and Brother Freidman, but many points were brought out by Professor Henderson that the other courses did not cover and will be beneficial in organizing and negotiating in the south.

Wilbur Hobby, Dan Powell and Phil Wheatman from the Political Education Department of the AFL-CIO were scheduled for sessions but due to weather and icy conditions they were unable to reach the Institute. This time was taken up by showing movies on labor and discussions with the Professors and teachers that were there.

Allen Kistler out of the Organizing Department of the AFL-CIO, assisted by Jim Pierce, head of the organizing in the south for IUD, taught a class in Organizing. Many good points were brought out in organizing showing how some of the organizing drives have failed in the south in the past.

Emory Via taught a class on American Politics. It was quite interesting. A class was also taught in Changing Voting system and Negro Voters Organizing and forming Coallitions with Unions. This was taught by Vernon Jordan with Voting Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Pat Watters, Director of Information of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and Reese Cleghorn, Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal,

Aaron Henry, President of the Mississippi State NAACP, Claude Ramsey, President of the Mississippi State AFL-CIO and Mr. Jordan gave talks on negro voters organizing after which they were open for questions and answers, which proved to be very interesting and informative.

George Guernsey taught a course on Political Issues, which was quite informative and many questions were raised in this course. Brother Guernsey kept us going on political issues and other subjects concerning the union movement before and after class, breakfast, lunch and dinner. You could say that after regular classes Brother Guernsey's Institute began, which was very informative and educational.

A class was also taught on Southern State Governments by Prof. William Collins of the University of Georgia. In his class, which in my opinion was too short, he brought out how the southern states tie up action with movements and red tape.

While at this Institute we divided into groups of three (3) and four (4) and were given projects. On my project there were three (3) other men that picked the same title and they were Gene Gore, affiliated with the AFL-CIO IUD, Guy Johnson, affiliated with the International Chemical Workers Union and Albert Robinson, affiliated with the Laborers International Union. Our project was on how the Athens area faced the problems of integration of the grade schools and high schools and what progress had been made in the desegregation of the school system. We found that great progress had been made without too much disturbance even though the Klan was very active in trying to keep this from happening.

In closing this report I would like to say it was a great honor and previlege for me to attend this Institute. The accommodations at the University were excellent and I wholeheartedly approve of the sharing of rooms with other representatives regardless of race, creed and color. Many good ideals were exchanged on off duty times. I hope that I will be able to use the information and knowlege that I have received at this Institute to further our International and the labor movement in the south. I feel that Institutes such as this should be carried on throughout the country for our International Representatives and every International Union. It gives the Representative the opportunity to do more studying and researching that he does not have time to do during the busy schedule of being a representative. I would recommend if any other Institutes were held such as this that our International be a part of it and send Representatives to such an Institute, and hope that I will be able to attend other Institutes to further my knowlege in the future.

Again, many thanks for giving me the opportunity to attend this Institute.

Sincerely and Fraternally,

Hugh Owen

Hugh Owen
International Rep. OCAW

HO/mb
CC: Al Wickman
George T. Guernsey
Henry Vis
B. C. Emick

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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PAUL JENNINGS
RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

March 30, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Rm 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Here are copies of letters received from:

Hub Cope
John Jennings
Hugh Owen
Elbert Robinson
James Stewart

These 1966 NILE delegates are the ones who have written, thus far.

Cory and Oewn have prepared lengthly reports on the Institute. I'll be sending you a copy of these within a week or so.

Sincerely yours,

(dictated but not read)

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir., Department of Education

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosures

JACOB S. POTOFSKY
General President

FRANK ROSENBLUM
General Secretary-Treasurer

HYMAN BLUMBERG
Executive Vice-President

MAYFIELD DISTRICT
SOUTHWEST REGIONAL JOINT BOARD
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
AFL - CIO
202½ South 6th St. Mayfield, Ky. 42066 CH. 7-4714

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
MAR 11

UNION LEADERS FROM SEVERAL STATE GATHER IN ATHENS GEORGIA FOR A MONTHS STUDY OF LABOR IN THE SOUTH

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About 7:00 PM we went to dinner in the center's dinning room and met the other men that were enrolled in the class. We became acquainted and received our instructions for the coming week.

Setting in classes with these men under the leadership of Emery Via and George Guernsey, was a wonderful experience for me. The course had such able teachers as Roy Marshall, who taught Labor History in the South, Don Slayman, who held classes on Civil rights, and Marvin Freidman who taught economics, along with Russell Allen, who discussed Arbitration. Also Hazel Simpon taught reading, and Roy Wilkins spoke on the Nation Stake in civil rights.

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Hub Cope

March 8, 1966

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
MAR 10

Mrs. Hazel Simpson:
Assistant Professor
Department of Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Professor Simpson:

It is regretful that I have not had the time to write you sooner. Upon my arrival at the office, I found a back-log of work awaiting for me.

After such a wonderful and fruitful experience at the "Georgia Center for Continuing Education", I want to express my appreciation to you for your guidance and expert teaching in the art of speed reading.

I would like to remind you that my colleagues were so embarrassed to find out that they did not read well which made them resentful of themselves and not you. They just did not have the gumption to tell you so. Please forgive them because they are swell guys. Yet, I must confess that I was surprised in being able to adjust to this method of reading, and now, I would not change for anything in the world.

Wishing you much success for the rest of the school term. Looking to hear from you soon, I remain

Very truly yours,

John W. Jennings
Regional Director
UTSE, AFL-CIO

JWJ/ejs

cc: Mr. George T. Guernsey

Its time to get up!
J. W. M

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union

2503 CLEARPARK DRIVE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38127
PHONE: 358-4930

OCAW MEMPHIS LOCALS OFFICE
136½ SOUTH 2ND STREET
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38103
PHONE: 526-5656

INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE

March 14, 1966

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
MAR 15

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Department of Education AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear George:

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The Representative who was relieving me had illness in his family and did not get to service my area, and this put me further and further behind. Since I have been back I have been mostly negotiating contracts. However, I do have two (2) organizing drives going on;one at the Dupont Plant and one at Delta Cylinder Co.

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I will be in St. Louis for the OCAW Staff Meeting the week of April 17th.

With every good wish in your new adventures.

Sincerely and fraternally

Hugh Owen

Hugh Owen
International Rep. OCAW

HO/mb

P.S. On my return from the Institute along with the heavy schedule I have moved. My new address is 2371 Whitney, Memphis.

HO

ROSS JACKSON
PRESIDENT

HAROLD LANG
SECRETARY-TREASURER

McKINLEY PERKINS
BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVE

Construction and General Laborers' Local Union No. 70

Affiliated with INTERNATIONAL HOD-CARRIERS, BUILDING, AND COMMON LABORERS' UNION OF AMERICA
A. F. OF L. - C. I. O. AND ITS BUILDING AND CENTRAL TRADES DEPARTMENTS

206 N. HAMILTON STREET
432-0564 TELEPHONES 432-0565
Mobile, Alabama 36603

March 14,1966

George T. Guernsay, Asst. Dir.
Department of Education
American Federation of Labor
And Congress of Industrial
Organizations
815 Sixteenth Street,N.W.
Washington, D.C.

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
MAR 17

Dear Sir:

It is a priviledge for me to outline brief the helpful information and knowledge I received while attending the NILE Southern Staff Training Institute,University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. I found the training to be very educational and enjoyable experience. While all the subjects were inspiring, the work on the various projects in the Athens community enlightened me tremendously on the growing need for community concern and responsibility by union representatives.

During these projects a meeting with the League of Women Voters on the problems of urban renewal were discussed. The head of the Neighborhood youth Corps submitted helpful information. The Northeastern Georgia poverty director brought out problems that needs solving. We spoke with the Athens assistance superintendent of schools on public schools desegregation, and conferred with the head of the Athens National Association for the Advancement of Color People. We found that if the leader of the various organizations would merge and work as a unit of one, it would be more helpful and beneficial to all concerned. It appeared to me that some of the citizens namely; The Minister Alliance with whom we met also. The Catholic Priests and other civics leaders. were sincere in aiding or setting up a program that would be helpful to all poverty stricken people regardless to race, color, or creed, There were also some as I viewed the situation of both Negro and white that were only interested and participatibg in the various organizations and community programs (especially the government sponsered money-involved programs) for their own personal gain.

From the information and knowledge I have gained through working on these project I have been shown how Organized Labor must help the community to find and solve the problems of all poverty stricken people throughout the Nation. Since attending the NILE Institute program it has been more noticeable to

me than ever of the dim image and knowledge that the majority of the community people has toward Organized Labor in regards to their endeavors and contribution that has been and will be made towards the betterment of living conditions of all its citizens. I have personally accepted and intend to meet this challenge as a union representive and citizen of my own community to improve and highlight the position of Organized Labor concerning humanity. Recently I contacted the editor of a local newspaper and he related to me that he was deeply impressed that my organization is concerned of the problems of poverty stricken people. Newspaper as we know, are one of the main media of communication and publicity whether good or bad is wide-spread and we know that the publicity in the past has not been favorable toward Organized Labor. This editor informed me that any assistance in my organizing efforts would be gladly given. Through this editor I learned that the Human Relation Council was holding a meeting. I attended this bi-racial meeting. Present were most of the Negro civic organization leader and a panel discussion brought to view all of the community problems which were almost the same as those we encountered on our project in Athens Georgia. Basically the same type leadership is in existence as were founded in the Athens community. I then made a personal vow that I would do all in my power to see that the power structure and leadership of my area be best selected for all concerned. I also let it be known that Organized Labor intended to be a part of any and all programs that has for its purpose better living conditions for the people. I became a member of the Human Relations Council of Alabama. In my daily effort I am encouraging my local union Brothers of the great need for them to also participate in community function thus reflecting the true intentions of the union. In present action Mr. Wilmer Kimble one of our business representatives has been selected to serve on the Manpower Job Training Committee and has asked me to assist in any way possible which I will gladly do. We also plan to arrange some form of job training within our own local union.

I am very thankful to have been a delegate to the NILE Institute. It was truly a educational and memorable experience.

Very truly yours,

Elbert Robinson Jr.

Elbert Robinson
Organizer

c.c. Joseph V. Moreschi
General President

Robert Powell
Vice President

W. M. Wilson
Regional Manager

Laborers Local #70

copy to Don Slaiman
Bob Powell
Emory Via
3/11/66

1813 Dumesnil Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Asst. Dir. Dept. of Education
815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

RECEIVED
EDUCATION
MAR 8

Dear Prof. Guernsey:

First, let me express my gratitude and appreciation for your guidance and assistance with the NILE institute. Now, I know how unprepared I am in trying to tackle the great task of trying to promote Labor programs and also trying to perform the duties of my union and international union; however, I feel that with the knowledge, experience, and insight that I obtained from the institute, I have grown from a mouse to an elephant. I have no fear now when I attempt to converse with business and management pertaining to any labor problems and activities in trying to strengthen our organization. The institute has proved beneficial in my every day work to the highest.

I also think your selection of staff for the institute were of the finest; I haven't the words to express my thanks to you for accepting my application as a participant of the institute; I am very grateful for the sacrifice that you and Dr. Via are making to promote a better way of life for all mankind. I have my report ready to deliver to the membership at our next union meeting this month. I also thank you for the additional material that you sent to me.

Yes, I miss the other union representatives very much, most of all (Robbie's snoring) smile, and I think that Wally was watching for the laborers to raid his jurisdiction and the Operating Engineers slipped in the back door down at Miami. (smile)

I was very enthusiased to see that my picture was on the front page of the AFL-CIO News. The address that you have for me is fine. I sincerely hope that I have the pleasure of meeting you again soon. I was supposed to be in Washington, D. C. for the Building Trades Conference from March 20 to 24, but turned thumbs down in order to catch up on my home work.

Let me say again, it was a great experience to attend the NILE institute at the University of Georgia and I know that the Education Department of the AFT-CIO has made a great step in the right direction in sponsoring these institutes on Labor education and organized Labor will soon reap the harvest.

Increased activities haven't permitted me to pass judgment on the Hangman, but I know that if a "Guernsey" had anything to do with it, it would have to be good.

Sincerely yours,

James Stewart

James Stewart

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Southern Staff Training Institute Held At University Of Georgia

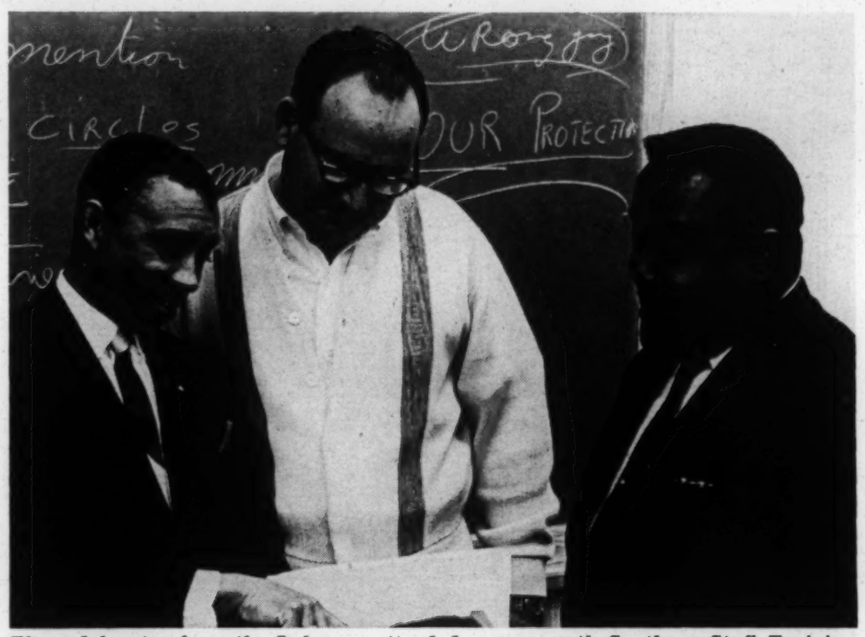
Twenty-one delegates, including three from our International, recently attended a one-month staff training program at the University of Georgia. The program was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education and by the AFL-CIO's Education and Civil Rights Departments.

As part of the Southern Staff Training Institute's program, Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, spoke at an open meeting at the University which was attended by more than 300 students and faculty and by the delegates. Wilkins also had a separate two-hour discussion session with the delegates. Here Wilkins indicated the ways in which he thought local labor groups and civil rights organizations could work together for common goals.

Each delegate attending the Institute selected a project where he could examine a community problem of interest to labor.

This was the third of a series of one-month staff training programs, all of which have been sponsored jointly by the National Institute of Labor Education and the AFL-CIO. The first was held at the University of North Carolina in the Spring of 1963; the second at the University of Texas in February of 1965.

The three one-month institutes have trained a total of 57 full-time Southern representatives who represent 20 international unions and 18 states.



Three delegates from the Laborers attended a one-month Southern Staff Training Institute at the University of Georgia, sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education, January 9 through February 4, 1966. Pictured above are James Stewart, Kentucky; H. H. McQueen, Louisiana; Albert Robinson, Alabama.

High Court Denies Review Of Davis-Bacon Rate Case

The Supreme Court lets stand a decision by the Court of Claims that it lacks authority to review a determination by the Labor Department of the type of wage rates that must be paid on a project under the Davis-Bacon Act.

Nello L. Teer Company brought the suit against the United States because it was required to pay building rates instead of highway rates, which are lower, to power equipment operators on the Bear Creek Reservoir in Carbon and Luzerne Counties, Pa.

The Associated General Contractors urged the court to review the case. It contended that the issue should have been considered under the standard disputes clause of the contractor's contract and not referred to the Labor Department. Under the standard disputes clause, an aggrieved contractor has the right to present evidence to a contract appeals board.

This contention was raised in the contractor's earlier appeal to the Corps of Engineers Claims and Appeals Board, which dismissed the appeal on the ground that the Secretary of Labor had sole authority to determine the prevailing wage pattern.

Volunteers Wanted

The International Labor Organization, one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, with which the AFL-CIO always has been closely connected, is seeking to recruit volunteers among skilled craftsmen to train workers in Libya and Mauritius for construction of public works and similar projects. The minimum basic salary is $10,650 a year, plus extra allowances, including exemption from income tax. Union members who are interested in spending at least a year on such an assignment abroad are asked to communicate with James F. Taylor, Director, Office of Program Development and Coordination of the Bureau of International Labor Affairs of the U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

May 5, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

The enclosed is far from what I had hoped to have in your hands by now. I trust it will serve at least as a general briefing for you in talking with the Board. You will note that even these fewwpages start more fully but then quickly take on a more adumbrated form.

The report will be more full and better organized. I would think that the rough draft could be made available to you and George before too long.

My apologies for the delays.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

P.S. (hand-written by EFV) I called before mailing this and found that your board meeting was postponed. For these purposes, I'm glad. The enclosed document will have relatively little value to you, but it may have served to prime my pump so as to reduce further delays. I'm sorry to hear you still have the trouble with settling on a director. Good luck on that, and best wishes.

Emory

DIRECTOR'S INTERIM REPORT FOR THIRD
N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

Introduction

How can a month-long educational experience of courses, challenge, thought, and personal relations be evaluated? When the positive experiences are so varied as to include an adult student's delight in discovering what a ham omlette is (and having one) to the first interracial living experience for some, to the recharging of the emotional and professional batteries of the directors, what can one say about the whole?

This report springs from the bias that the third Southern Union Staff Institute, sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education, was a great success. To be sure, the report will include a number of suggestions for improvement and specific incidents which have negative overtones. But overwhelmingly, the month's program was a rewarding experience for the union staff attending, the instructors, and for the two directors.

What follows in this report is a more detailed look and evaluation of some of the elements that entered into the development and execution of the institute.

Planning

The outstanding fact about the planning of the third

Southern Union Staff Institute is that the whole process could be accomplished more quickly and efficiently because of the experience gained in the preceding institutes. This was especially true in terms of coming to grips with the major elements to be included in the program, how to give it balance, and how to guage the timing of the various program emphasis.

Profiting from the experience of the two previous insitutes was facilited by the carry over in personnel and from the reporting of the earlier programs. It was especially useful that the NILE director had had a hand in the two preceding programs, that George Guernsey had been fully involved in each of them, that the director had been quite conversant with the planning stages of the second institute, and that we were able to make use of instructors who had participated in one or more of the previous undertakings. None of this is to suggest, however, that the planners were free of innumerable details, shifts, and related problems. Certainly, both directors were appalled all over again at the amount of time required to get the program into final shape. What was possible was a saving in the cost and time needed from the program committee. More of the work of the committee could be handled adequately and with understanding by phone. Conflicting

views about program were minor as were those about possible instructors.

Similar comments could be made about the task of the recruitment committee. Basically, this was the work of the co-director. Less was required in terms of formal committee meetings. General guidelines had been established and the committee could function with little more than looking over applications and granting final acceptance authority to its chairman. However, it should be underscored that the recruitment task was as onerous as ever, even though aided by the acceptance won for the institute in a number of national union offices. An effort was made to expand the number of unions sending delegates. Full-time local officers were included for the first time. This latter fact raised a few problems which should be considered in future planning. The relation between the local office and his local union suggests that the national union do even more to make clear to the man and local what the financial arrangements are and to give him protection from the practical pressures for doing his job in the local while away for a extended period of time.

Facilities: Generally quite good. Rooms comfortable as to arrangement and quality of furnishings. Small for two persons. Used as singles or else as two joining rooms for three persons. Heat failure during the cold spell caused discomfort for about two days. Group was housed together on one floor. Directors on opposite ends of floor. Co-op room a part of a double room used by co-director. The classroom was very good except for an acoustical problem. A library was provided.

Meals: Generally very good in quality and variety. Some complaint about price and some group members began to eat elsewhere than at the main dining facility. Except for the three planned meals, the possibility of successful group meals was limited. The only provision beyond planned menus involving substantial extra costs, was the grouping of several tables in the main dining room. This proved to be of very limited usefulness. We had hoped to have one group meal a day.

The general atmosphere of the building and surrounding area was very good. We felt we were on the campus without being innundated by it. Recreational opportunities on the campus were somewhat limited in practice though in theory we had access to all university facilities.

Timing: It is possible that some planning and recruitment problems arose out of the program's early start after Christmas and New Year. Further, winter weather became a factor of some importance even so far South for part of the program.

Relations with the University: Mixed. The Continuing Education Center, staff, in general, were friendly. Some worrisome troubles developed over such items as rooms (initially and for faculty and guests later on), costs, special program arrangements, and follow-

through on details. A good bit of this could probably be traced to the peculiar ineptness of the conference coordinator assigned by the University to the NILE program. This assignment resulted after the original arrangements had been made when the initial coordinator resigned to take another position. Our relations with the conference director and with University of Georgia faculty participating in or visiting the program was quite good. In summery, the general physical arrangements were superior; the program assistance offered by the university had to be regularly supplemented and prodded by the directors. In light of this a real question is raised as to whether the conference fee could be justified.

The faculty: High quality. There was great variety befitting the multiple aims and needs of the program. The return of Marshall and Pollitt proved a real asset. Russ Allen brought a special and needed quality to the beginning week through his experience, degree of identity, and teaching methods. Marv Friedman's materials on economics cropped up again and again throughout the month. A longer evaluation of faculty will be made later. Suffice it to say that the variety of staff provided new perspectives, an opportunity to see similar problems through the eyes of more than one expert, and a chance to effectively reach a larger number of people (even on the same subject) because of these factors. It would still be useful, however, to have more teaching time from fewer strong teachers. Our attempts to do this this year were largely frustrated.

The group: Clearly marked by variety. They came from twelve states and fourteen unions. There were native southerners, those working in the south with origins elsewhere, four Negroes. Some of them were full time local presidents or business agents and others were international representatives. We may have learned that it is possible to have too many persons from one national union (four out of twenty-one). Personalities, educational background, union experience, community experience, social awareness were markedly different. They came, even in this third institute, not knowing in some cases why they had been sent. There seemed to be little resentment or bitterness, but there was certainly some wondering as to why the union had selected "me". There was no obvious resistance to education as such. Later we learned that some came with a fairly healthy "show me" attitude. Others came wanting the chance for an educational exposure but sure that it would be a dull matter. At the end of the first week spirits were high and a vote of confidence on the value and interest of educational pursuits would have been handily won. This interest perhaps tapered some in the second week and began to build again later on. It probably did not diminish again depending on how you interpret a few last week symptoms -- lateness, with which some attention began to be cured. Except for a short spell of tardiness in the last week the institute was characterized by promptness and attendance. There was only one absence during the month that was not of an excusable nature. Most absences, and they were minimal, were excused in advance.

The men came to know each other as time went on. Cliques were limited and of no apparent significance except for the four members from the same union. It was clear that one of the meaningful happenings during the month was the friendship and

understanding developed across union lines. In a large number of cases the same could be said about friendships developed across racial lines.

Courses: The courses aimed at developing economic and social understanding, improving union and personal skills, to update information, and to stimulate thought. Teaching techniques varied. It may be that we still fail, in some courses, to get sufficient interplay with students soon enough to effectively judge how well understanding is developing. But the instruction in nearly every case was informal and responsive to student questions and discussion. In the end there was a large scale acceptance of the basic format of the program and the kind of content that had been included. There were useful suggestions for improvement. And there were comments in some areas which may be instructive even though they fit a pattern of what we have grown to expect.

There was little doubt of the acceptability of the basis union courses such as arbitration and organizing. There was a good response to labor law with some suggestions to spend less time on policy questions and more on what is needed in the field -- frequently coupled with the suggestion to take more time to do both. The instruction in economics was well received, a little concern about duplication ampng the instructors, but substantial evidence that the duplication whether through repetition or the differences in approach meant that more people were reached or the material was better understood.

The material on civil rights clearly reached home in a number of ways. These included negative reactions, some of which were effectively countered by subsequent instruction. In

a few instances the comments were such as to give us some pause as to how to approach the subject. The reactions, again, same at the time when there was a concentrated dose. To some degree this seemed to represent a resentment at being called upon to talk about civil rights and racial relations in so direct a fashion. Tt was as if there was a general acceptance that we live in a changed world, but let's go on about our business rather than talk about it so much. This is perhaps too brief a mention here to warrant inclusion. I will develop it more fully later. Clearly, much of what took place in this area was constructive and helpful -- nearly every member of the group admitted this in terms of at least some of the approaches to the subject. This included several persons who had expressed their disagreement, privately or in evlauation, that any substantial attention was being paid to civil rights.

Projects: A valuable part of the total program. Only one of the reporting groups could be considered a failure. The others must be rated from good to excellent. They learned about a specific community and some of its problems. More importantly, they discovered that with planning and thought they could learn about a community. New skills were acquired and old skills put to work in a new situation. Projects included the following topics: the poverty program, urban renewal, student political and social action groups, local ministerial opinions, and community school desegregation.

Other developments: During the month the idea of education as a tool for growth -- for the individual and the union -- seemed to take on practical meaning for most of the group.

Many side conversations with instructors and each other showed substantial growth in areas of interest and information. Problems related to racial relations, democratic concepts, community relations, organizing, and union growth were repeatedly discussed.

A number of men had special problems about which they received practical and highly valued information as a part of the "side activity" of the institute. Included here would be detailed help given on job evaluation, time study, and problems related to an N.L.R.B. Hearing.

A conscious effort was made to develop the idea of university labor education among members of the University staff and faculty. This consisted largely of informal conversations with selected persons. This effort was significantly supported by Ralph Campbell's visit to several individuals and participation in one small group meeting. The idea of labor education has been let loose, there is good interest on the part of a few faculty people, but the immediate outlook at the University of Georgia is quite dim.

RWDSU
ACWA
TWUA
CWA
IUD
UTSE

II ICWU
III IBEW
LPIU
INLIU
OCAW
IUE
Pulpers
UAW
USA

N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

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end of tape 1
Reasonably lucky in the
matter of the formation of
cliques w. the fee groups —
IBEW — Poker
Not division, country,
may have embed seniors
parents for some —
yes to fellowship

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PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

June 21, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : Joe Mire, NILE
Don Slaiman, AFL-CIO
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council

FROM : George T. Guernsey, Department of Education, AFL-CIO GTG

SUBJECT: 1966 NILE INSTITUTE

I'm enclosing a copy of the IUE NEWS with a story on page 9 on the 1966 NILE Institute. I thought you would like a copy for your files.

I'm also getting a copy of the story that appeared in the LABORERS' JOURNAL and will send you a copy of that for your files.

I am checking to see when the story on Virgil Stokes is being run in the PAINTERS JOURNAL. They promised to run a story soon.

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosure

GE To Face Hearing On Rome Charge

ROME, Ga.—IUE charges that General Electric Company management persistently harassed, threatened, bulldozed and frightened Local 191 members during an 88-day strike in 1965 will be heard here July 26.

On June 6, William J. Rains, acting regional director for the National Labor Relations Board in Atlanta, Ga., following an extensive investigation of the charges filed by Local 191, issued a complaint, and notice of a hearing. Commenting on the NLRB action, Clifford L. Weeks, Local 191 president, said:

"We have waited a long time to have our position vindicated.

"Almost 900 of our members invested three months of their lives seeking to persuade GE here in Rome that commonsense negotiations would solve our problems with GE management.

"We appreciate the help given us by our International Union."

Among the multitude of charges upon which the complaint is based are:

- Constant phone calls from foremen to striking employees, seeking by threats or offers of financial assistance to bring about a collapse of the strike;
- Offering employees preferential treatment—by promising not to lay them off after the strike;
- Threatening loss of jobs if picketing continued and
- Denial of promotion because of union activity.

Les Ouvriers Québecquois Choisir l'IUE

(Stories in English can be found on Page 3)

RCA

COWANSVILLE, Québec—Lorsque la RCA Canadienne a décidé de transférer son usine de fabrication de tubes en-dehors de Montréal, dans la zone rurale de Cowansville, elle s'est imaginé que la tactique "runaway" serait valable au Canada comme elle l'est dans le Sud des Etats-Unis.

Ils ont fait erreur, dans ce sens, car les Québecquois peuvent être aussi têtus que les Sudistes quand il s'agit d'inister sur des conditions de travail et un salaire équivalent.

Les 250 travailleurs ont adopté le principe IUE rejetant celui du CNTU —séparatiste version Québecquoise d'un jaune syndicat de maison. La certification pour IUE a été donnée le 12 mai par le Ministère Provincial du Travail.

Lorsque l'usine de tubes RCA a été représentée par la Locale IUE 513 à Montréal, le taux moyen était de $1.84 avec paiement d'heures supplémentaires au delà de 8 heures par jour. Mais à Cowansville le même taux est tombé à $0.85 seulement, les heures supplémentaires entrant en compte après 42 heures de travail.

A la tête de la campagne de l'IUE se trouvaient Paul Angneron, Claudette Gaucher, Ureain Poumerleau, Nicole Peare, Therèse Perreault, Monique Picotint, René Cook, Pierrette Rousseau et Lise Boucher, assistés par Albert Spada, Bill Drury, et Mario Loschiavo, les représentants locaux.

La nouvelle Locale 514 à RCA marque la continuité dans les efforts d'organisation dans les centres RCA à Memphis, Tenn., aussia qu'à d'autres endroits.

Sytscome

MONTREAL, Québec—Le message de l'IUE est si attirant qu'il est éloquent en n'importe quelle langue. Tel fut la conclusion des travailleurs Grecs de l'usine International Sytscome quand la représentation IUE a été choisie par la communauté d'ici.

Les travailleurs de Sytscome sont avisés des nombreux avantages dont les membres IUE des usines voisines (telle que Modulite) bénéficient. Ils désiraient une plus grande sécurité de travail, des droits d'ancienneté, égalité de traitement et meilleurs salaries que ceux attribués par la Sytscome. C'est pourquoi, dès qu'ils ont eu connaissance du programme IUE, ils ont compris que le syndicat parlait la même langue. Le Ministère Provincial du Travail a accordé la certification IUE le 13 mai.

P. Sofronas, qui a soutenus les 65 ouvriers de Sytscome dans leur demande, a été élu président de la nouvelle Locale 592. Pendant le cours de la campagne, Sofronas a tenu des réunions en Anglais, Grec et Français. Sofronas conduit le rassemblement syndicalist avec l'aide d'Albert Spada, Bill Drury et Mario Loschiavo, representants locaux.

Sytscome produit des pièces détachées électroniques.

GE

ST. ANDREWS, Québec—Les travailleurs de la General Electric nouvellement établie ici ont opté pour la représentation IUE, emportés par le croissant mouvement de sympathie syndicale à travers le Québec.

Les travailleurs GE à St. Andrews, méprisant les invitations du décrédité UE, allérent à la recherche des avantages de l'IUE— le Contrat national GE ainsi que la force collective du Comité de la Conférence IUE-CGE.

Paul Hotte et Gerald Dumas ont conduit la campagne pour la IUE, avec l'aide d'Albert Spada, Bill Drury et Mario Loschiavo, représentants locaux.

L'usine de St. Andrews n'a encore pas atteint les 6 mois d'ouverture et environ 18 travailleurs y sont actuellement employés. L'usine qui produit des matières en plastique renforcé, devrait dans un avenir assez proche compter environ 100 travailleurs à son compte.

Cubans Unite With IUE To Win Gains At Hialeah

MIAMI, Fla.—Cuban refugees who work at the Hialeah Engineering Corporation have absolutely refused to trade one form of tyranny for another.

They fled Castro's brand of Communism and made great sacrifices to reach American shores, but not for the purpose of bowing to the questionable labor practices of Hialeah, a company which manufactures the machinery used to make corrugated cardboard boxes.

The company found out, in no uncertain terms, that 90 Cuban workers wouldn't be pushed around when the refugees chose IUE as their collective bargaining agent and launched a crippling 10-week strike against Hialeah for discharging Angel Luis, a welder's helper at the plant.

Luis, who escaped from Cuba under a 17-foot-long boat turned upside down with 17 other refugees, was fired March 10 after arbitrarily being assigned to a lower-rated job which he refused to accept. Luis had been working to help IUE organize the plant at the time of his discharge.

Five days after he was terminated, 94 refugees walked off their jobs, striking for union recognition and the reinstatement of Luis. By then, 82 of their number had signed IUE cards and were awaiting a Labor Board election, whose original April 15 date had been pushed sometime into the future because of employer obstacles.

The action resulted in Manuel Garcia, Cuban president of the company, calling his countrymen "communists" on the second day of the strike as they walked the picket line.

"We could have stayed with Castro if we wanted to be communists," they yelled back in Spanish. Only four scabs crossed the picket line from March 15 to May 30, when the company capitulated and signed a contract recognizing IUE as the exclusive bargaining agent for the workers.

Efforts to recruit strikebreakers from the neighborhood proved equally unrewarding.

Some of the refugees fought under Castro during the Cuban revolution, and among their number are two lawyers, an accountant and two Cuban Army captains, one with 23 years of service, according to IUE Field Representative Joe Considine.

The victorious employees began returning to work May 31, under an agreement calling for reinstatement of Luis and discharge of the strike-breakers. All strikers for whom work was not immediately available in the plant were placed on a layoff list, to be recalled by seniority, with the list to be maintained for three years and no overtime or subcontracting to be scheduled as long as the list exists.

The three-year pact also provides across the board wage increases of 10 cents an hour each year; dues checkoff; the company will pay the entire cost of hospitalization and insurance; eight holidays, where in the past the number varied and was uncertain.

The vacation program provides one week after one year, one week and a day after two years, increasing up to a maximum of two weeks.

The workers will receive double-time rather than time-and-one-half for overtime, and won contract language dealing with union recognition, grievance procedure, leaves of absence, bulletin boards and wash-up time.

Union negotiators included Committeemen Jose Otero, Armando Martinez and Enrique Que, and Field Representatives Jerry Palagano, Louis Rivera and Joe Considine. Adding his assistance during the strike was Field Representative Sam Trueba.

Other Hialeah workers who actively supported the IUE's organizing efforts included Cesar Pedrayes, Antonio Gonzalez, Gregorio Vizcaino, Orlando Garcia, Antonio Allongo, Joaquin Collunga, Pedro de Hombre, Ibrahim Pacheco, Rafael Penichet, Jose Perez, Rene Rodriguez, Jesus Santos and Joseph Walter.

IUE News Rated

For the second consecutive year, the IUE NEWS has been rated among the top six international union newspapers by the International Labor Press Association. IAM's Machinist received the top award in the editorial excellence classification which covers journalistic merit in general.

Runners-up, in addition to the IUE NEWS, were UAW's Solidarity, Retail and Wholesale's Record, CWA News, and Pulp & Paper Worker. According to the judges, these papers "deserve commendation for their editorial competence, their generally inviting appearance and the variety-quality combination in their news stories."

LOCAL ELECTIONS

Notices must be sent to IUE News AT LEAST EIGHT WEEKS BEFORE NOMINATION AND ELECTION DATES and must list offices to be filled (not names of the candidates); time of election (day and hour), and place. Each local must make sure the IUE News is kept informed of the latest home addresses of the members.

103 **Camden, N. J.**—President and business agent, first vice president, second vice president, third vice president, recording and financial secretary, treasurer, sergeant-at-arms, five trustees, director of education, director of organization, seven District Council Three delegates, ten New Jersey State AFL-CIO delegates, ten International convention delegates, five by-laws committee members, and five trial board members will be nominated Sept. 13, 2 and 4:30 p.m., and elected Oct. 5th and 6th 6:30 a.m. to 7 p.m. Nominations and elections will be at 319 Cooper st.

148 **Philadelphia, Pa.**—One trustee will be elected July 14 at Greenwood Post, Frankford ave., and Somerset st., 4:45 p.m.

231 **Malden, Mass.**—Plant 5 chief steward will be elected Aug. 4 at Plants 2 and 5, 7:30 to 8 a.m., 12:15 to 12:45 p.m., and 4:45 to 5 p.m.

288 **Indian Orchard, Mass.**—International convention delegates will be nominated and elected at regular membership meeting Aug. 1 at Polish Veteran's Hall, North Wilbraham. 7:30 p.m.

746 **Columbus, Ohio**—International convention delegates will be nominated July 9 and elected Aug. 20 at union hall, 3578 Grace st., 11 a.m. Nine delegates are to be elected.

768 **Dayton, Ohio**—International convention delegates will be elected July 27 at union office, 4127 East Second st., 1 to 8 p.m.

He Can't Wait To Arbitrate

ATHENS, Ga.—When Willis Robinson, president of IUE-GE Local 182 in Hickory, N.C., was chosen to attend the 1966 Southern Staff Training Institute held at the University of Georgia, people thought that he would go—study—come home and put his new techniques to work, right?

Wrong. Robinson and some of his fellow students couldn't wait. When his labor professors gave his group the assignment to look into the Urban Renewal project in that community, the zealous students produced a muck-raking study that indicated working people were getting short-changed.

The institute, sponsored by the National Institute for Labor Education, is especially geared to give trade unionists this kind of in-depth training. The four-week session was attended by 21 southern trade unionists.

Instructors included George Guernsey, assistant director, AFL-CIO Education Department; Emory Via, Southern Regional Council; Ray Marshall, University of Texas, among others who taught courses of Labor Economics, Southern Labor History, Advanced Reading, Labor Law, Civil Rights and Political Action.

A highlight of the class was an address by Roy Wilkins, director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on the directions of the civil rights movement. Wilkins' talk was heard by the students and some 300 persons from the surrounding community. He discussed ways for local labor groups and civil rights organizations to work for common goals.

The institute, the third held so far, has trained some 57 local union leaders and staff representatives from 20 international unions in 18 states.

HARD STUDY, as shown in photo right, is what guided Willis Robinson (left), president of IUE-GE Local 182, and two other trainees through a four-week in-depth training program to sharpen their arbitration skills.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

WALTER P. REUTHER
DAVID DUBINSKY
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HERMAN D. KENIN
P. L. SIEMILLER
PAUL JENNINGS
RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

June 27, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : Joe Mire, NILE
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council

FROM : George T. Guernsey, Department of Education

George

SUBJECT: 1966 NILE INSTITUTE

I'm enclosing a marked copy of the LABORER, the April issue. On page 12 is a story on the 1966 NILE Southern Staff Training Institute, University of Georgia, with a picture of three delegates from the Laborers Union.

I'm still hoping that we'll get a story from the Painters journal. I'm checking with IBEW to see if anything ever appeared in their magazine.

GG:cem
opeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosure

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET. N.W.
WASHINGTON. D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Department of Education
July 29, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I thought you would be interested in seeing the July issue of the "Painter and Decorator." It includes an excellent story on page 24 on the 1966 NILE Institute. The highlight of the page is a picture of Virgil Stokes, delegate to the institute and Emory Via and George Guernsey.

Actually, I think we did a better job on following up and publicizing the institute in international union journals this time than in the two previous institutes. I am going to try to put together some kind of photomontage on the various reports.

Sincerely,

George

George T. Guernsey
Asst. Director of Education

GTG:jms
opeiu#2 afl-cio
Enclosure
cc: Joseph Mire
Don Slaiman

1818 Dumesnil Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40210

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I received my reading manual from the Southern Union Staff Institute a couple of weeks ago. The only trouble I have is trying to keep up with it, because my children enjoy it and find it very educational and helpful. I haven't received the photographs yet.

I was very much enthusiased to learn that we have made the front page of the A. F.L.-C.I.O. paper.

I am almost finished reading the book, "Congressman From Mississippi," and it has proved to be very beneficial in understanding the problems of the south.

From the knowledge and insight I obtained at the Institute, it has been most helpful in my daily activities in every way. I feel more secure in my conversations with business and management.

Again, may I say that I am most grateful for the Institute and the entire staff of workers of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and for the program you are promoting most efficiently.

I have neither words nor the space to express my appreciation to you for the knowledge and experience I received from attending the Institute.

Sincerely,

James E. Stewart

James E. Stewart
Laborers Local 576
1818 Dumesnil Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40210

Jordan et al

Brief history of cases —
effectiveness in cities —
Usually a protest vote —
against a candidate
Talmadge — Thompson
Sanders — Griffin
Allen — Maddox —

Changing — vote for moderates,
liberals, Negro candidates

1952-1962 350T Negro increase.
1960 — new spots, redrawn interests
Voting & all else —
1962 — VEP
2 years 700T Negroes added to books

Effect of apportionment —
Negro vote in 4 states of South Sammy
four states for LBJ. Ark, Tenn, Fla,
Boss vs. Clements —
— changed behavior —

Talmadge changing
270T Negro Ga voters —
Ala — Change of Symbol
174T Negroes in Ala.

EV — % of Negroes in South registered —
net gain in Negro registration
Why apathy, still
Organization —
relate to parties, factions
Va, election — Lodge & Negro —
due to strength over issues or other candidates
* Should the poor Negroes be registered.

Jordan (2)

Problems.

2.3M. Negro Voters

Middle Class enfranchisement

1.5M to be registered —

in hard core areas —

Slums, poverty, rural —

* Involvement of Negroes in Pol. Process has to be more than registration & Voting — involvement with processes of power —

74% of Jacksonville, Fla Negroes registered to vote —

* 14(b) Welt'ner vote —

Jim Moore should do more to educate Negroes on 14(b)

Watters —

effect of economic control of Negroes — still at work, will be last bar to be removed —

Is Coalition an answer —

Civil rts. differences on this point —

All-Negro political movement —

Coming up at a time when could end separation of races in politics

Civil Rts left, gains South

Some left — result, the center will move a little to left —

---

*Eval — likely — meet mark —

further release of feelings — misconceptions

Self appointed NAACP leaders e.g.

Clayham

Civil rights movement
going from civil libertarian
stage to egualitarian stage —

Remove restrictions of law
to more full equality —
causes shifting alliances —
from Negro — middle class
liberal, to Negro — halo a
possibility as shift to economic
issues —

Innovations may come
in political field such as
had in civ. rts.

(?)* How make politics relevant
to Negroes

Break apathy pattern —
new standards by the groups —
or rally by groups to go vote,
perhaps —

Liberal outlaw candidates
more likely in future will come
from heavily Negro county —

Falsom — Calman 19% Negro

CP. what's being done —
to educate —

Coalition power —
Segregated power —

EV

Single issue politics
choice — voting interests
or needs —

no — Coalitions

Problems of State Govt —

Sat. Eve. Post — Armbruster on State Govt.

6 mos. in the writing —

State Studies

Ford Foundation Study

* Nat'l Municipal League (Ford backed)
— Columbia Univ — Nat'l & Reg. Assembly on State Govt.

Com. on Int govt'l Relations —

Regional Assembly in Atlanta
big SRC role vs States
role in human relations &
more —

State govts. increasing more power
than ever before —

Spending has for Federal civil functions
risen in 1922 weighted by GNP, Price Index

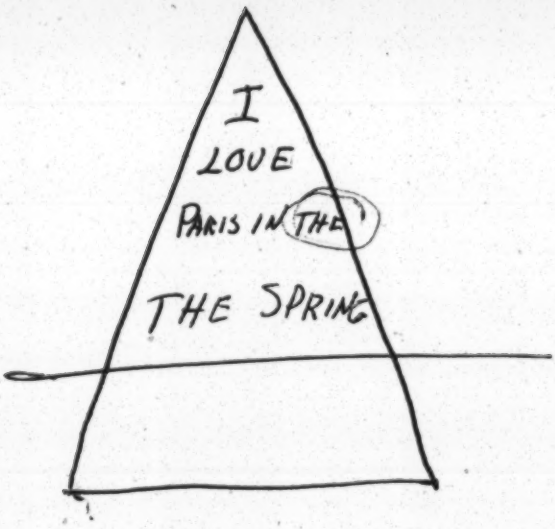
Length of Const —
Alaska — shortest —
La. longest —
length due to special interest
in many cases — anything it is —

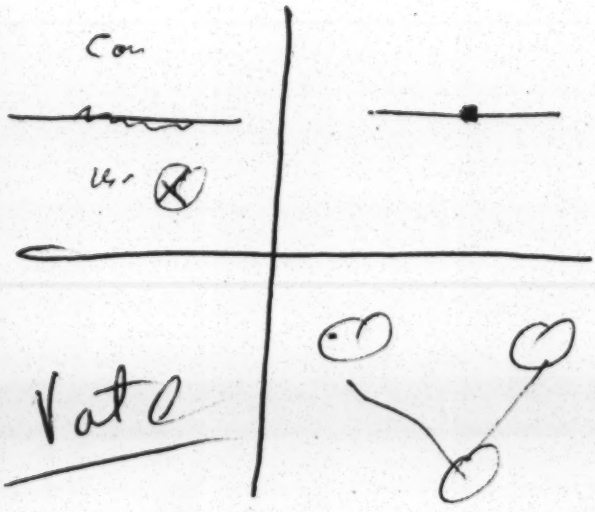
Revenue allocation in Const —
freezes + takes away ability to
change emphasis —
Fulton Co. —

Negro vote + 60% Women + 60% young people
can control Ga. politics —

Sanders knows he has 1 or 2 blocks of
votes —

Ha. Count'l





Jennings worked on N.C. Endorsement of Sitters — failed to carry Negroes with them
— a great mistake —

The Inheritance —

great — best film

emotional impact —

See as here we have slipped — no closed shop

1/9/68 10:45 — 12:02

103.6 — 177.7

[Bill by math] — [10¢ for coffee —]

IBEW — will get terrific reaction from Southerners — [Support from other organizations]

Difference in "prosperity" today & then

and in what companies gave in terms of ~~education~~ conditions —

tough matter to fight — [weight not get out of some structures with your head.]

would you use in organizing? —

mostly, yes. Reminded of pix of violence — still shots posted in

Hartwell, Ga — 2 men beat, Price's car destroyed — part of photo.

— Pagdell (yes)

Ben Segal — Francis (?)

Ole — invite in after Christmas

2nd week letters?

CORE / Fla

Miami

Daytona — 1115

— 1515

NIAE Report

Send Wilkins materials on SNCC Hap.

Henderson —
Every — Poverty —
Some good points on
disadvantagement
even tho slow session

---

class suggest Lose
Industrials best
system
rather than flex
system

Facts – Hist – Statistics Data –
Sentiment & Social reality –
Thoughtful Melding
Transition –

(Wilkins?) "Ga Legislature allowing him to speak"
– does he want to let communist in Ga Leges meet there –

Recent argument re Voting law –
literacy requirements – out –

* NY – (a) Cong – who had to inside to outside move out of State to stay in
(b) Sen. who had to move from outside to inside –

* School boundary lines – de facto or de jure –

Greatest Sin – denial for 75 yrs of equality of opp. in ed.
More damage than 5T lynchings, KKK, fire bombs,
public cuffs, quick tragedies –

* Problem of Southern Justice –

Unemployed = "made to order trouble –"

* Oldfield
Quiet re Negro faculty at Univ of Ga –
Extension Dept –

1/2 of Negro employed – domestic & Service & labor –

Housing & Slums
Voting
Politics – Talmadge & Luncheon Club –
Registration & Voting take time –

Nations Stakes: have to prove that Declaration & Const. will work
Must work for all – or not for just whites

82
62
75
21

* Negro official holders are coming – don't be afraid –
Endorsement of Bond –
Current legislature –

Specific classes — people —

VII

Usefulness — interest —
L to individual

Interest in education as tool
for self — for union members — leaders —

From EFU
Last week — make a good one —
ON TIME

Film —
party goal —
update June — use
with speaker —

Evel
Vivian Henderson — not enough time — human side —
could have replaced Mr. Nevin J. (this debated) take both —

Law — more materials & workshops —
good — excellent, nevertheless —
Submit subjects in advance —

Proposals intensity
appreciate class
to react

Evel

Ray Marshall — enjoyed — one of best interventions ever, Fred. Robison can't disagree —
more hopeful for labor in South

AGE

23
27
29
31
32 - 32
36
38
39
40
41 - 41 - 41
45
49
55
56 - 56

TWO UNKNOWN AGES - Johnson & McQueen - would bring average down slightly.

Johnson - est. ~~3~~ 28-30
McQueen - est. 35

ARITHMETIC AVERAGE AGE = 37

RANGE - 23 — 56

# Reps.	UNIONS –
1	ACWA
1	Brotherhood of Painters, D. & P.
1	CWA
4	IBEW
3	Labors I. U.
1	LPIU
2	OCAW
1	ICWU
1	RWDSU
1	TWUA
1	U. Electricians R MU
1	UAW
1	USA
1	UTSE
1	IUD ÷ AFL-CIO

14 Unions & the IUD.

3 Unions sent More than 1 Rep.

STATES

#	
2	ALABAMA
3	FLORIDA
2	GEORGIA
1	INDIANA
2	KENTUCKY
2	LOUISIANA
1	MISSOURI
2	~~OHIO~~ NORTH CAROLIAA
1	OHIO
1	SOUTH CAROLINA
3	TENNESSEE
1	TEXAS

5 States — 1
5 " — 2
2 " — 3

TWELVE STATES

EDUCATION

#	
2	GRADE SCHOOL
1	1/2 YEAR HIGH SCHOOL
1	1 " " "
1	3 " " "
9	HIGH SCHOOL
1	1 YEAR COLLEGE
1	2 " "
2	COLLEGE

1½ YRS. H.S.

TWO UNKNOWN

RANGE - GRADE SCHOOL - COLLEGE

J. B —

~~Please~~ Make copy of Reese Cleghorn ~~story~~ column and send to Guernsey.

Extra copy for NLRE.

Thanks, S.F.V.

EXCEPT WHEN BARGAINING

Some Labor Initiates for the Establishment

By REESE CLEGHORN

THE TALK had been moving with scrap and flavor for some time, about how you overcome a governor's politics to set up a good Headstart program for children, how you fit together a board to run a local poverty program and satisfy the federals that it is properly representative, and how you hire a good director.

You have to bulldoze this particular governor or the whole thing will be a patronage mill for him, said the heavy man with the very, very level gaze.

The program in my state has its faults but at least we got it off to a fast start, said the taller man of softer voice.

You'd better get suchandsuch taken care of or your whole plan is in trouble, said another.

Well, it's damn good *now,* said the first. We're making that state a better place to live in.

Finally an outsider asked whether they ever dabbled in union affairs.

It was a fair question, since this was a collection of union presidents and business agents.

They had been assembled, on the campus of the University of Georgia, for a month, listening to lecturers on Southern economics, union management, civil rights, politics. Outside, nearby, some other students headed for the Coliseum in a cold wind.

DIFFERENT

Today's union official is a different breed, though hopefully not entirely different, since the older type often was uniquely suited for a unique job.

Just one evidence of the change was this talk of poverty programs. At a higher level, especially, union officials often find themselves now preoccupied with community problems that reach far beyond the immediate labor union considerations.

(And who can be sure, any more, which of those double-breasted warblers who just walked in represents management and which the union?)

The radicals are half right. Some of them have been saying the labor movement is part of the Establishment now; that its leaders, like the leaders of chambers of commerce and industry associations, are just a look-alike, think-alike part of the big complex of power, each part responsive to the other, that runs the country.

They are bureaucrats and managers, like the rest. They and the people who sometimes sit opposite from them at bargaining tables are all enmeshed together, the modern Gompers and the modern Morgans, as never before.

That may be so, and there are some dangers, especially when everybody in a way is working for, or at least with, the government. When a union president as well as a corporation president is responsive to the same money power, patronage power or simply personal influence, of the government, or any other single force, there is some danger.

STILL LOOSE

Maybe that is why we need some radicals, some real outsiders, as long as their interest is this country and its people: Buckley's on the right or Jim Forman's on the left, to bump against the Establishment now and then with some very different ideas, lest it all become too solid and we all get smothered under it.

But the Establishment, at present, looks sufficiently loose to allow for dissent *(especially* at negotiating time). And the whole thing, anyway, has the smell of democratic process about it, if we'll just keep widening it, and staving off real conformity.

The joining together for forgotten causes, despite the dangers, does not of itself bother me. Hearing a union president get excited about how to make a local poverty program effective, when you've heard the same from a businessman, has a good ring, even if both *are* at that moment hand-in-hand with the government of the United States.

These 21 trade unionists had been sitting together at the University of Georgia for the past month in seminars, sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education, of the AFL-CIO.

It took a while to persuade somebody at the university's Center for Continuing Education that it was all right to put the name "AFL-CIO" under the conference title there in the lobby.

But finally it was pasted on. And nobody seemed to notice, anyway.

Everybody is just getting too ordinary and respectable, and the Establishment is growing every day. But in this case, the new initiates and what they were concerning themselves with sounded pretty good.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Final Eval.

Basic contract negotiations —

Labor law expanded

"Selling Dan Slaming Short" —

— GG — not what we

Wally — projects waste of time —
no agreement from groups.

Fred Robinson —
Projects depends on which one you were on —

Should we make people stop and think —

Fred Robinson yes —

tools are available to do anything — learned this —

Boys groups

IV — Too much Civil rights } too much repetition
reading

Economics —
Labor history

III — ~~least~~ (Too much duplication in Civil rights)
reading least important
Southern Econ Problem.

Most important: Arbitration — Economics
(Elbert — Organizing most important)

II least
Reading least important — not enough to do good
Projects less important — used to interviewing —
enjoyed & was break —

Most — Arbitration, Economics
— perhaps too much
overlapping —

I — most
Labor History — Economics

least Reading & Civil Rights

Educational Techniques (variety)

Watching: Professors, Civil Rights Leaders
interactions —

Final Evaluation

(1)

First week

Gene — good groups, get along well, good for future of labor movement —

Wally —
Organizing — did a good job —
despite IBEW parked him a little hard —

Williams —
Jordan and Henry put in perspective of getting together —

Ray Johnson — Henry & Jordan

Mc Allen — more time on Henry & Ramsey —
more time on problems of State Govt —

Joel Robinson —
Collins, left us on outside looking in —
didn't count labor as important to Co. politics —

Valk — excellent job on education —

Kilner — perhaps Projects closer to first of month —

Mc Allen — Projects good — more day light time —
used organizing skills to get into a place —

Final Evaluation

(2)

Program as a whole

Chitty —
His 1st ed. program — came on few days notice —
didn't know what to expect —
thought of some of it as a lot of balony —
recognized problems of putting the program together —
the four weeks tied together — made a
hell of a good program —

most experienceful & educational 4 weeks

Wally — Reading
will get more out of it than realize
Nothing out of Slaiman — not worth a damn —

Elbert — more "techniques" re law — specific info
re problems re organizing —

Virgil agreed with Robbie — more up to date, practicing law —

Jennings — Marvin opened door — "the key" to lot of problems —
Dan admitted didn't have all answers — looking to groups —
Pollitt ~~seemed~~ seeking our reactions —

~~Relations with the University~~

RELATIONS WITH THE UNIVERSITY → (center this heading)

Facilities and Services.

In general, the relations between the University and the Institute were quite good. Such an undertaking has to be sensitive to the impact it makes on the ~~University.~~ school. For most Southern universities, simply the fact that ~~the~~ an Institute is composed of union staff people ~~makes it~~ constitutes a new experience. On a very few ~~offasions~~ occasions the Institute staff had to be alert to not receive disadvantageous ~~x~~ treatment because of the nature of the group. Such incidents were ~~restricted to one or two persons acting on behalf of the University, and~~ most limited and usually did not involve matters of any serious ~~dis~~ness. However, in making the arrangements for the Wilkins public meeting we were reminded all over again how sensitive and cautious even a University can become, perhaps especially in the Southern setting, when it feels it may receive untoward attention. ~~Some person in the~~ A few University administrat~~ion~~ors were ~~quite concerned about receiving any advance~~ worried that the meeting would receive advance publicity, ~~for that meeting.~~ The Institute cooperated in this matter because the size of the auditorium available necessarily limited the crowd.

The problems which arose out of the Wilkins meeting served as a reminder that ~~in~~ an understanding ~~has to~~ should be reached between the Institute and the University as to how far the former will be bound by the procedures of the latter in such matters as contact with the press, the community at large, and the University faculty and student body. This may be an area ~~requiring~~ for ~~more advanced~~ greater attention than previously has been the case. ~~in the previous Institutes.~~ The Institute itself, of course, bears some responsibility for behaving in conformance with ~~a~~ reasonable university rules ~~since it is~~ in so far as it is a university activity. ~~to some degree.~~ Although in a set-up like the Center for Continuing Education at the University of Georgia ~~is~~ it is ~~some~~ at times difficult to ~~separate what is~~ differentiate between a university activity ~~from activities making use of~~ and an activity using university services.

It is possible, of course, that

~~the cloudiness in this regard perhaps~~ this cloudiness, especially in a period of transition, serves ~~the~~ to some practical ~~need of~~ advantage for both the university and ~~the~~ groups wishing to ~~avail themselves of~~ use its facilities.

Insert "A" from p 3.

A

~~Some~~ question might be raised as to whether the fees paid by N.I.L.E. for ~~the~~ facilities and staff assistance to the University represented money well spent. ~~The main questions be really being raised~~ What is really asked here, is whether or not that portion of the fee justified by the University's providing a conference coordinator was of sufficient worth to the Institute. It is true that no ~~one~~ outsider to the University ~~itself~~ could fully appreciate the amount of ~~detailed~~ paper work and detailed processing ~~that~~ required ~~someone has to oversee in order~~ to make such an ~~I~~institute a reality. But during the course of the ~~Institute~~ N.I.L.E. Program everything from securing a photographer , to ordering visual aids equipment, to contacts with University faculty really had to be initiated and ~~followed through on~~ rechecked despite the ~~existence~~ presence of the conference coordinator. This is not to say that the coordinator did not play some role in these processes , but it is to suggest that in many cases it was a superfl~~eu~~uous one. At times it was necessary to either overlook him or by-pass him altogether. It is difficult to know whether this situation came about because of his newness to the job, a special ineptness on his part, or to the peculiarities of such an ~~I~~institute and the demands it makes on the institution which houses it. Suffice it to say that a good bit of time on the part of both the directors was spent on rather mundane administrative details, including recouping the coordinator's errors. Although both directors were used to such tasks, ~~This is something that both of them were used to doing but~~ in this ~~a~~ case it meant being away unnecessarily from the ~~instructional and~~ substantive program.

With the exception just noted and in encountering occasional brittleness in attempting to work out arrangements at the desk ~~in~~ charge of ~~rooms (housing)~~ with housing, the staff of the Center was most cordial and helpful.

~~(THIS PARAGRAPH MAY NEED TO BE INSERTED ELSWEHERE)~~

Insert (A), p. 2

There are a number of things which could be done to ease relations with the institution providing the facilities for the Institute. These same items ~~, of course,~~ would also assist the planning of the Institute itself. If it is humanly possible, an~~d~~ earlier determination of the number of participants, the number of visiting faculty and when they will show, the physical space requirements, and ~~what~~ what is real ly wanted in terms of ~~meals,~~ dining social, and recreational facilities would be of great help. The third Institute did reasonably well on all of these; however, there was a period of uncertainty which proved to be somewhat unsettling to the Center for ~~c~~Continuing Education. On the other hand , the planners of the Institute had been promised some specific arrangements which the Center could not deliver.

Faculty and Students.

Several fruitful contacts were made with individual students and faculty members. This was especially the case in the Institute's relation with a visiting professor of labor law. Several conferences were held ~~with~~ ~~between~~ with him, ~~and~~ other members of the Law School faculty, and members of the Institute ~~staff and~~ faculty. He made several volumes of the BNA arbitration reports available to the ~~Institute~~ group. ~~And~~ Dan Pollitt ~~visited~~ talked to his labor law seminar and two of his especially interested students sat in on ~~a~~ one of our session~~s~~. ~~of the Institute~~.

The ~~Institute~~ director had notified a selected group ~~of~~ from the faculty ~~persons~~ ~~that~~ about the dates the Institute would be on campus and ~~and~~ the visiting faculty ~~which would be on hand~~ on hand during the month. Rather limited use was made of the ~~visiting~~ visiting faculty by ~~the~~ University programs but there was a ~~general~~ friendly response from several quarters including the deans of the ~~Law~~ School~~s~~ of Law and Business. ~~and the School of Business~~

Two members of the University's faculty ~~were~~ taught in the program. ~~involved in the Institute's instructional program~~. Professor Hazel Simpson taught the course on reading and

Professor Bill Collins taught the session on problems of state government. Professor Collins was especially interested in the total program of the Institute and had been helpful in its planning and in making some special arrangements with the University. He was also on hand for the opening session and attended a small dinner for Mr. Wilkins on the evening of the public meeting.

The Wilkins meeting itself ~~had a very~~ created a good response from the members of the student body and faculty who attended. They ~~seemed to be quinely~~ were genuinely appreciative that th e Institute had provided ~~this~~ that opportunity. The audience of 350 persons was brought together almost entirely by word of mouth since there had been no advanced ~~publication of the meeting~~ publicity. ~~This~~ The good turn out represented a ~~good bit of~~ substantial interest on the part of a number of faculty persons.

On the day before the Institute officially closed, five members of the faculty and administration met with Ralph Campbell, George Guernsey, and Emory Via to discuss the nature of university labor education and to explore~~d~~ the possibility of developing a continuing interest at the University of Georgia in a program of labor education. This meeting was useful but ~~a~~ at best could be described as simply an attempt to plant a few ~~ideas.~~

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~~It has already been indicated~~ We repeated above that several members of the faculty and student ~~boys~~ body gave ~~some~~ assistance to the ~~groups~~ teams working on ~~the various~~ projects. ~~The Institute members seemed to~~ Our students responded quite well to most of these contacts. They also developed ~~a some~~ an interest in a few problems at the University including a ~~real~~ concern over the wages and working conditions of the Negro employees performing menial tasks at the Center building.

~~EXTERNAL RELATIONS~~

EXTERNAL RELATIONS → (Center)

Daily Press coverage

Immediately after the opening of the Institute on January 10, a press release featuring the speech by Joseph Keenan was sent to the Atlanta, Athens, and ~~a few~~ other papers. (See Appendix III) Unfortunately, this release received very little attention.

Three news stories appeared as the result of Roy Wilkins' visit to the campus and Institute. The participants in the NILE program ~~Institute~~ marveled at how the news coverage of this event was handled. It was ~~quite~~ difficult~~, if not impossible,~~ from two of the stories to ~~even~~ determine that ~~trade~~ unions, ~~or~~ the AFL-CIO, or even NILE had had anything to do with the Wilkins speech. These two stories also featured what they termed ~~a~~ "Wilkins' attack on labor." The Institute members and staff not only thought that the presentation was a good one but quite fair in its handling of union-civil rights issues. ~~union as they relate to civil rights issues~~. The two stories completely overlooked the importance of the sponsorship of the program, especially ~~a~~ if Wllkins had indeed "attacked" the labor movement. The third story was written by a reporter who seemingly ~~evidently felt that he~~ had been turned away from the Institute by the University's coordinator ~~supplied by the University~~. This was a most unfortunate incident. As it turned out later, the reporter thought he had been turned away by a member of the NILE staff. This was in no way the case and the directors were deeply distressed that such an incident had occurred. This newsman, who relied on someone else for his story altogether, at least was able to accurately report the sponsorship of the Institute and the origin of its participants. The student newspaper, one of the earlier two mentioned, along with its inaccuracies reported portions of Mr. Wilkins' speech with greater sensitivity than did the two daily papers.

~~The~~ Before the month was over the Institute received two further press notices in the Atlanta Journal. One of these was a descriptive article about ~~his~~ the Institute itself. The other was a columnist's remarks about a portion of the Institute which he had observed. [SEE Appendix III]

Labor Press Coverage

The AFL-CIO News has carried two reports since the close of the ~~Institute.~~ Program. The first was a front page picture and long caption identifying some of the participants in the Institute and its sponsors. The second article was a full page of pictures taken at the institute with captions and commentary. On March 7, the AFL-CIO released a news story on the NILE Institute and the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council. Included ~~in this~~ with the news story was a transcript of a radio program entitled "Training for the New South" in which Harry W. Flannery interviewed George Guernsey. The main thrust of the fifteen minute program was a discussion of the NILE Institute. It was a lively presentation , in human interest terms, of the program and significance of the Institute.

Several other labor papers ~~have~~ have carried stories about the Athens program. The ones that have come to our attention include: (1) a story in the Laborer for April, 1966, which featured the three members from that union who participated in the program, ~~and a comment on the rest of the Institute;~~ (2) the IUE News for June 16, 1966, ~~carried~~ a story about the IUE's delegate to the program under the heading "He Can't Wait to Arbitrate", with ~~This story also gave brief~~ information about the program , participants, and ~~the~~ instructional staff; and a full page feature on the Institute in the July, 1966 issue of The Painter and Decorator.

Contact with the Athens Community

Aside from these items of press coverage, the group had ~~rather~~ meaningful contact with a number of Athens citizens through ~~there~~ its explorations in developing the ~~already mentioned~~ projects. There were no unusual incidents as the group went out into the Athens community for eating and entertainment. This was the case even though Athens is quite unused to having union staff persons in its midst and is just beginning to become used to the idea of interracial groups. There was no effort by the participants to "test" the community, but several of its eating establishments, bars, and bowling alleys became acquainted with members of the group before the month was over. In a number of instances, in each of these activities the groups were integrated.

Reportedly, one bank (or one bank teller) bristled a bit and refused to cash a check when one of the items presented for identification was a union card. However, a neighboring bank cashed the check without undue reaction.

[redacted]T EVALUATION (center)

We did not use very formal evaluation techniques. There were three brief evaluation sessions coming at the end of each week and a longer evaluation period at the end of the Institute. Beyond these, the evaluation of what took place during the month in Athens rests on the observations of the directors, faculty, and visitors as supported by the comments of the participants themselves and supplemented in a few instances by remarks made subsequent to the Institute either by the participants or by their superiors. ~~This will be an almost chronological report.~~ Toward the end of the first week the two youngest members of the group remarked that the ~~first~~ week had been the "greatest"; ~~they indicated that~~ they had expected the experience to be a dull one and were tremendously pleased to find how interesting education

(Sidehead) Comments from Participants

~~education~~ could be. Another participant ~~indicated~~ said that he had discovered during the first week how he could have saved an election for collective bargaining representation; he expressed the wish that his own international would establish an education program, which, incidentially, it was in the process of doing.

In the evaluation of the first week a member, ~~of the group who is~~ quite conversant with union education activitites, simply said to the group that the presentations during the Institute had been the best he had ever encountered. Another member who felt his reading skill was pretty good, expressed some dismay at finding out how low it was, but ~~he~~ was greatly excited ~~about~~ over the opportunity to improve it. The same student, holding a responsible position in his national union and in his state labor body, had found the instruction in economics "most revealing". Other students commented on the course in economics in terms of its helpfulness in understanding national policy, its utility in understanding and countering management arguments, ~~and~~ for writing interpretive leaflets, and in understanding ~~the~~ what was being written about economic issues. In support of this latter, ~~point~~, one of the students pointed out that he had been reading economic materials, especially from the labor movement, all along but that this was the first time that he really knew what they meant.

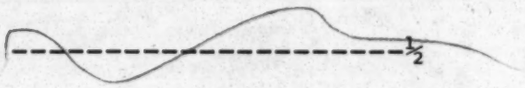
A similar range of comments were expressed regarding the course in arbitration. Its usefulness seemed to be appreciated ~~most~~ by both those who make regular use of the arbitration process and ~~by~~ those who have yet to handle their first case.

A thoughtful member of the group remarked on the ~~fox~~ worth of the courses but expressed a desire to see more content relevant to building trades problems. A number of comments also were ~~also~~ made about the usefulness of the reading course. The liveliness of the instructor was

especially appreciated. One member felt too much emphasis was placed on speed but his observations were largely countered by the rest of the group.

Several Persons said that they individuals had come to the Institute thinking they knew all about their jobs but that they had found out there was a good bit still to be learned and that systematic education could prove most useful.

Towards the end of the first week's evaluation session, another participant remarked that everyone had overlooked the most important part of the week and the process of becoming acquainted with each other.



Other side headings under Evaluation -

Post-Institute Comments by Participants

Comments from other Union Staff.

In Summary -

Teaching Task — add & Faculty

~~NILE EVALUATION~~

The evaluation held at the end of the second week centerd in large measure on the sessions ~~that had dealt with~~ on civil rights. The group had had a ~~very~~ stiff dose. ~~with~~ The subject ~~not only~~ had been being discussed in the course on civil rights and had cropped ~~bearing that title but having a number of items relating to racial relations introduced into the discussions of~~ up in Southern labor history as well. For many of the men this was their the first thoughtful exposure to civil rights problems; and as a part of the program it was an exposure from which they could not ~~easily~~ readily escape. ~~The~~ Reactions varied. Three or four ~~of the~~ men were vocal in their opposition to so much time being spent ~~on such discussions.~~ in this way.

One ~~of the~~ thoughtful member~~s~~ ~~of the group~~ felt that ~~almost~~ too many problems had been raised without enough answers being ~~supplied~~ suggested. He recognized some value in having the topic batted ~~back and forth among the members of the group~~ around in the group but would ~~ha~~ like to have had specific problems such as discrimination in seniority systems dealt with even more concretely. ~~(EV: NOTE: this matter wad discussed in terms of several case examples)~~ As a matter of fact seniority problems and others were considered on a case study basis.

~~Several of the comments related to just not spending so much time on civil rights.~~

Another thoughtful group member ~~of the group~~ raised no special criticism ~~regarding~~ of the discussions on civil rights but ~~candidly admitted~~ confessed that in his area the civil rights movement could ~~kill him as d~~ "kill me as dead as a door nail". Not all the comments were negative. ~~Some of the members~~ A number of were ~~guniu~~ genuinely ~~appreciative to find out~~ interested in finding out more about the work of the Civil Rights Department ~~and~~ the law, civil rights groups, and the work of the EEOC ~~especially how it related to the work of the EEOC. And without any~~ There was no vocal exception to the group's ~~responded quite favorably~~ favorable response to having Roy Wilkins ~~be~~ as one of its speakers. ~~This was the case both in the public session and in the session with the Institute members themselves.~~

The second week's evaluation provided an opportunity for members of the Institute staff to put some of the things that had been said, and some of the complaints raised, into ~~a~~ reasonable perspective. It is worth noting that very few complaints were raised about ~~At the end of the third week the group members were still not raising any special problems regarding~~ facilities and other Institute arrangements. Most of the comments at the end of the third week centered on the sessions on Southern economic problems and ~~on~~ labor law. There were ~~other~~ comments on Ray Marshall's sessions on trends in collective bargaining and the future of labor in the South, but after two weeks of his teaching ~~outstanding performance~~ and good relations with the group there was a tendency ~~on the part of the participants~~ simply to say that he was a great instructor and very helpful.

Several members thought that not enough time had been allowed for discussion of Southern economic and poverty problems. ~~which included a discussion of poverty~~. ~~The group~~ A question was ~~started its own discussion~~ raised as to whether or not Southern economic problems could have replaced the course on economics or vica versa. ~~They could see that there was~~ Some overlap ~~between~~ these courses as well ~~as a bit of overlap with some of~~ with the lectures by Marshall seemed apparent.

Regarding the labor law course, there was general agreement that it had been an excellent presentation. There was no criticism of what had been done in this course, but perhaps the majority of the group would have welcomed ~~even~~ more time ~~being~~ spent on the specifics of the law as it relates to bargaining and organizing as against time ~~being~~ spent on ~~a~~ discussions of ~~policy~~ proposals for policy changes. By and large , however, the group would have endorsed the idea of having both kinds of emphases made even if more time were required for the labor law course.

One participant made some mildly negative comments following one of Henderson's sessions. It should be emphasized that

that these comments were restricted to just that one session. Interestingly enough , this same critic then spent about an hour and a half talking with Henderson about Tennessee politics and was greatly enthused about his personality and insights.

A participant who had been outspoken earlier in his criticism of the attention given to civil rights, in the midst of one of Henderson's lectures turned to his neighbor who shared his views and said , "I've gotten more from this guy on civil rights in the last few sentences than I did during the whole week when we were talking about it." ~~civil rights~~ Such a response necessarily raises the question as to whether it would have occurred without the preceding emphases on problems relating to racial discrimination.

Some of the political studies courses in the fourth week included direct race relations material. It was following the session which featured Claude Ramsay and Aaron Henry that a member who had reacted fairly negatively to the ~~emphasis on~~ civil rights presentations came by the director rather excitedly and said "this guy (Henry) made real sense; I'm going to talk with him." And he did so.

Two of the Negro delegates commented on the contribution made by Vernon Jordan; "He really went over with the rest of the guys." They also thought that it had been great to have Wilkins attend the Institute.

The final evaluation by the students indicated that they had in fact been challenged during the month. To be sure, they were not in complete agreement as to just what had happened to them in the course of the Institute, but there was a large measure of agreement that the program had been interesting, informative, and that they had learned the value of education and of a variety of educational techniques. One participant who considers himself an able organizer and who had been somewhat critical in the early

days of the organizing course, took time out in the final evaluation to express appreciation for the instructor's having done a good job. Several questions were raised about the projects. A few persons thought that they should have been ~~arranged so that they could be~~ more fully involved in them early in the month. The one member of the group who said that the projects were a waste of time was brought up sharply by a friend (both were members of the clique) by ~~his~~ the comment that the worth of the projects depended on which one you were a part of ~~worked on~~. This was an especially sharp needle since the negative comment had come from a member of the team of the one project ~~which was a~~ failure.

A man who admitted that this was his first educational program~~, and who did not have the same educational background as some of his colleagues,~~ spoke very thoughtfully about the Institute program. He had come on a few days notice without knowing what to expect. In the beginning he thought that ~~a lot~~ much of what was going on was "a lot of baloney". Incidentally, this participant had been strongly critical of the civil rights content~~ of the program~~. Now, he was saying, looking back he could tell how much thought had gone into the planning and just how the various pieces of the program fit together. In his words: "the four weeks ~~time~~ put together had made a hell of a good program."

There were further expressions of desire to have more "practical" information on the application of labor law to organizing situations .

It was impossible to get a full consensus from the group regarding what they felt to be the most valuable portions of the program. It was clear however that most of them felt that the work in economics, arbitration, and labor history ~~of~~ was of outstanding importance to them.

There were ~~some~~ expressions of appreciation ~~in terms of~~ for having had an ~~just getting~~ opportunity to watch ~~a variety of~~ different educational techniques and to have association with the range of personalities and talents ~~that came~~ who taught in ~~for~~ the instructional program ~~from the professions, unions, and civil rights agencies.~~

~~There was a general recognition throughout the group both in class and on the side that they~~ The group recognized that in class and out they had been asked during the month to stop and think. They had been confronted with new information, with challenging situations, with opposing points of view, and with a barrage of needles. In the end there seemed to be a ~~frank~~ general recognition that this had been good for them.

Post-Institute Comment

Listed below are a number of comments gleaned from letters and reports received from ~~some of the Institute~~ participants. ~~There will be no attempt made to identify their source~~ Individuals will not be identified. The comments are presented purely ~~ax~~ as individual expressions about ~~what the Institute had meant~~ the program. They were received during a period which extended from immediately after the Institute until about two or three months later.

"These schools (referring to earlier short-run courses) in my opinion, in no way can be compared with the NILE Southern Staff Labor Institute, and the ability of the chosen faculty to get the message over to the students. Again, I want to thank you and brother George Guernsey for the splendid way you both handled the men in all the difficult situations with such wonderful dignity and without discrimination against any one."

"Recalling the rapt attention which virtually all the instructors, and guest speakers, received from the students I can only conclude that many of the students were receiving an introduction to many of the subjects.

Of course, the fact that our instructers were of the highest quality does not detract from the general enthusiastic intersst of the students."

"Russ Allen's handling of arbitration gave me the tools with which to acquire a "labor skill" about which I had previously had no acquaintance whatsoever."

"The school was also extremely valuable as a lession in basic psychology. The lesson in psychology, or perhaps it is better described as sociology, was the way in which several of my fellow students lost , or at least had altered, what was probably a life-long attitude. That attitude was racial discrimination."

"We came from several unions, from several states, from several levels of educational background, and from several "races"; yet, we left as one -- we were all trade-unionists."

"History, to most people, is usually a boring subject which should have been left forgotten. Dr. Ray Marshall, however brought to his history classes an experience which few teachers have. He was able to keep his students ... engrossed in the past of Southern unionisn. Dr. Marshall also drew a picture of the future of Southern unionisn, not always optimistic, but always fascinatingly holding out the challenge."

"The beginning of the second week a class on civil rights was started headed by Donald Slaiman, Director of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. During this course we had many guests. We had the honor of meeting Mr. Roy Wilkins, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who in my opinion many people should have the opportunity to meet and talk with. We had a night session in the auditorium which was open to the public and it overwhelmed me to see the crowd of

students, faculty, and other people who attended."

"This course (labor law) was very informative, but didn't go quite as far as I would like to have seen it go; however, it could be that I was looking for too many answers that weren't there."

"The accommodations at the University were excellent and and I wholeheartedly approved of the sharing of rooms with other representatives regardless of race, creed , and color. Many good ideas were exchanged on off-duty times. I hope that I will be able to use the information and knowledge that I have received at this Institute to further our international and the labor movement in the South. I feel that Institutes such as this should be carried on throughout the country for our international representatives and every international union. It gives the representatives the opportunity to do more studying and researching that he does not have time to do during the busy schedule of being a representative. I would recommend if any other institutes were held such as this that our international be a part of it and send representatives to such an institute, and hope thatI will be able to attend further institutes to further my knowledge in the future."

"Now, I know how unprepared I am in trying to tackle the great task of trying to promote labor programs and also trying to perform the duties of my union and international union; however, I feel that with the knowledge, experience, and insight that I obtained from the Institute, I had grown from a mouse to an elephant. ~~Pertaining to any~~ labor problems and activities _____.

NILE EAVALUATION REPORT

STUDENT EVALUATION (cont)

Post -Institute Comments

"Now I know how unprepared I am in trying to tackle the graat task of trying to promote labor programs and also trying to perform the duries of my union and international union; however, I feel that with the knowledge, experience , and insight that I obtained frm the Institute I have grown from a mouse to an elephant. I have no fear now when I attempt to converse with business and management pertaining to any labor problems and activities in trying to strengthen our organization. The Institute has proved beneficial in my everyday work to the highest."

"I also think your selection of staff for the Institute was of the finest; I haven't the words to express my thanks to you for accepting my application as a participant of the Institute."

"I believe it would be a relief to sit in class and then about eleven or twelve o'clock to go out with the gang and have a few beers and pizza in Athens. I have heard from a few of the men that attended the Institute, ... I still don't like the word coalition, however, I have been trying to form coalitions of all types except the damned building tradesmen and I might even be caught trying to do that before it's over."

"My first day at school, I was prepared to remain aloof from any representative who did not have former CIO affiliation. I had a built in prejudice which I knew would not be dispelled during my stay at the Institute. I felt that the only dedicated representatives in the labor movement came from the CIO and particularly from my union .... How long can a guy stay on the wrong track? Thanks to the NILE program I was not only able to get rid of my prejudice but in addition, I was pleasantly surprised to find out how

willingly the representatives from other international unions extended their hand of friendship and brotherhood and my response to them, I must add that George Guernsey's hospitality room helped a lot in this area."

"A few comments about the program itself: I thought the first week was tough as hell but in thinking it over I believe it is necessary to do this in order to get the representatives' minds off the problems in their locals , so that the learning processes can set in."

In the beginning I felt that the duration of the program was much too long. At the start of the last week I would not have been unhappy if the program had been extended. I do not propose to name anyone in particular but the caliber of instructors who conducted the various classes would be difficult to improve upon."

"It would be most unfortunate if programs such as NILE were discontinued. It would be labors lost."

"I would like to remind you that my colleagues were so embarrassed to find out that they did not read well which made them resentful of themselves .... I must confess that I was surprised at being able to adjust to this method of reading, and now, I would not change for anything in the world."

"While all the subjects were inspiring, the work on the various projects in Athens community enlightened me tremendously on the growing need for community concern and responsibility by union representatives."

"I have personaly accepted and intend to meet this challenge of the union representative and citizen of my own community to improve and highlight the position of organized labor concerning humanity . Recently I contacted the editor of a local newspaper and he related to me that he was deeply impressed

that my organization is concerned with the problems of poverty-stricken prople .... This editor informed me that any assistance in my organizing efforts would be gladly given. Through this editor I learned that the human relations council was holding a meeting. I attended this bi-racial meeting. Present were most of the Negro civic organization leaders and a panel discussion brought to view all the conjumity problems which were almost the same as those we encountered on our project in Athens, Georgia." .... I became a member of the human relations council of Alabama."

"Simply to say I enjoyed the school, sounds dry, but I did very much. I feel that I gained quite a lot from it. Too, it gave me some basics and guidelines to seek answers to other questions relative to the same subjects."

Comments from other Union Staff

Several comments have come to the attention of the directors from persons having either regional or national responsibilities on the union staffs represented by participants in the Institute. Two of these will perhaps give an indication of the range of changed behaviour which the Institute helped bring about.

The first comment was from a staff man with regional organizing responsibilities, as he commented about the a participant who workedunder him. He was high in his praise for the effect of the NILE program on his staff man. Although he was impressed with the generally enthusiastic report from the participant himself, he was even more impressed by what he judged to be changes in thinking and especially in what he conceived in terms of practical improvement in job performance. These changes related to such specifics as the ability to write leaflets, a matter with which the superior had been unsuccessfully attempting to assist the staff man prior to his coming to the Institute.

In the second case, a national education director ~~had~~ received ~~a very~~ an enthusiastic personal report from a participant in the ~~Institute~~ program. The ~~participant~~ man related with ~~some enthusiasm~~ appreciation the value of the interracial experience including his rooming with one of the Negro delegates. The comment of the national education director was that this man had come a long way in terms of his views on race.

In Summary → Center

There is much evidence that the total undertaking was an educational success in terms of ~~both~~ the formal program and in the planned, and unplanned, ~~informal~~ activities outside of the regular instructional format.

~~Teaching Techniques. The teaching program was characterized by variety and informality in terms of relations with the students.~~ Instructor - Student relations were relaxed in and out of class. The educational techniques utilized were varied. It is possible that ~~even~~ more could have been done ~~in using techniques which got~~ to achieve even greater direct participation by the students. However, such ~~a program~~ an undertaking balances two important needs. First, there is the direct need for information coupled with an ability to absorb it . Secondly, there is a need to ~~get a~~ secure detailed, personal involvement in the learning process ~~both~~ so the instructor can ~~gux~~ ~~auge~~ gauge the rate of learning, ~~and~~ to insure that elementary material is properly covered, and to create a healthy sense of participation in the enterprise.

Teaching Techniques: Although much of the teaching was on a lecture ~~plus~~ plus discussion method a number of other techniques were employed. Most of the instructors had their classes interacting with materials presented to them. Some made use of small group discussions and ~~a variety of~~ role playing, ~~situations~~. And, of course, the total program included the use of visual aids and student projects.

More important than the particular techniques used was the fact that ~~the~~ faculty members related well to the students and ~~was~~ were relaxed with them in and out of class. ~~in class and outside in their relations with them~~ . This meant that even ~~where~~ with a ~~short~~ a lecture presentation ~~had been made~~ the group felt ~~quite~~ comfortable in ~~terms of~~ asking questions or asking challenging ~~points that had been presented~~. It also meant that a number of ~~xxx~~ after hours sessions with the

~~with~~ the instructors proved ~~to be especially~~ profitable.

It probably does not need to be said again that the faculty was an exceptionally good one. It is repeated here simply to underscore the importance in such an undertaking, where students are pulled together for an unusual length of time, ~~they come some of them~~ some come with a high degree of sophistication ~~about some of the~~ on a few subjects ~~to be discussed~~ and others ~~come~~ with only an elementary knowledge, that the best instructors available be secured. This means that they need to be ~~people~~ knowledgable in their fields, conversant with the labor movement, and having an ability to teach adults. Care in their selection ~~needs to~~ should be exercised whether such ~~people~~ persons come from the labor movement, other agencies, or the host university.

As has been clearly indicated throughout much of this report, the third Institute profited greatly from being able to rely on a number of instructors of known high quality.

Substantative ~~progamm~~ Program. ~~Much of what can be said about the courses and other aspects of instruction has already been included earlier in this report. It is important, however, to comment on~~ Much has already been said about the courses. Several ~~problems~~ comments on the problems and gains ~~that are~~ exemplified in a special way ~~and those subjects dealing with economics and racial relations.~~ in the handling of economics and civil rights. ~~It was in these two areas that we had the greatest overlap in the material that was presented.~~ In each of these areas, overlapping material was presented. In no case did the director feel that this ~~was just a matter of~~ simple direct duplication ~~nor~~ or wasteful. ~~Some members of the group felt that it was in these areas. We had too much that it was rather that in these areas we had too much duplication.~~

In the ~~case of the course in~~ economics, ~~and the other material presented in the course on~~ Southern economic problems, ~~and even in Southern~~ labor history, ~~plus~~ trends in collective bargaining, and the future of the labor movement in the South, it is true that similar points were made by the

various instructors. ~~A few members of the group felt that this constituted an unwarranted overlapping of subject mater. Howedve the director's own judgment, and he believes that of most of the group, was that much more was involved here than simply some persons feeling that they had heard a similar thing before. Each time a given point in economics was raised by a different instructor it usually meant that a new perspectivehad been put on the relevance of the particiual idea . Furthermore, for some members of the group there weas a real advantage in getting particular points coming from certain instructors because they justplainly related better to the personalit y of that instructor.~~ Although program planners should ~~be careful not to provide undue overlapping~~ avoid overlapping that is unnecessary, we feel confident that in this program ~~the "overlapping"~~ it had important beneficient effects. The repetitions, especially coming from different personalities and orientations, led to increased learning and improved perspectives.

~~Some members of the gropp raised a similar criticism regarding the material related to civil rights. Such reactions came mainly from those who themselves responded negatively to at least a portion of the civil rights presentation.~~ A similar process took place in the consideration of civil rights. We have already noted a few criticisms claiming an overexposure to civil rights. ~~As we have already seen~~ These reactions came largely after ~~being exposed to~~ the second week ~~of a~~ concentrated dose of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ race relations material. Some of the critics ~~these same people~~ responded ~~xx~~ more positively to later faculty members ~~who had~~ brought in for special one-shot sessions. Setting aside for the moment the fact that almost any given class could ~~have been~~ run better, two things seemed to ~~be~~ have operat~~ing~~ed in the situation. One is simply that on a touchy ~~x~~ topic some members of the group would respond to a ~~xx~~ given personality better than to another. The second is that ~~some~~ a real question can be raised as to whether or not the later ~~appearances by~~ presentations on persons dealing with civil rights ~~material~~ would have been nearly so effective ~~if there had not been~~ without the earlier concentrated ~~dose despite the fact that in a few cases this may~~ have ~~caused a negative reaction.~~ on that subject.

~~In general, such a program is well advised to strike a balance between courses directly oriented to more immediate union concerns and those that deal with general social and economic understanding.~~ The Institute demonstrated the advisability of balancing courses that develop social and economic understanding with those related to more immediate union concerns. ~~The~~ Also, the experience of the Institutes

argues ~~in favor of having a limited~~ for limiting the number of courses and increasing the time spent with each instructor ~~and as much continuity in the instructional staff (so long as it is of~~ if high quality~~) as is possible~~. It is important to understand, however, that in making such an observation we do not undercut, but rather emphasize, the value of having specially selected instructors come in for shorter periods of time. In the third Institute it would be difficult indeed to overestimate the contribution made by such persons as Roy Wilkins, Claude Ramsay, Aaron Henry and Vernon Jordan. ~~J~~

~~THE~~ The Group. In most respects ~~the~~ individual ~~members of the group~~ and the group as a whole matured during the month. ~~together.~~ Certainly, most of the men had an entirely new experience in terms of interracial living including a number of interracial roming situations. It is impossible to detail all the ingredients that went into ~~either~~ changing or, in some cases, simply exposing racial attitudes. Strong reactions were limited. And in about half of those cases significant improvement was observed ~~able~~ during the ~~course of the~~ month. One ~~of~~ or two members had ~~perhaps~~ stronger latent feeling about civil rights than they perhaps realized which surfaced ~~after the~~ following ~~rather quite intense~~ exposure to the civil rights ~~sessions.~~ course. But the ~~rest~~ remainder of the month's program provided an opportunity for ~~some of~~ these matters to fall into a new perspective.

A ~~number of the members of the group~~ portion of the groups seemed to suggest ~~have a reaction that ran something like this:~~ We don't ~~want to~~ that they would rather not be reminded too much ~~of all these problems~~ about social problems and they ~~certainly we don't want to be preached at but~~ wanted little preaching on such matters. ~~we are willing to accept what has to be — what has to be done under the law and under union conditions.~~ Yet, with this there seemed to be an acceptance of what has to be done under the laws and under union conditions. However, without special attention there is little hope that such persons would find affirmative steps to take for improvement in the equal enjoyment of rights.

~~Another~~ A member who had had one of the strongest reactions to so much attention being paid to civil rights ultimately saw ~~some of its value~~ value in it. He certainly had a very intense exposure to new personalities and ideas. This would include, by happenstance, his ~~as~~ observing a two hour, closely argued discussion over serious state political issues between

An articulate white and an articulate Negro -- both on the faculty -- who held each other in the highest regard but had strong differences over the matter under discussion. There is no proof, but the chances are this man will never be the same again. He will be better for it. A number of side conversations took place around the Julian Bond incident (where the Georgia legislature had refused to seat a man elected Negro legislator because of his Viet Nam views). This provided, with some discreet goading from the staff, an especially fruitful opportunity to discuss both civil liberties and civil rights issues in a meaningful way.

At least one of the white participants who had some of his latent feelings exposed and commented fairly late in the Institute that the Negro participants had withdrawn from the rest of the group and attempted to generalize from this that Negroes were clannish. His comments as they applied to the four Negro participants were only partly true. The older Negro members were indeed quite reserved in their relations with the rest of the group. The other two men of the other two men one was quiet but responsive and the other was quite outgoing. Unfortunately, this underscores the need, in-so-far as the group is a part of interracial education to still be especially sensitive to getting both enough Negro students and to insure that they provide "sufficient variety" as personalities.

Inset →

Inset (A) (p. 8)

It is almost too natural to focus on the changes in the white members of the group and to overlook that a similar process took place among the Negroes. For these men, too, it was first experience an unusual experience because of the intensity of the enterprize and its duration. They learned too about potential common bonds, existing good will, and about the fumbling efforts of whites to learn new ways. There was also an opportunity to judge how personality differences, regardless of race, influenced relations within the group. That in this and other matters there was no unified white response. Although the Negro members of the group were aware of some language and incidents with racial overtones, they were impressed in general by its absence.

Inset (A)

Administration. Each of the Institutes has shown the need for on-the-spot, consistent care by someone playing a director-coordinator's role. In this Institute we were fortunate in having two persons to fulfill this function. Though it should not be accepted as a recommendation that future Institutes have two such persons, it was surprising how seldom having co-directors was superfluous. ~~Indeed to a lesser degree some other members of the staff fulfilled these same functions on occasion~~. The two directors provided relief for each other from the chores and such strains as developed during the month. Of course, the need for special attention to administration is accentuated by the very nature of the operation in pulling together

men from widely diverse backgrounds, providing an intense program of instruction, and in housing the whole in an institution unfamiliar with such an undertaking. But these are problems which the Institute had meant to assume as a part of its task and it met them successfully.

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Separate Community or instruction?

approx. 30 hours of instruction per week —
over the month
~~108~~ 96 hours in course
15 hours in project
12 hours on specials

Week I 1/9-14	9-11:00	MORNING 11:00-11:15	11:15-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING 7-9:00
Sun. 9				Registration 2:00-5:00	6:00-Dinner, Joseph Keenan, Guernsey, Via, Watkins
Mon. 10	Economics ✓ Marvin Friedman	Coffee	Reading ✓ Hazel Simpson	Arbitration ✓ Russell Allen	"The Inheritance" George Guernsey
Tues. 11	"	"	"	"	The South in the Mid-Sixties Paul Anthony
Wed. 12	"	"	"	"	Handling Technical Grievances- R. Allen
Thurs. 13	"	"	"	"	First Session on Projects
Fri. 14	"	"	"	"	

Main "Courses" — rep. Civ Rts Politics To some degree economics

Economics — (10 hour)
Arbitration (10 hours)
Southern Labor History (10)
Civil Rights 10+2W+
Labor Law (8)
Southern Economic Problems (7½)

Reading (10 hour)
Labor's Future in the South (8)
& Trends in Coll. Bar.
Organizing (8½)
Political Studies (12)
Projects — (14½)

Specials —
~~1½~~ The Inheritance
~~1½~~ The South in the Mid Sixties
~~2~~ Handling Technical Grievances
~~1½~~ Face of the South
~~1~~ Keenan
1 Campbell
1½ Mine
2 - Wilkins

Week II 1/16-22	9-11	MORNING 11-11:15	11:15-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING 7-9:00
Sun. 16					Orientation and Evaluation - 7:30
Mon. 17	Southern Labor History - Ray Marshall	Coffee	Reading Hazel Simpson	Civil Rights Don Slaiman	
Tues. 18	"	"	"	"	"The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights" Roy Wilkins Public Meeting
Wed. 19	Civil Rights Roy Wilkins	"	"	Southern Labor History - Marshall	Southern Labor History - Marshall
Thurs. 20	Southern Labor History - Marshall	"	"	Civil Rights	
Fri. 21	Civil Rights ~~Slaiman~~ Wina Newman	"	"	Free	Free

Week III 1/23-28	9:10:30 ~~9-11:00~~	MORNING 11:00-11:15	10:45-12:15 ~~11:15-12:15~~	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING 7-9:00
Sun. 23					Evaluation and Orientation
Mon. 24	Labor's Future in the South Ray Marshall	Coffee	Labor Law Dan Pollitt	Southern Economic Problems - Vivian Henderson	Projects
Tues. 25	"	"	"	Trends in Collective Bargaining - Marshall	Projects
Wed. 26	"	"	"	Southern Economic Problems - Henderson	Southern Economic Problems - Henderson
Thurs. 27	Southern Economic Problems - Henderson	"	Labor's Future in the South Marshall	Labor Law Pollitt	N.I.L.E. - Joe Mire
Fri. 28	Labor Law Pollitt	"	Projects	"Face of the South" "Investment in Manpower" Films	

Week IV 1/31-2/4	MORNING 9-10:30	10:30-10:45	10:45-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING
Sun. 30					Orientation and Evaluation
Mon. 31	American Political System - Via	Coffee	Negro-Labor Coalitions- Aaron Henry & Claude Ramsay	Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations Jordan-Watters-Cleghorn	
Tues. 1	Organizing Kistler and Pierce	"	Projects	Projects Guernsey	Organizing - Pierce and Kistler
Wed. 2	"	"	Problems of State Government.-Collins	Organizing Allen Kistler	Reapportionment Via
Thurs. 3	Organizing Kistler	"	Political Issues Guernsey	Reports on Projects	Political Issues Guernsey and Film: "Labor's Witness"
Fri. 4	Reports on Projects	"	Evaluation	Closing Luncheon - Campbell	

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DIRECTORS' REPORT FOR THIRD NILE SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

INTRODUCTION

This report is intended to serve both as a summary and an evaluation of the Third Southern Union Staff Institute. The Institute was held at the Continuing Education Center on the campus of the University of Georgia. As in the case of two preceeding ~~institutes~~ programs, this one was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the Education ~~Department~~ and Civil Rights Departments of the AFL-CIO. Funds for ~~the~~ planning, administration, and ~~for~~ providing some of the instructional services and other costs had been secured by NILE from the New World Foundation.

It is not easy to ~~adequately~~ evaluate such an intense educational enterprise. The month was full of courses, challenge, thought, and meaningful personal relations. When the positive experiences are so varied as to include the satisfaction of having improved a skill, an adult student's delight in discovering what a ham omlet is (and having one), to the first inter-racial living experience for some, and to the recharging of the emotional and professional batteries of the directors, what can one say about the whole?

This report springs from the bias that the third Southern Union Staff Institute was a great success. To be sure, included here will be a number of suggestions for improvement and reports of specific incidents which had negative overtones. But overwhelmingly, the month's program was a rewarding experience for the union staff attending, the instructors, and for the two directors. What follows in this report is a more detailed look at some of the elements that entered into the development and execution of the institute. In that process it is hoped that the values realized from the Institute will be made clear.

PLANNING

The chief ingredients in planning for the Institute were program content, faculty, recruitment of students, the arrangement of physical facilities, and the allocation of the financial resources for the various program costs.

PROGRAM.

The outstanding fact about the planning for this third Southern Union Staff Institute was that the whole process could be accomplished more quickly and efficiently because of the experience gained in the preceeding institutes. This was especially true in terms of coming to grips with the major elements to be included in the program, how to give it balance, and how to guage the timing on the various program emphases.

Profiting from the experience of the two previous Institutes was facilitated by the carry over in personnel

and the reporting from the earlier programs. It was especially useful that the NILE director had had a hand in the two preceeding programs, that George Geurnsey had been fully involved in each of them, that the director ~~had been~~ was quite conversant with the planning stages of the second Institute, and that we were able to make use of instructors who had participated in one or more of the previous undertakings. None of this is to suggest, however, that the planners were freed ~~of~~ from the innumerable details, shifts in schedule, and related problems that beset such programs. Certainly, both directors were appaled ? all over again at the ~~time~~ energy required to get the program into final shape.

What was possible was a saving in the cost and time in the use of the program committee. More of the work of the committee could be hanlded adequately and with understanding by phone. Conflicting views of the program and instructors were minor.

(Note: EV - go back and label at an appropriate space this section as the sub heading under PLANNING simply titled PROGRAM)

In the planning of program content, it was important to strike a balance between those subjects which the prospective students would consider directly useful to them in their work as full time union staff representatives and an exposure ~~ion~~ to broader social and economic concerns. A special part of this balance ~~thing~~ was how to ~~give~~ integrate the material that had specific civil rights content so that it would be most meaningful and useful.

Of course, there was the usual concern to space the instructors so that each week included instructors of known quality, not only in terms of ~~their~~ ability but in terms of how they would ~~likely~~ be received by the group ~~itself~~. ~~Perhaps it should be stated right here that we were quite fortunate in the level of instruction throughout the Institute~~. In general, we achieved the kind of balance in th~~is~~ regard which we had hoped for, but the task was certainly made much easier because of the competance and acceptability of all of the instructors.

The original plans, as might have been expected, were changed on several occasions because of unanticipated schedule conflicts on the part of some of the personnel involved. In general, however, the final program did have good balance. The overall program can be quickly grasped by referring to appendix X which is the complete schedule for the month. An indication of the content of the courses will be found below in the section of the report dealing with the courses.

RECRUITMENT

Most of the planning and follow through for recruiting ~~the~~ participants ~~in~~ the Institute was left in the hands of the co-director. Again, less was required in terms of formal committee meetings. General guidelines had been established and the committee could function with little more than looking over applications and granting final

acceptance authority to its chairman. However, it should be underscored that the recruitment task was as arduous as ever, even though aided by the acceptance of the Institute idea in a number of national union offices. An effort was made to expand the number of unions sending delegates.

The recruitment process runs up against the dual problem of giving a national union office sufficient time to plan for the release for a month of a member of its staff and the fact that in some instances it is easier for them to make this decision close to the date of the program rather than far in advance. Added to this should be a frank recognition that releasing one or more full time staff people for a month's time presents very sizeable difficulties to most unions. These vary from deciding how the released man's work will be done in his absence to the sometimes touchy internal political problem of making a single selection from among the various members on the staff. This problem has personal overtones for those who are selected as well. For instance, unless very special care is exercised a man may well come to the Institute not knowing whether he has been honored or stigmatized. He will not know whether he is the most dispensible member of the ~~dy~~ staff or whether someone hopes to help him to become ~~along the way of becoming~~ indespensible ~~to the staff~~.

Full time local officers were recruited for the first time for the Third Institute. This latter fact raised a few problem which should be considered in future planning. The close relation between the ~~mobile~~ local officer and his local union, including the union's dependence upon him, suggest that the national union to even more to make clear to the man and the local what the financial arrangements will be and to give him practical relief and protection from the pressures for ~~his~~ doing his job in the local while away for an extended period of time.

These problems are raised ~~here not just~~ because they have occurred in the past and will likely occur again ~~but also because the nature of this kind of undertaking suggests that they will occur in the future programs as well~~. Perhaps more importantly, a national union's willingness to take on these problems underscores its interests in such staff training endeavors. Similarly it emphasizes the importance of the union ~~as to its~~ contributions to the program in terms of encouragement to the man, ~~ax~~ salary support while not performing his regular duties, and the underwriting of his expenses in connection with the Institute.

LC

PHYSICAL FACILITIES

The search for an appropriate place for the Third Institute was undertaken largely by the Executive Director of NILE in cooperation and consultation with other persons ~~with~~ having a major concern with the Institute. From the outset

of the three Institutes the aim was ~~it had been considered a good idea~~ to hold each ~~in~~ at a ~~separate~~ different universities ~~location but in conjunction~~ with a University. The ~~use of~~ a University setting was considered important for several reasons; one, it would provide ~~the~~ a favorable educational climate; two, it would allow for the use of University resources in program; three, ~~free and~~ it would acquaint ~~a~~ major southern university ~~s~~ with ~~some of the potential in~~ labor education activities. The decision to go ~~A~~ to different universities was considered advisable both in terms of spreading the idea of labor education and because ~~it would provide a~~ ~~different~~ various location~~s~~ ~~within the region which~~ might aid in recruiting from different areas within the region. ~~securing the participation of union staff persons who were not too far removed from that location.~~

The University of Georgia's Continuing Education Center was finally decided upon as the ~~sight~~ site for the ~~T~~third Institute.

The physical facilities at the University of Georgia were quite good in most respects. The participants rooms were comfortable as to arrangement and quality of furnishings. They were small for two person occupancy, more than adequate for single occupancy. A number of rooms were divided into two singles by a folding wall. These were converted to double rooms to be shared by three people. This arrangement provided some flexibility as to room cost and as to the assignment of roommates. In general the group ~~got~~ came through the month with ~~little or no~~ few complaints regarding rooms. There was a

short spell of severe cold weather during ~~which time~~ when some ~~of the~~ rooms suffered from heat failure.

The whole group was housed together on one floor with one director's room, a double room, at one end of the hallway and the other director's room at the opposite end. ~~of the hall.~~ The double room was frequently ~~suitable to be~~ used as a social room in afternoons and evenings. ~~the evenings and on some afternoons~~.

We used a single good-sized classroom ~~which was a good size and~~ with ~~had~~ generally good equipment. There was a ~~and with the exception of a~~ small accoustical problem but otherwise the room was quite satisfactory. ~~was really very good indeed~~. ~~The~~ A separate room was provided by the University to be used as a library and reading room. Aside from these facilities we were able to ~~make~~ use ~~of~~ the regular Center library ~~at the Center~~ for housing ~~some of the~~ reference volumes ~~which had been~~ secured for the program. and We also had general access to that library for whatever materials were in it. The building's auditorium and other rooms were available when needed as long as there was no conflict with other programs. ~~their schedules~~.

The general atmosphere of the building and surrounding area was very good. We felt we were on the campus without being ~~invaded~~ inundated by it. Recreational opportunities on the campus were somewhat limited in practice though in theory we had access to all University facilities.

LC

MEALS.

The main dining room in the Center provided generally good meals in terms of variety and quality. Meals were served on an individual order and pay basis. ~~Some~~ Complaints developed among some members of the group about the prices of

the meals. A few persons ate ~~meals~~ at ~~other~~ places other than the main dining facility. Within the building ~~there was~~ ~~also~~ a coffee shop ~~which~~ provided an adequate, ~~and~~ cheaper breakfast and ~~also provided~~ snack type meals for the rest of the day. # One of the disappointments in the physical arrangements at the University was that we were unable, except through extraordinary effort, to have meals together. Such meals had to be especially planned with a pre-ordered menu in advance and at extra cost. It had been the understanding of the program planning ~~persons~~ are after several contacts with the University at ~~the beginning~~ that it would be possible for the group to share a meal each day using the regular menu and with no additional costs ~~together~~ ~~using regular University facilities and ordering from the menu without any special cost involved~~. This turned out not to be the case. # Although the general spirit of commadery in the group remained very good, there seems little doubt that having meals in common at least once a day would not only have contributed to the spirit of the group but to the educational process as well. Only three times during the month did we have ~~a~~ scheduled meals together. These came at the opening and closing of the program and at a special breakfast held midway. # At lunchtime ~~were able~~ it was possible to group some tables together after having pre-ordered the meals at the coffee break. This turned out to be ~~much~~ less than ~~fully~~ satisfactory. Only about ~~half~~ half of the group ~~or better~~ made regular use of this opportunity.

Problem of individual payment

TIMING

The choice of dates for the Third Institute did occasion some problems. It is not certain, however, to what degree these problems exceeded those ~~were necessarily in excess of what might be brought about on any chosen set of dates~~. ~~Some of the~~ Last minute recruitment and schedule changes were made more difficult because of the proximity of the Institute to the Christmas and New Year's Holidays. Although the Institute was held in the deep South, winter weather became a factor of some importance. It was an unusually severe winter and on at least one occasion some students had difficulty returning from the weekend at home. Furthermore, some faculty were caught in the same weather and were unable to take part in the program.

It is possible that our dates could have fitted a little better with the end of the normal academic semester in terms of securing faculty at a time when we wanted them most. However, by and large this problem seemed to work out reasonably well. ~~The two problems that need to be considered here are the ones of the severity of the winter weather and the difficulty of program planning over the holiday period.~~

~~HEADING?~~

The participants in the Southern Union Staff Institute came from 15 labor organizations and twelve states. Appendix X will give an idea of the variety of unions that were represented. Unions from service, construction, soft goods,

hard goods, ~~and~~ communication, and transportation industries were represented in the group. Each of the southern states, with the exception of Virginia, Mississippi, and Arkansas, were represented, and ~~in the group~~. Participants have worked in these states The home ~~residents~~ residences of three of the Institute members were outside of the south. However, these men served ~~as part of their~~ southern territories as part of their responsibilities

Joan

NOTE: Joan check the registration forms or rather the green registration information secured from each of the Institute participants as part of his application to determine the following information.

The age range in the group

The educational range

The various job titles held by the men - by which is meant the current at the time of his registration job with his union.

Four ~~of the~~ members of the group came from one union, three from another, and two from ~~the other~~ one. Each of the other unions was represented by ~~only~~ one person. Four of the members were Negroes and from three different unions.

Evels

(Perhaps develop some information here about their position in the union, recency on the staff, age and education.)

With such a variety of age, educational experience, union background, it is not surprising that the individuals in the group varied quite a bit in terms of personality, articulateness, and interest.

We were reasonably lucky in the matter of the formation of cliques in the group. The chief clique ~~that~~ ~~did~~ did develop centered

around the four members ~~fox~~ from one union. They stuck together in class and in many social activities. This did not ~~always mean that they agreed with one another, however~~ usually carry over in the educational program regarding uniformity of thought on a "party line." From this core, ~~and~~ an ~~in-formal~~ informal ~~teriphery~~ peripheral clique developed which became a poker game. ~~The~~ This development ~~of this clique~~ was not overtly negative in its impact on the group. It did not lead to fa~~s~~ctionalism ~~nor~~ or to any open exclusion. However, there seems to be little doubt that the existence of this clique ~~prevented~~ dampened the full development of the ~~rest of the group~~ group as a whole. ~~This was partly because at~~ For instance, at least one ~~member~~ of the ~~clique~~ sub-group's ability as a leader ~~was among the more able leaders within the total group~~ ~~did not tear~~ for the whole group was restricted by his participation in the clique. It is possible that ~~our~~ the attempts to make the luncheon meal a more meaningful group experience were thwarted in part because of ~~this group's insistence~~ the clique's resistance in ~~seating themselves~~ sitting together ~~being seated together~~.

The poker game itself served some positive functions. ~~although~~ Nevertheless, it is certainly within the range of imagination that some of its regular participants use ~~their~~ it as an escape ~~rather than~~ from devoting ~~part of their~~ time to more serious pursuits. There is little doubt that the poker game contributed to a general feeling of fellowship for a sizeable number of the group. On occasion the bull sessions accompanying the game were serious and to the point. ~~Some~~ A few of the friendships that develpped there have persisted well beyond the closing of the Institute itself.

~~Some of~~ The younger members of the group regularly looked for more athletic forms of recreation. This usually meant going out for an evening of bowling. This, too, led to ~~some~~ new friendships and ~~also led~~ to serious discussion.

Occasionally they ~~On occasion when then~~ were accompanied by one of the directors ~~of~~ or an instructor. The Negro members of th group did not seem to be excluded from any of the group's informal acticities. None of these men were especially forward in seeking ~~thinking~~ participation with other members of the group. Two of them, the older ones , seemed a bit reluctant to share with the rest of the group except in the regular Institute program and its planned informal occasions such as ~~as for instance,~~ the social hour in the coop room. The other two ~~xx~~ Negro members of the group responded fairly readily to invitations to participate in activities either at the University or out in the town.

In general, the relations across racial lines were quite good. Such strains ~~steains~~ as did occur were largely of a personal nature although it might be fair to admit that there were some racial overtones. Early in the Institute, a more liberal white and one of the Negro members raised a ~~th~~ compliant about one participant's ~~the a fellow white's~~ attitude toward Negroes. This complaint ~~especially~~ centered around the kind of language used by the white member. The staff and offended parties consulted on the problem and came to an ~~the~~ agreement that no special action was required until the offending man and been given a chance to develop further as a member ~~in the~~ group ~~situation~~. The ~~This~~ man underwent ~~did undergo~~ a very interesteing personal development in a months time. [His comments will be spoken ~~recalled~~ in a later portion of this report in terms of a highly negatve reaction to the inclusion of so ~~x~~ much civil rights material]. However, beyond that first week we are ~~re~~ not aware that he was in any overt way offensive or exclusive in his relations with Negro members of the group . Not only did he take part in activities at th University but also went out into the town in an interracial group.

Eval. only

~~The group was~~

Even in this third Institute a number of the participants came not knowing why ~~thexxx~~ they had been sent. There seemed to be little resentment or bitterness, but there was certainly some wondering why the union had selected "me". ~~"pobr mee"~~

There was no ~~obvious~~ open resitatnce to education as such in the beginning. Later we learned that a few persons had some ~~some~~ came with a fairly healthy "show me" attitude. Others came wanting the cahnce ~~xo~~ for an educational exposure but sure that it would be a dull matter. But at the end of the first week, spirits were high and ~~the~~ a vote of confidence on the value and interest of educational pursuits would have been ~~o~~ won handily. This interst perhaps tapered some the second week but began to build again later on. It probably did not diminish again, depending on how ~~you~~ interpret a few last-week symptoms ~~-- latebess, which with some attention began o be cured~~ are not reported. Except for a short spell of tardiness in the last week the Institute was characterized by promptness and attendance. There was ony one absence during the month that was not of an excusable sort . Most absences, and they were minimal, were excused in advance.

There is little doubt that one of the major informal accomplishments ~~s~~ of the institute was the growth of friendships across ~~the~~ union lines. In a few cases old hatchets were ~~literally~~ buried. In others, ~~the~~ common interests and ~~common~~ problems ~~which~~ formed a basis ~~they had became apparent in a bond~~ for new friendship. Perhaps even more important, ~~where there were~~ differences in trades and industry ~~began to understand the significance of these differences~~ is reflected in union history and structure became understandable. ~~Some of the comments of below of the student's evaluation will indicate the depth which some of these friendshpps ranged and also show that they lasted beyond th institute itself~~. Student evaluations, repeated later, indicate the depth of some of the new friendships and that they lasted beyond the institute.

In a region where the labor movement tends to be fragmented and geographically dispersed it is difficult to over estimate the importance of any actvity which builds sound relations across union and geographic lines. The opportunities for such building are all too rare. However, they are frequently seen in ~~have been observed in a number of~~ one week institutes, ~~under the sponsorship of the AFL-CIO in cooperation with one or more state labor bodies.~~ In a one month institute, where no serious divisions develop, it was just a much more dramatic process and the friendships

were able to mature. It would be difficult to have observed the group over the month's period without coming to the conclusion that despite their differences in motivation and orientation that by-and-large they had found a common cause with one another through a common interest in job problems, and through a sense of the developing labor movement within the region.

Although the group did not give much evidence of the "rah-rah" kind of group spirit, there were many occasions when a kind of solidarity and support of the enterprise in which they were engaged was evident. It should be noted in this connection that throughout the month the group as a whole, and almost every individual, remained quite cooperative in the variety of undertakings in which the institute caused them to be involved. It seems clear, to the director at least, that on public occasions or when being visited by "officialdom" that the group, in its own way, rallied to the occasion. This supportive behaviour was clearly evidenced in the Institute's one public program and was similarly evidenced when the group was visited by the director and president of NILE itself. The group as a whole was deeply appreciative of the instructional difference and unstinting in their praise of those persons who took time to be a part of the program. This, of course, does not mean that individuals in the group might not have been critical of particular instructors or of particular classes.

Eval.

~~V. The Courses (note to EFV to include some mention of wives who visited the institute during its course)~~

Several wives visited the Institute. One wife stayed for the entire month and shared in a number of sessions. Another wife was present for the first week. One other participant's wife attended the final day's activities.

~~Rough draft of the NILE Institute report~~

The ~~Courses~~ Curriculum.

The curriculum might be viewed as being ~~spread~~ split into three distinct, though related, parts. The first of these parts were the main courses. The second part was composed of the work done on special projects ~~done~~ by student project committees. And the third portion of the curriculum was made up of special programs, usually in the evening and featuring a ~~special~~ visiting lecturer or a film. Approximately thirty hours per week were spent in instruction. Over the period of the month approximatly ninety hours were spent in ~~course activity~~ class, fifteen hours on projects, and twelve hours in special sdssions.

Courses.

pp. Economics. 10 hours. Marvin Friedman. Three major areas were covered during the discussion of economics.:1.the need for,and the factors that lead to, economic growth; 2. imports and exports.; and 3. the concepts and measurements of employment and unemployment.

The growth of the population and labor force, the impact of increases in ~~purcha~~ productivity on employment and labor costs, and the major components of gross national product (spending for consumption, spending for investment, and spending by governments) were discussed. The possible impact on GNP of various public policies ~~were~~ was also discussed -- for example, a tax-cut, increased spending by governments, and an increase in the minimum wage -- as means of achieving and/or maintaining an adequate rate of economic growth.

The discussion on imports and exports was unplanned -- at least insofar as the amount of time that was consumed. However, since there were some misconceptions about the role of trade and its impact on the American economy, it was time well spent. The material covered in this section included the difference between hourly wages and unit labor costs in the U. S. and foreign nations, and the fact that the U. S.

exports more than it imports.

The discussions on employment and unemployment concepts and measurements involved, in the main, ~~the~~ explaining ~~of~~ the monthly household survey. In addition to helping the group ~~to~~ understand the source of so much of our basic data on the labor force, unemployment and employment , this discussion pointed out that roughly fifty percent of the unemployed are not collecting unemployment insurance, and that people who "really don't want to work" are not counted as unemployed. It also helped to point out that unemployment is greater than the published statistics would indicate because, for example, part-time workers (even one hour) are counted as employed, and workers who ~~make~~ may be discouraged and therefore do not actively seek employment are excluded from the umemployment figures.

space Arbitration. 10 hours. Russell Allen.

The course on Arbitration provided an opportunity to get the group to think constructively and realistically about the problems faced in ~~x~~ arbitration and about the relation of the arbitration process to the union. A good bit of time was spent on skill development ~~in the total process of arbitration~~.

Problems such as preparing ~~the~~ a case for arbitration, selecting an arbitrator, and appraising the desirability of taking certain kinds of cases to arbitration were aired fully. The difficulties in securing able arbitrators in certain geographic or subject areas were discussed as were problems relating to understanding the arbitrator's role, including the kind of orientation an arbitrator brings to ~~the~~ a case.

The skill of the union students was developed by a hard-headed give and take between students and instructor and among the students themselves in developing points and issues. This process was further augmented by the preparation and presentation of a mock arbitration case which involved

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all ~~the~~ members of the class. ~~in one capacity or another.~~

Southern Labor History. 10 hours. Ray Marshall. The lectures and discussions in Southern labor history surveyed the details of early union development in the South and related them to national labor developments ~~as well as to~~ and general U. S. history. A good job was done in ~~relating~~ showing the relevance of labor movement progress and incidents to social developments within the region. ~~This was true both for the earlier periods and for the more recent past~~.

The members of the group responded quite interestedly not only ~~in~~ to the fascinating details of specific incidents but ~~in seeing the~~ relating that ~~kind of~~ history with which they had a general familiarity ~~related~~ coherently ~~in the context of~~ to broader social developments.

As tends to be the case with history, the group was of course surprised at the amount of detail available about this rather specialized history when it has been pursued ~~but~~ by a competent ~~researcher and~~ scholar. (Make note in evlauation to underscore the importance of this kind of perspective in getting people to think about the kinds of problems with which the Institute had a primary concern.)

Eval.

end of tape.

NILE EVALUATION - Rough draft

Curriculum (Continued)

Courses (continued)

Civil Rights. ~~Ba~~ 10 hours. Don Slaiman.

Space

Under the general heading of civil rights the group discussed the ~~appropriate~~ legal developments leading to the current state of law and the social forces now ~~in~~ at play in the field of racial relations. The various roles of the civil rights organizations were presented. ~~A good bit of~~ Attention was paid to why the labor movement nationally, and and on other levels, is concerned with civil rights developments and supportive of positive action by ~~all levels of~~ government and by unions and other private agencies. A number of case studies involving unions were discussed ~~fully~~ with the group. These included situations ranging from membership exclusion to employment discrimination and included cases where the race relations problems of the community affected local unions as well as the reverse of this situation.

Al Kehrer worked with Slaiman on these sessions. Two other resource persons were used in this course. They were Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, and Wing Newman, director of labor liasion for the EEOC.

Space

~~Labor-Law~~. Labor~~Wax~~ Law. ~~10~~ hours. Dan Pollitt.

~~There were~~ Two main themes ~~during~~ run through the labor law course. One of these reviewed the law as it applies to organizing, developed some examples, and dealt with problems raised in the class. The other theme was a fairly extensive ~~coverage~~ examination of problems arising out of the law and a variety of proposals which have been suggested to meet ~~those problems~~ them. (for later evaluation: the group responded well to both of the themes in the labor law course and would have welcomed a greater time allotment for labor law.) In general, they did not want to exclude the consideration of public policy changes but would probably have preferred more detailed attention being given to day to day problems.

Eval.

Both the instructor and students raised specific cases for comment. Attention was also paid to the processing problems involved in using the national Labor Relations Board.

Southern Economic Problems. 7½ hours. Vivian Henderson. Southern ecnomic problems were viewed both in terms of the long-run difficulties which the South has encountered in moving from an essentially agrarian, and even plantation, economy into an industrial one. The more rapid industrialization of recent years was examined in terms of its real benefits to the region as well as accompanying problems.

This course included a discussion of regional manpower problems in the region and their relation to the national economy.

Eval

(Make note for evaluation: indicate the interaction with race relations and especially Wally's comments and also note how this course dovetailed with the general economics course f:Friedman)

A portion of the sessions was devoted to the question of poverty within the region and nation. The discussion assisted the group in coming to grips with the economic realities that underly poverty problems as well as assisting in discovering the kinds of national policies which could contribute to improvement.

Labor's Future in the South. - and Trends in Collective Bargaining. 8 hours. Ray Marshall.
These two topics were covered in the second week which Ray Marshall spent with the group. Marshall used the background he had laid in the presentations on Southern labor history as a springboard for discussing labor's future in the South. The course focused on current statistics regarding extent of organization within each of the Southern states, the kinds of industries organized, as well as successes and failures in NLRB elections. The social and economic climate in which the union movement in the South finds itself was explored. These items were pulled together to provide the basis for a few projections.

Eval

(For Evaluation: This course was useful in terms of the perspective it provided and because it oriented the students to more than just organizing drives and involved them more completely

in the total social milieu. Once again Marshall's posiive identification with the labor movement was an asset in helping create interest and undarstanding in what he had to say.)

Under trends in collective bargaining recent developments in the issues bargained and in union and company strategies were discussed. A variety of fringe benefit proposals -- many now ~~invited~~ included in contracts -- ~~were discussed~~ were considered. The social implications of ~~some~~ plans which affect economic security such as pension, welfare, and profit sharing were given attention.

Organizing. 8½ hours. Alan Kistler and Jim Pierce. ~~The organizing course~~ Denny this course the group discussed tactics and strategy in a variety of organizing situations. It included attention to such problems as the development of in-plant committees, ~~and~~ their representativeness, and ~~paying attention to~~ the importance of recognizing existing or evolving informal groups within the plant. Employer tactics in an organizing situation were explored in some detail. The group also discussed problems raised within the region ~~regarding organizing becausd of~~ by the activities of several important law firms which worked with management on labor related problems.

Specific training was provided in such areas as the writing and use of handbills. The group also had a chance to become acquainted with some of the ~~recent~~- resources ~~from~~ of the national AFL-CIO ~~which would be useful in organizing situations~~ useful for organizing. ~~A good bit of~~ Time was spent in examining specific organizing campaigns. This was especially true in the detailed look at a recent major drive in the textile industry. ~~Political studies~~

Political 'sStudies. 12 hours. Emory Via, George, Guernsey,

A number of separate topics , some of them handled by persons other than the listed instructors, composed what is called the political studies course. The course included a brief look at the American political system, ~~how it functions and can be described~~ and how the labor movement relates to it. Several current national

political issues were discussed with major and detailed attention beging paid to public education problems and national policies relating to them.

Special problems such as reapportionment, problems of state government (Bill Collins), Negro-laborpolitical coalitions, (Aaron Henry and Claude Ramsay), and changing voting patterns ~~in-a~~ and Negro voter organizations (Vernon Jordan, Pat Watters, and Reese Cleghorn) were discussed in ~~several~~ special sessions.

Reading. 10 hours. Hazel Simpson.

The reading instruction was spread over a two week period , one hour each day. It included comments on motivation and the learning process as a background of understanding specific reading problems. Attention was ~~paid~~ given to individual difficulties insofar as time and the size of the group permitted. The group ~~wirjed~~ worked ~~both~~ on increasing ~~its~~ both speed and ~~its~~ understanding. ~~of what had been read~~. The now standard techniques of control and speed projections and reading workbooks were utilized. (For evaluation note the class sessionswere lively and well received. Competition among individuals was kept to a minimum. The instructor did a good job in relating attitudes and other difficulties in relating attitudes and other difficulties to specific techniques for assisting people in overcoming blocks.)

Ev: for eval (?) Workbooks late in being passed out Course ?

Projects.

The ~~idea of the proje~~ use of projects ~~within~~ the institute was developed for several reasons: a) to vary the educational techniques being employed, b) to increase community awareness, c) to provide an opportunity for more intense small group, cooperative work across a variety of lines, d) to improve specific skills such as interviewing and undovering resources within the community, e) to increase the group's awareness of community problems and ~~its sensitivity to~~ the forces at play within ~~the~~ a community, and f) to provide an opportunity for a detailed examination of ~~some~~ a problem of interest to the individual~~s who selected it~~, ~~g) to learn something~~.

Early in the month a special session on projects was held ~~A preliminary session on projects was held.~~ A variety of possible topics ranging from the improvement of basic skills in union affairs to problems of social concern ~~were put before the group~~. The suggestions came from the directors, Al Kehrer, the instructors on hand for that week, and from the group itself. The group was encouraged to think about undertaking projects which would involve them in the community and thereby provide ~~that sort of broadening experience~~ an extra dimension to the month's program.

~~The group divided into five~~ Five main project areas were selected. In each case the emphasis was on looking primarily at the Athens community including the University itself. The project areas were : 1) The Attitude of Local Ministers Toward Certain Social Changes; 2) Process, Progress and Problems in School Integration; 3) Socially Concerned Student Groups; 4) Urban Renewal; 5) Local Poverty Programs.

There will be no attempt ~~made~~ here to report the details of what each project committee discovered ~~or thought it had discovered~~. With one exception each committee did an interesting and useful job with the time it had at its disposal. The results were informative to the total group and served a significant educational purpose for the members of the committee.

Student Groups

The committee dealing with student groups was the least productive. Two reasons account for this. One was the paucity of appropriate student groups to be examined. The second reason related to the committee's response to its ~~almost~~ most negative leadership. This was brought about by a preponderance on the committee of members ~~There was probably some overflow effect~~ from the one clique which developed in the total group ~~since some of their members predominated on this particular committee~~. In any case ~~there did~~ they did interview two student leaders, a few other students, ~~and~~ had discussions among themselves ~~and~~ with one of the directors, and with an interested faculty member about student interest in social problems and politics.

School Integration

The committee dealing with educational desegregation broke into two teams (one of which was integrated) and interviewed such persons as the assistant superintendent of schools, the Negro counselor in the central education department, a resigned school board member, a Negro principal and fifteen high school students.

This committee learned something about openness as well as evasiveness in the discussion of serious community problems. Their interest ranged from wanting to know why Negro students wish to attend white schools to being concerned about the absence of student teachers from the University in the Negro high school.

Local ministers

The committee interviewing local ministers was essentially a two man integrated team. ~~(For a note to be included in the School Integration project~~ , the group on its own developed ~~some~~ insight into the parallel between the interviewing of students who might wish to attend an integrated school by either school board members or a superintendent ~~who might wish to attend a white school~~ and the quizzing of union members or potential members by ~~the~~ a company's management.) The ~~group~~ team interviewed two Negro ministers, a Rabbi and a priest. They discussed such problems as the ministers' views on the economic ~~d~~ conditions of the poor in the community, the ease of voter registration ~~for voting~~ in Athens, general racial relations in the city, and the ministers' attitudes toward organized labor. The team was ~~in general quite~~ impressed with the particular ministers they met although they admitted that their method of selection was likely to insure a positive response. It seemed quite clear, however, that not only did the team ~~not only~~ become better informed about the community and gained an understanding of the role ~~mx~~ of ministers in it, but that ~~that~~ the ministers themselves had ~~had~~ a fairly unique experience in their exposure to the members of the team.

Poverty

The committee on poverty both assembled ~~a good bit of~~ published material and interviewed local ~~persi~~ persons who either in official or voluntary capacities were concerned with poverty programs. The committee digested a good bit of factual material ~~which~~ related to ~~the kinds of programs which~~ programs assisting education or ~~are conducted~~ carried out through the Board of Education. These were the main activities receiving OEO support in Athens. The committee's discussion included ~~some~~ special attention paid to ~~the~~ Headstart programs in Athens ~~and the surrounding territory~~ area. ~~One of the good by-products of several of the project reports was the detailed involvement of some of the quieter members of the group. This was especially true for one of the members of the poverty project committee.~~

Total

Urban Renewal. ~~The urban renewal~~ The group studying urban renewal talked with a variety of officials and community leaders concerned with problems involved in urban renewal. They talked to the head of the local urban renewal program, to the mayor, to ~~the~~ a league of Women Voters member engaged in ~~the~~ a special study of such programs, and to a small business man who had been dislocated by urban renewal. The committee began to grasp the variety of contending interests as urban renewal plans were proposed, changed, and put into execution. They could see the relation between general city planning and urban renewal proposals and the ~~kinds of~~ multiple considerations, including political, that go into ~~even~~ so elementary a process as picking a renewal area. The committee became aware how even reasonably good social planning can have adverse effects on some individuals ~~especially~~ if great care is not exercised. They also discovered how ~~a~~ new programs proposed (or accepted by some) on the basis of social idealism can run into the real world of contending economic interests.

In the main the reports of the project committees were lively and informed. ~~They used a variety of techniques.~~ The reporting was marked by variety. Each group divided its report among several of the committee members and the technique for presenting the material varied from the reading of a statistical report to presenting questions of interest and supplying the answers, to role playing ~~some of the~~ situations in which the committee members found themselves. A good by-product of the projects and their reporting was the active involvement of quieter members of the groups.

ok — STU.

NILE EVALUATION

Curriculum (cont.)

Special Sessions. Eight special sessions were held during the month. Although they are set aside here for separate comment, in fact each of them was an integral part of either the subject matter of the Institute or a part of understanding the ~~evolvement~~ development of the Institute itself and the relevance of such training to the problems of the labor movement in the South.

The first of the special programs came on the opening evening with an address from Joe Keenan, Secretary-Treasurer (check title) of the IBEW. Mr. Keenan talked about the development of the labor movement, its current and changing responsibilities and demands, and the relevance of training to prepare union staff for the tasks that confront them.

Early in the first week the film THE INHERITANCE was shown. A discussion was led by George Guernsey. The film was well received by the group, and ~~was~~ discussed in terms of both its content and its usefulness ~~in~~ for a variety of union situations.

Paul Anthony, Director of the Southern Regional Council, talked with the group about the South in the mid-sixties. The session provided some general background on the changing South and the information and interpretations given were supportive of later discussions dealing with civil rights.

A special session was arranged with Russ Allen on the handling of technical grievances. The whole group participated in this session, voluntarily, even though a number of the ~~staff persons~~ members did not ordinarily deal with the kinds of problems receiving major attention in this session -- ~~that is~~ problems relating to job evaluation.

During the second week the Institute sponsored a more public program open to members of the faculty and student body of the University of Georgia as well as to some of the members of the Athens community. This program featured Roy Wilkins, Executive

Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. speaking on the topic of the nation's stake in civil rights. It was an interesting program, well received by the members of the Institute and by their guests. ~~of the Institute.~~ This session represented the first time that a major national civil rights figure had spoken to a public group on the campus of the University of Georgia. Although the meeting had not been widely publicised, it was attended by some ~~300~~ 350 ~~50~~ persons from the University community. Mr. Wikkins was received with a standing ovation at the initiative of the NILE Institute participants but without any special stimulation from others than the participants themselves.

During the third week the group was visited by Joe Mire, Executive Director of NILE. This session was used to acquaint the group with the interests and programs of NILE, the importance and variety of labor education activities, and with some of the background of the ~~staff~~ Institute itself.

Also during the third week there was a special film showing of the FACE OF THE SOUTH, featuring the map-lecture ~~of~~ by George Mitchell, former Director of the Southern Regional Council. This proved to be a lively session as the group discussed the utility of the film in the current Southern scene ~~regarding~~ with ~~either~~ existing local unions ~~or~~ and in organizing drives. This ~~film and discussion~~ session was a further contribution to the total consideration being given to civil rights and racial relations. On the same afternoon, the film, INVESTMENT IN MANPOWER, was viewed and discussed in terms of existing and needed national manpower policies. ~~within the United States.~~

In the closing session of the Institute Ralph Campbell, President of NILE, talked with the group about the importance of University labor education programs to unions ~~either~~ as on-going institutions or as a developing movement. Campbell also spoke to the relevance of staff training for those who are not only in a ~~changing~~ developing region but also in a field of work, industrial relations, which continues to undergo a variety of changes.

It was with ~~some~~ real regret that ~~the~~ efforts to plan a further special program, open to a wider audience, did not succeed. It had been hoped that a speaker of national prominence from the labor ~~movement of national prominence~~ could be presented to the Athens and University communities. This would have been an important addition to the total institute. However, conflicts with ~~in either~~ personal schedules or the University's schedule for its facilities prevented such a ~~this~~ program ~~idea~~ from becoming a reality.

Reading, Use of Library, and Individual Projects.

The reading course was included in the curriculum not just to improve an individual's skill and to provide him wth a sense of accomplishment but to encourage reading on the part of the students during the Institute. In general, all three purposes of the reading course were fulfilled. However, more time, without undue burden, could have been spent by most of the group in extra reading. As might be expected the materials which were most closely and widely read were those directly connected with a course either in terms of an assignment or materials distributed for use in class. A special library of about 30 selected volumes and a number of current periodicals was reserved for the exclusive use of the group. It was seldom used for reading purposes. In the Center building's regular library the Institute provided the BNA Labor Reference Services. These materials received occasional use and ~~in~~ the group had an opportunity to become familiar with them. ~~their use, and the sorts of information available through that source.~~ A few participants did come to the directors for suggestions of things to read or had been spotted for special interests and had materials suggested to them. In these cases the materials seem to have been effectively used .

During the course of the month a number of the students worked on special side projects of interest to them in the performance of their union staff jobs. There is no way to estimate how many such projects were undertaken. But as an example of what is meant here three endeavors will be mentioned. One was the

the study of a variety of materials and books relating to problems of time study and a search for further sources of help in this area. A second side project , similary to the first, was related to problems in job evaluation. A third participant needed to make preparations for an NLRB hearing. In each case the men were able to get not only materials but consult on the spot with members of the staff about their problems. Frequently, the participants sought one another out for information or advice regarding special problems ~~after having found that the other party had successfully had a troublesome situation.~~ as they began to learn about another man's competence or experience.

Visitors. Several persons from the labor movement visited the Institute during the month who were not scheduled to participate in the regular program. In each case they lent an extra sense of importance to the undertaking just because they took the time to be there. This was especially meaningful for the participants in the Institute who were from the same union as the visitor. In each case the visitor related well to the rest of the group and seemed to ~~have~~ conclude ~~gathered from~~ ~~their~~ his brief stays that the program and group were moving along in good shape. In only one instance did a visitor to Athens use his time only for the purpose of consulting with his own staff; in this case the visit was undoubtedly of use to the staff people involved but had essentialyy no impact on the group as a whole.

Professor Ray Marshall, an expert on southern labor, lectures to union staff members at North Carolina institute.

Staff Training With a Southern Accent

Two students from the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union: John L. Parker of Birmingham (left) and Lock J. Parker of Suffolk, Va. (right).

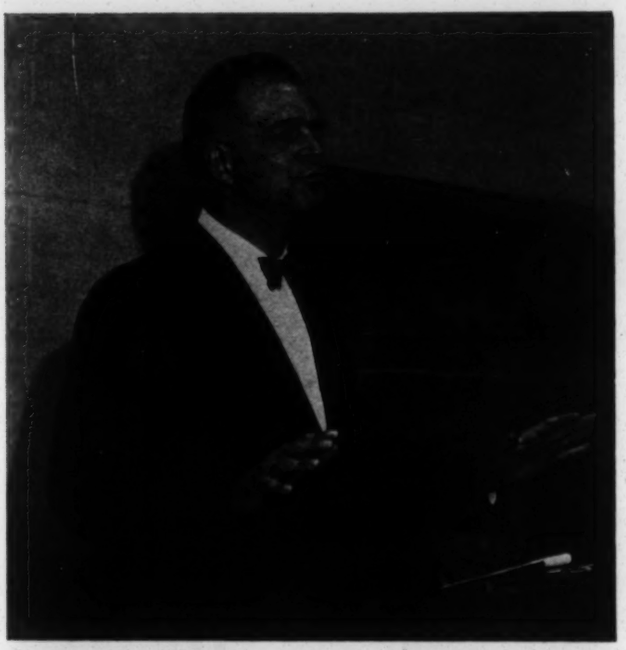
Thirty-six full-time southern union staff members from 16 international unions have participated in a unique staff training program, co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Education and Civil Rights Departments and the National Institute of Labor Education (NILE).

The four-week Staff Training Institutes, one held in 1963 in Chapel Hill, North Carolina and one in Austin, Texas, in 1965, were groundbreaking efforts to relate staff training to the unique political, economic and social problems of a specific geographical region. A third institute will be held in 1966 at the University of Georgia.

A basic assumption of the institutes has been that an understanding in depth of the history, traditions and unique characteristics of the southern region is important to solving the practical problems of organizing, collective bargaining and union administration in the South. The institute classes were therefore devoted to both practical discussions of trade union methods and far ranging discussions of the broad social, economic and political background of the South.

The staff representative is a key figure in internal union communication. He is the chief liaison between the local union members and the national leadership. He is responsible for interpreting and explaining policies on political and social matters to the members and for making the labor movement a vital force in the local community. He is the key to organizing the unorganized. Because of the complex and interdependent society in which he functions, the union official must be aware of the political and social forces which shape that society.

Early in 1963, the first four-week southern staff in-



G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State, spoke to union group while on campus for major address.

stitute took place at the University of North Carolina. Eighteen staff members from 12 different unions attended the program under the direction of Professor Ron Donovan of Cornell University and George Guernsey of the AFL-CIO Department of Education.

A grant from the New World Foundation helped to absorb the costs of administration and tuition, while unions assumed responsibility for loss of income, travel, room and board.

Shortly after the completion of this program, it was decided to hold a second institute. The New World Foundation renewed the grant and plans were made to conduct the school at the University of Texas, working with Professor F. Ray Marshall, a leading authority on southern labor and a member of the NILE board. Joseph Mire of NILE and George Guernsey directed this second institute.

Eighteen southern staff members attended the second institute, nearly all of them international union representatives. Some of them were organizers, one man was the full-time president of his local and one was an international union vice-president.

In a school concerned with the special problems of union staff members in the South, it is inevitable that civil rights problems should play an important part in the program. Don Slaiman, Director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, participated in the planning for the institute and Al Kehrer of the Civil Rights Department served as assistant to George Guernsey and Joseph Mire at the Austin institute.

Of the eighteen staff members at Austin, three were Negroes, two were Spanish-Americans and one was Indian. All of the students lived and studied together in a hotel in downtown Austin. The institute therefore provided an integrated living experience to go along with the more theoretical classroom discussions of race relations in the South.

Many of the students had had previous interracial experiences. One Negro reported that the majority of those he served were white. Two other Negroes represented a nearly even proportion of both races. Nearly all of the students had worked with interracial groups in political action. One man reported that the coalition of labor and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had defeated a "right-to-work" law in his state. Those from Texas had all taken part in the Negro-Latin-labor-liberal coalition formed in Texas during the 1964 election campaign.

Institute classes were planned to strike a balance between those dealing with the background of the South and those dealing with practical trade union problems. Dr. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas taught a course in the history of labor in the South. He discussed the peculiar economic structure of the South and the reasons for its lack of industrial development as compared with the rest of the nation. Marshall's wide knowledge of the labor movement made it easy for him to identify with the particular problems of the students as southern labor leaders.

Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council led several classes on "The South in the Sixties," tracing the economic and social factors of the region. Dr. David Olson of the University of Texas taught a class in "The History of Southern Politics." Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University taught a class in "The Economics of the South."

Such were some of the classes exploring in depth the problems of the southern region. Other classes made practical application of these more general problems. Classes in problems of union organizing in the South were taught by Al Kehrer of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and Bill Kircher of the AFL-CIO Organization Department. Norris Tibbets of the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers taught a course in "Arbitration." In a course on legislative issues, George Guernsey stressed the need for union participation on the local level in such federal pro-

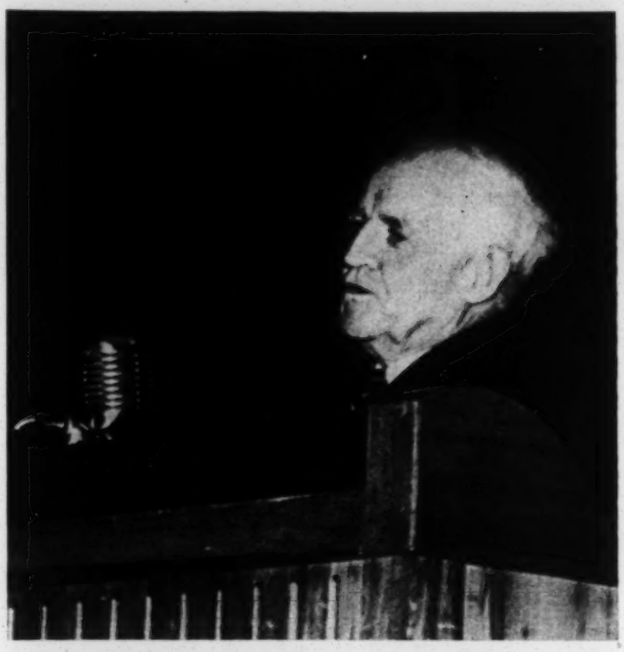
Two Tennesseans who lectured: Prof. J. Earl Williams of U. of Tennessee (left) and Daniel A. Powell of AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

grams as the war on poverty and aid to education. Don Slaiman taught a course on the relationship of labor to civil rights issues. Dan Powell, Area V COPE Director, discussed the practical problems of union political action in the South.

Early in the institute the students participated in a ten-hour course in speed reading. This basic tool subject proved useful to them in their other classes.

There were, of course, many guest lecturers and special activities at both institutes. Frank Smith, a former Mississippi congressman, talked about his life as a national legislator from the South who held principles in conflict with the greater part of his constituency. John Henry Faulk spoke about his book, "Fear on Trial," an account of his personal fight against blacklisting in the entertainment industry. Hank Brown, Texas State AFL-CIO President, talked about the coalition of labor and minority groups in the 1964 Texas elections.

While learning about the significance of Negro demonstrations for the right to vote, faculty and students took the Alabama Voter Registration Test. All but three of those taking the test failed. One of those who passed, a Negro with a high school education, explained that he had been used to similar tests for a long time.



Frank P. Graham, ex-president of U. of North Carolina and United Nations' mediator, also addressed students.

These southern Staff Training Institutes are not all work, however, and students have many opportunities to swap stories and discuss questions informally with their professors. A room was set aside in the hotel for informal gatherings.

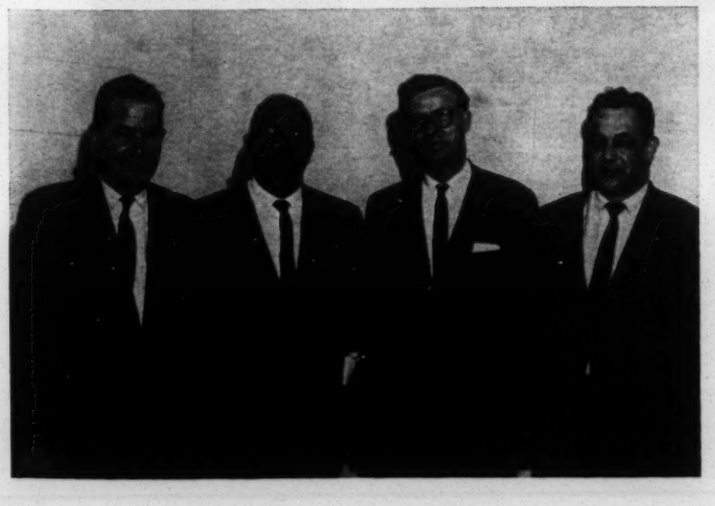
In one corner of the room one might see a Negro professor discussing the need for a full employment economy with a white Mississippi student. In another corner, a labor lawyer might be giving advice to several students about their specific problems back home. And nearly always there would be, somewhere in the room, one or two guitarists leading students in song.

Above all, in these informal sessions the students got to know about each other and about one another's unions. A Negro revealed that all of his family were teachers. Asked why he wasn't a teacher, too, he replied, "I could make more money as a laborer. My father taught for $35 a month." Another student, now an international representative serving three states, told of first joining the union. He met the union organizer secretly in a cornfield at midnight, signed the card, and then left separately and secretly.

One student, a railroad man, summarized his ex-

(Below left) Civil rights and labor was a timely and important topic. Specializing in this area were Daniel H. Pollitt, professor of law, U. of North Carolina; Philip Weightman of AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education; John Feild, then with the Potomac Institute; Don Slaiman, Director of AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights.

(Below right) Prof. Ron Donovan of Cornell University, director of the UNC institute, resolves a question at issue. Seated are two staffers of the Communications Workers: Paul G. Gray of Texas (left) and Reid B. Pearce of Tennessee.



Photos courtesy U. of North Carolina Photo Lab

periences: "Not only did I learn a lot of useful things, but this living together with other guys, a lot from unions I never had any contact with before, is the best thing of all. We're all dedicated to the labor movement or we wouldn't be here, but this school really emphasizes our common needs and reminds us of those ideals we all stand for."

Nine months after the North Carolina institute, 14 of the original 18 students attended a follow-up weekend conference, an indication of the continuing significance the institute has had for the students. Letters from students also indicate they have seriously applied the new concepts which they have learned.

The Southern Staff Institutes have made an impact throughout the South, an impact that can be measured in new labor education programs, new and effective programs in political and legislative action and new efforts to work closely with other groups and organizations in the communities.

Yet the problems facing southern unions are so vast that, important as they are, these institutes are only a small beginning at meeting the need for southern staff training.

Top speakers at 1965 institute at U. of Texas included TVA Commissioner Frank Smith, an ex-congressman from Mississippi (standing, left) and Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University (seated, center). Others, from left: Miss Doris Gibson of NILE; Joseph Mire, Exec. Dir. of NILE; George T. Guernsey of AFL-CIO Dept. of Education.

Above: A class listens attentively as Donald Roy, professor of sociology at Duke University, discusses the community framework within which unions function.

Right: Three delegates from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers meet with James Noe, their union's Director of Research and Education, at the UNC Institute. Noe spoke on staff training. Delegates are, left to right: A. R. Brewton of Texas; Noe; Wade Gurley of Georgia; James Brizendine of Arkansas.

Reprinted from September 1965
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

INSTITUTE OF BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

(Employment Relations)

Graduate School of Business Administration

University of Georgia

Athens, Georgia

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

File
NLE
Inst. file

55

January 18, 1966

Mr. R. D. Lane
Product Marketing Manager
Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.
1231 24th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Dear Mr. Lane:

The B.N.A. materials (eleven volumes) arrived in good shape along with copies of the Primer of Labor Relations and the "How to use the L.R.R.".

We greatly appreciate having these materials in Athens for our Institute. They make a most valuable addition to our reference materials.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
NLE Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:jb
cc: Mr. Williams
Atlanta Office, B.N.A.

February 10, 1966

Mr. R. D. Lane
Product Marketing Manager
Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.
1231 24th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Dear Mr. Lane:

I trust that the labor service materials which you loaned to the Southern Union Staff Institute have arrived safely. They should have left the University of Georgia either last Friday or this past Monday.

I want to express appreciation on behalf of the National Institute of Labor Education, the group of union staff men assembled as our students, and myself for this outstanding contribution to our program. It was most generous of B.N.A. to supply us with these materials and on such short notice. It was very important to have these basic reference materials so easily available to our group.

Please extend our thanks to those in your company who made this possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
cc: Mr. John W. Williams, BNA Atlanta Representative
Mr. Joseph Mire, Director, National Institute of Labor Education

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • BRyant 9-1400

March 4, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your recent letter and your comments about my appearance at the ~~N.I.I.E. Southern Union~~ Staff Institute. It was a pleasure to be there.

With regard to your inquiry about my travel expenses, I have received a check reimbursing the Association in the amount of $150 from Mr. Joseph Mire. This amount covered air fare and incidental expenses satisfactorily.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Executive Director

RE:erb

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Official Organ: The Crisis

March 28, 1966

Mr. Robert Kemp
University of Georgia
Center for Continuing Education
Athens, Georgia

Re: Invoice No. 3560

Dear Mr. Kemp:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $29.61 for photographic prints in connection with the recent N.I.L.E. Southern Union Staff Institute, held at the Georgia Center.

It had been our clear understanding that the cost per print was to have been $1.00 plus twenty-five cents handling charge. Certainly a larger handling fee would be required for an order the size of mine; the actual postage was fifty cents.

I hope that the orders that went out to the members of the group were at the one dollar rate plus only twenty-five cents for handling for each package.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

cc: Robert Watkins

NILE So. STAFF INST.

1966 NILE Southern Staff Training Institute

THE Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, AFL-CIO, participated in a one-month staff training program at the University of Georgia recently. The Staff Training Program was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education (NILE) in cooperation with the Education and Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. The able General Representative Virgil Stokes of Monroe, Louisiana, represented the Brotherhood at the thirty-day Conference.

Twenty-one delegates, all full-time Southern Representatives or Business Agents from fourteen affiliated AFL-CIO Unions, attended the Staff Training Program at the University of Georgia, Athens. Four of the Southern Representatives and Business Agents were from the Building Trade Unions. Emory Via of the Southern Regional Council was Director of the Institute; George T. Guernsey, Assistant Director of the Department of Education, AFL-CIO, was Co-Director.

The purpose for having this thirty-day program was to improve the inter-groups' relations in the South and help cope with some of the racial problems encountered by the General Representatives and Business Agents of the Southern areas.

The Institute's classes were devoted to practical discussions of trade union problems as well as far-ranging discussions of the broad social, economic, and political background of the South.

Emory Via (Director of the 1966 NILE Institute), General Representative Virgil Stokes (Painters delegate from Louisiana), and George T. Guernsey (Co-Director of the Institute) talk things over at the end of a class period during the NILE Southern Staff Training Institute, University of Georgia, Athens, January 9 through February 4.

Among the instructors at the University of Georgia Institute were: Donald Slaiman, Director, Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO; Ray Marshall, Department of Economics, University of Texas; Marvin Friedman, Department of Research, AFL-CIO; Daniel Pollitt, School of Law, University of North Carolina; Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College; Russell Allen, School of Labor & Industrial Relations, Michigan State University; Alan Kistler, Department of Organization, AFL-CIO.

The three major subjects discussed in the first week's program were Economics, Arbitration, and speed reading and comprehension. The discussions were both interesting and informative. The two major subjects for the second week were Southern Labor History and Civil Rights. The major topics for the third week were Labor Law and Trends in Collective Bargaining.

The major portion of the fourth week was taken by Allen Kistler, Organizing Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C. Some of the discussed topics were: Importance of researching plant or shop to be organized before starting campaign, setting up in-plant committees, use of leaflets, use of authorization cards, gathering and recording information for future unfair labor practices, NLRB elections, and negotiating agreements.

Each delegate while attending the Institute selected a project where he could examine a community problem of interest to labor. Each project group gave a report to the delegates and answered questions about the project. They were not only helpful, but were impressed that "labor was interested in these problems."

This was the third of a series of one-month staff training programs, all of which have been sponsored jointly by NILE and the AFL-CIO. The first was held at the University of North Carolina in the Spring of 1963; the second at the University of Texas in February of 1965.

The Brotherhood plans to continue in this program. It is the policy of the Brotherhood to have Representatives attend these staff training programs when they convene again in the future.

THE PAINTER AND DECORATOR
July, 1966

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

COPY

August 29, 1966

Mrs. Donald R. Bills, Chairman
Route 1, Box 794-A
Salisbury, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Bills:

Mr. Thomas J. Pearsall, Chairman of the Committee on Community Action for The North Carolina Fund, has asked me to write the chairman of each local community action board to summarize the conclusions reached at the meeting of the Committee and representatives of local community action boards at Durham on August 18. As many of you know, representatives of seven of the eleven Fund-related community action boards were present, and the day's program resulted, we believe, in a sound and constructive approach.

I am enclosing several copies of the Standards and Procedures for Evaluation of a Community Action Agency as finally revised at the meeting on August 18. I would ask that you refer directly to the Preface for a restatement of the reasons for undertaking this evaluation program this fall. As was emphasized in the Durham meeting, this procedure is looked upon by the Fund Board as a cooperative venture with each local board, and the primary end result desired is a strengthening of each local community action program supported by the Fund.

Because of the scheduled visit of a team from the Ford Foundation in November, our time schedule for the evaluation is necessarily limited, although the Board does not anticipate that every step in the Procedure need be taken before November. We do, however, hope that the on-site visit to each community can be completed prior to the middle of October.

Now let me summarize the conclusions jointly reached in Durham.

1. It was agreed that wherever possible each local community action board, or at least some members of each board, would undertake a brief self-evaluation of its program according to the enclosed Standards and suggested evaluation outline prior to the arrival of a review team. This is not essential, but it is desirable.

2. It was agreed that each local community action board would prepare a brief background paper on the community to be submitted to the members of the review team several days prior to the arrival of the review team in the community. A suggested outline for the background paper is enclosed.

3. It was agreed that each review team will consist of about five persons who will visit the community for two or more days. Obviously there are limits to what a small group of interested persons can accomplish in a few days, but we all agreed that a common procedure will produce better results than a visit without a plan or guidelines to follow. Each review team will include one person from each of the following categories: (1) The North Carolina Fund Board and/or staff; (2) board or staff members from another Fund-supported CAA; (3) North Carolinians unrelated to the Fund or local CAA's; (4) out-of-state consultants familiar with the community action concept. In addition a member of the staff of the Department of Community Support will serve each team as a resource person. Members of the review team will be selected so as to have, collectively, expertise in the areas of administration, program planning and research, community service systems, and involvement of the poor. The captain of the review team, who will be either a North Carolina Fund board member or one of the North Carolina or out-of-state consultants, will be responsible for directing the team's activities and preparing the final report.

4. The agenda for the review team will be worked out between the captain and representatives of the local community action program prior to arrival of the team or on the arrival of the team in the community. The outline for evaluation suggests the kinds of people who will, where possible, be interviewed.

5. Just before the review team leaves the community, it will hold a final interview with the community action agency chairman and director to ascertain whether the agency has any additional information it wishes to submit.

6. It is hoped that each team captain will submit his final report to The North Carolina Fund one week after the completion of the community visit. Following receipt of the initial report, there will be joint discussion and analysis of the report between Fund staff, local board and staff, and one member of the review team.

7. After fully evaluating the report in light of the joint discussion, the North Carolina Fund board will share its conclusions with your board, requesting your board to suggest, by a specified date, the steps to be taken to strengthen your community action agency in view of the findings of the review team.

8. Subsequent to the specified date of your board's response, the North Carolina Fund Board Committee on Community Action will formulate and present recommendations to the North Carolina Fund Board, and, after the Board's discussion, will implement its decisions. Through this process, the North Carolina Fund hopes to arrive at general recommendations to make to federal and state agencies and national foundations for strengthening our CAA programs.

We are not yet ready to suggest the names of the persons who will comprise the review team for your community, but we hope to inform you within a few days. This letter is being sent out in advance so that you may proceed directly to the preparation of the brief background paper and any initial self-evaluation procedure which your board may choose to follow.

Again, on behalf of members of the Board of Directors, and in particular its Committee on Community Action, and of the staff of the Fund, let me assure you of our desire to see this mutual process help strengthen your operations. As we strengthen our own operations, we will have something constructive to say for North Carolina to the rest of the country.

Cordially yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHEJr:jvs

enclosures

cc: Mr. Hoyt Snipes

Jamestee Motor Inn

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Wicker — 902

John Wicker

August 30, 1966

First of ~~Wm~~ Gait-
234 KNATT Bld.
Chapel Hill N.C. 933-1304

Mary Snider

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

meeting Room 1005

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Prior to the annual review of the Fund and its projects by the Ford Foundation in November, the North Carolina Fund is conducting a major evaluation of the eleven Fund-supported community action agencies in co-operation with these agencies. For this purpose, we are using the enclosed Standards and Procedures for Evaluation of a Community Action Agency, which has been developed over the past three months by Fund staff and Board members working cooperatively with the eleven CAP directors and members of local CAP boards.

Through this review process, the North Carolina Fund hopes to measure strengths and weaknesses of community action programs as a basis for making allocations of its remaining funds, as well as to have a basis for making recommendations to federal and state agencies and foundations with respect to the future and promise of the community action agency as an effective agent in the war on poverty. We recognize that these Standards are subject to much refinement as a measure of the progress of a community action agency, but we believe this refinement will develop out of our effort to apply roughly uniform standards to a number of agencies.

Each community will be visited by a team to be composed of one North Carolina Fund field representative, a North Carolina Fund Board or staff member, a local CAP Board or staff member from another community, an in-state consultant and an out-of-state consultant, and will have, collectively, expertise in the areas of administration, program planning, research and evaluation, community systems, and involvement. Each review team will be provided with a background paper by the local community action agency (see enclosure) before its visit to the community. A captain will be appointed to direct the team, assigning areas of responsibility for interviewing, and to write the final report. You will note that this report will consist both of a team effort to score performance on each of the twelve sub-sections of the Standards and a written report explaining how the review team arrived at these responses.

We want very much for you to participate as a captain of the review of the Tri-County Community Action, Rockingham, North Carolina scheduled to take place the week of September 19. We recognize that this is a short notice, but we need your help and your insight in this process. While serving, you will be entitled to a consultant's fee for each day of service as well as reimbursement for all expenses.

Because time is so short, you will be contacted by phone so that arrangements can be made and questions answered. The Board and I will be most grateful to you for your help in this undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
(LRW)

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE:Jr/bjg

Enclosures

October 3, 1966

Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director
The North Carolina Fund
Post Office Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

I frankly cannot remember to whom our expense statements were to be sent. However, mine is enclosed.
It was good to meet you in Charlotte. The evaluation proved to be quite interesting.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj
Enclosure

E X P E N S E S

for

Emory F. Via

October 25-29, 1966
(In connection with Evaluation of Charlotte Area Fund)

Air Transportation		
Atlanta to Charlotte and Return		$45.26
Taxicabs and Limousine		
	$.60	
	1.50	
	1.00	
	1.50	
	1.25	
	1.50	
	1.00	
	1.00	
	5.75	
		20.10
MEALs	1.59	
	1.48	
	2.78	
	1.00	
	2.36	
	1.59	
	1.33	
	3.00	
	1.00	16.23
Telephone, Tips and Misc.		3.45
	TOTAL	$85.04

Signature

Date

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

October 26, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you again for your valuable contribution to the Charlotte review team. I am looking forward to receiving the final report.

Should you have any additional comments concerning the Charlotte review, please do not hesitate to send them to me.

Sincerely yours,

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

GHE,jr./rg

enc.

N.C. Fund

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT CHAPEL HILL 27515

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of Charlotte Area Fund Review Team

FROM: Warren J. Wicker

DATE: November 23, 1966

Before we left Charlotte, I promised to send you a copy of the draft report of the Review Team for review and comment prior to submitting it to the North Carolina Fund office in Durham. This approach is no longer in order.

I must confess that I have not yet received copies of the individual reports from all of you and while awaiting these I made no significant progress on the Team report. Then on October 26 I received a call from the North Carolina Fund asking that the Team report be submitted on that day, or, at the latest, on October 30 since it needed to be reproduced and distributed to members of the Ford Foundation review team who were arriving in Durham on Sunday night, October 30.

I finished the report over that weekend and submitted it to the Fund as requested on Sunday evening. I also requested at that time that the Fund send to each of you a copy of the report. It now appears that, however, the Fund may not handle the distribution of the reports as originally planned. For this reason, and because of the taxed facilities, the Fund indicated that they would not be in a position to send copies of the report to each of you. I do have one copy in my possession and there are copies at the Fund office. If you should be in Chapel Hill or Durham at any time and are interested in seeing what was submitted over your name, we will be happy to show you the report.

May I say again that it was a real pleasure to work with you in Charlotte. And I hope you will have the chance to visit with us in Chapel Hill before long.

File

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
Post Office Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Emory Vie

From: Juanita Pilgrim

Date: 4-12-67

Enclosed are consultant forms you requested. Please complete and return for payment.

Thank you

OUTLINE FOR BACKGROUND PAPER ON OPERATIONS OF A COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

The purpose of the background paper is to give members of the review team essential information on the community in which each community action agency operates. As set forth in the procedures agreed upon between Fund Board and members of local boards, this paper is to be prepared by representatives of a community action agency and submitted to members of a review team several days prior to the arrival of a review team in the community.

In preparing the background paper, it is suggested that staff of the community action agency set down briefly information covering the following categories which in the judgment of the staff would help persons from outside the community better understand the community. Where existing materials are available and can be used, it is suggested that they be used. There will be the natural temptation to provide more information than can easily be digested by members of the review team, and it is hoped that you can be as brief and concise as possible.

I. General Information About the Community

A. Geographic setting

B. Population and composition of population (Age, race, etc.)

C. Urban, rural composition

II. The Local Economy

A. General description of the local economy as it now exists

B. Factors governing projected change in the economy

III. Governmental Structure

A. Brief description of the governmental units and activities in the community area

IV. Community Leadership

A. A brief description of the leadership patterns in the community, the political situation in the community as it affects community action organizations, and the attitude of the community toward the community action program

V. The Problem of Poverty in the Community

A. Brief description of the incidence of poverty in the community, the apparent factors causing poverty in the community, and the target areas where effort is concentrated

B. Activities of the community action agency aimed at combatting poverty

VI. Race Relations in the Community

A. Brief description of the problems of minority groups in the community as they relate to the problem of poverty

VII. The Community Action Agency

A. Brief description of the history of the community action agency

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N.C. Fund

INTERVIEWS

by

Emory F. Via

In Connection With

The Evaluation of the Charlotte Area Fund

September 25-29, 1966

1. Mr. Kirkpatrick, Chief of Staff Development, Department of Public Welfare.
2. Mr. Bob McGill, Supervisor of Neighborhood Workers, Westside Community Center.
3. Mr. John Zuidema, Director, Charlotte Area Fund.
4. Mr. George Everett, Director, Charlotte Office of State Employment Service.
5. _____, Area Representative of the Charlotte Office of the Employment Service.
6. Mr. Hagenmeyer, President, Piedmont Community College.
7. Mr. Charles Lowe, Chairman, Board of Directors, Charlotte Area Fund.
8. Chief Ingersall, Charlotte Police Department.
9. James Pierce, Southern Coordinator, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, Board Member of Charlotte Bureau of Employment and Training.
10. Mrs. Micki Riddick, Director of Community Development, Charlotte Area Fund.
11. Mrs. Hazeline Grier, Pastry Cook, Critic of Local Anti-poverty Efforts.
12. James Yancey, Coordinator, Eastside Neighborhood Center.
13. Miss Rabun, Employment Service Representative at Eastside Neighborhood Center.
14. James Poke, Director, Charlotte Bureau of Employment and Training.
15. Earl Redwine, Jr., Deputy Director, Charlotte Bureau of Employment and Training.
16. Mr. Sam Byuarm, Professor, Johnson C. Smith University, Board of Directors Charlotte Area Fund.
17. Clemon Baines, Staff, Bethlehem Center.
18. Dorothy Mack, Neighborhood Worker, Westside Center.

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STANDARDS AND PROCEDURES FOR EVALUATION OF A COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

August 18, 1966

Preface

Community action agencies (CAA's) throughout the country have been struggling over the past eighteen months with problems of administration, board representation, priorities of program, coordination of existing agencies, development of new programs and improvement of old, mobilization of community resources, etc.

These problems have indicated the need for standards, by which developing community action agencies can be guided,and with which the progress of a CAA can be evaluated.

Just as it is meaningless to speak of evaluation without standards, so it is meaningless to speak of standards without evaluation. The evolutionary process of standard-setting and periodic review should serve both to refine the standards, reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the CAA with respect to the standards, and guide the CAA in overcoming its weaknesses and capitalizing on its strengths.

CAA standards and an evaluation outline should serve many purposes. Standards and an evaluation outline should enable a community action agency to conduct a self-study. Standards and an evaluation outline should also enable evaluation of a CAA by interested outside individuals, groups and organizations: the poor, themselves, OEO, Congress, county commissioners, city councils, the N. C. Fund and other interested foundations, etc. A statement of CAA standards should help in the formulation of recommendations for improved legislation and policies. Finally, a statement of standards and an evaluation outline should benefit the CAA's across the nation as a guideline against which to measure their performance, and as an example by which they might develop their own standards and evaluation outline.

Many questions had to be answered before these CAA Standards with the accompanying CAA Evaluation Outline could be developed. For instance: should the Office of Economic Opportunity's standards for funding be the only goal which community action agencies seek to reach, or should standards be developed from more basic underlying assumptions about broad program objectives? Should standards be concerned with program or process? Should standards be specific or general? Should standards be maximum or minimum?

As the answers to the questions became apparent, the basis for, form of, and content of these standards gradually emerged from a series of working drafts, frequent staff discussions, and a long process of intensive workshops with CAA directors, local board members, and the N. C. Fund Board of Directors.

The standards deal not with specific programs but rather with the process, the form and structure through which the CAA seeks to carry out broad program objectives. Specificity in program objectives has been avoided because specific program objectives are not applicable to all CAA's. It does not necessarily follow that every CAA should have a day care program. Multi-service centers may be appropriate in one community and totally inappropriate in another. One CAA may successfully delegate a health program to a state or local agency where another CAA might administer the program itself. It is the responsibility of the local community to take the initiative to translate the broad program objectives of the standards into specific program objectives for that community.

The standards state maximums toward which to strive. In so doing, the standards seek to discourage compromise on the basic objectives which a CAA might tend to do because of present restraints (e.g., legislation such as the Economic Opportunity Act, OEO regulations, policy, etc.) which may now be an impediment to achieving the standards.

The standards presented here are based upon the statement of objectives formulated by the North Carolina Fund Board of Directors:

> The North Carolina Fund is engaged in a five-year quest for new ways to enable the poor to become productive, self-reliant citizens, and to foster institutional, political, and social change designed to bring about a functioning democratic society. In striving toward these two equally important aims, the Fund will:
>
> 1. Help the poor show that they can be effective not only in identifying their own needs and opportunities, but in participating in the decision-making process of the entire community.
>
> 2. Help the State and its communities develop and demonstrate effective processes for mobilizing all available resources to provide more effective services and to open up opportunities to all people.
>
> 3. Create support for these programs by increasing public understanding of the problems of the poor in modern society, and acquainting the public, its elected and appointed officials, and the poor themselves with emerging solutions.

The North Carolina Fund Board of Directors adopted these standards on August 4, 1966. A joint meeting of the North Carolina Fund Board Committee on Community Action and representatives from the boards of the eleven fund-supported community action agencies, on Thursday, August 18, 1966, resulted in some refinements of the approved document.

Standards for a CAA and its companion Evaluation Outline are to be tested in the eleven N. C. Fund-supported community action agencies. As a result of this dynamic standard setting and evaluation process, it is highly probable that ways will be discovered to further refine this initial statement.

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

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STANDARDS FOR A COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

I. STANDARDS FOR PROGRAM

The community action agency should develop and implement, through federal, state, and local resources, unified and comprehensive programs designed to combat the multiple causes of poverty, as they affect the disadvantaged child, teenager, and adult. In close connection with each program, the community action agency should emphasize citizen education, staff support to indigenous leadership, and mobilization of resources.

A. CITIZEN EDUCATION

The community action agency must plan and carry out programs in each target area for helping target area citizens educate themselves, focusing upon the many systems, services, and institutions operative within a community which affect an impoverished citizen. For a given system, service, or institution, emphasis must be placed on how that system, service, or institution, operates; what effects its operation has upon the impoverished individual citizen; how decisions are made within the system, service, or institution, both ideally and in fact; and what the citizen can do to influence the system, service, or institution. Additionally, it is necessary for the citizen to discover how certain obstacles such as segregation, income, mores, and motivation operate to determine the degree to which the individual enjoys, or is excluded from, the benefits of the system, service, or institution.

B. SUPPORT OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP

1. Through the process of citizen education and technical advice on techniques of organization, neighborhood and target area groups should be stimulated to seek improvements in the many community systems, services, and institutions.
2. The community action agency must provide for continuing support to newly emerging and pre-existing neighborhood and target area groups and their leaders whose goals and objectives are consistent with those of the North Carolina Fund.

COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY EVALUATION OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION

This Community Action Agency Evaluation Outline is intended to be used in conjunction with Standards for a Community Action Agency for the purpose of determining the strengths and weaknesses of a given community action agency with respect to the Standards. The Standards and Evaluation Outline may be used by community action agency boards and community action agency staffs for the purpose of a self-study; these two documents may be used by independent evaluating teams. It is recommended that the evaluators, whether CAA board, staff, or outside evaluating team, have, collectively, expertise in the areas of administration, programming and research, community systems, and involvement.

Where the Standards and Evaluation Outline are used to examine several community action agencies, comparisons may be made between community action agencies.

HOW TO USE THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY EVALUATION OUTLINE

The organization of the Community Action Agency Evaluation Outline parallels that of the Standards for a Community Action Agency. For each sub-section heading of the Standards, there are questions directly relating to the topic of that sub-section. Immediately following a given question, suggested ways to determine the response to that question appear within brackets. The reviewer is then requested to indicate his response on a continuum of responses and explain at length how he arrived at that response, citing his findings and extenuating circumstances and minority opinions.

The final question for each sub-section deals with the totality of that sub-section, and the response to it may be considered as a composite response for that sub-section.

It must be emphasized that the response along the continuum has little meaning without an ample explanation of why that response was given, based upon specific findings of the reviewer.

3. The community action agency staff and board must seek to encourage despite the community action agency's organizational and technical assistance, the independence of the neighborhood or target area leaders and organizations.

C. MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

The community action agency should mobilize, coordinate, and utilize all available resources in the community to the greatest possible extent. Conditions of poverty have many causes, and many local public and private agencies, services, and institutions work to alleviate some of the partial causes of poverty. It is essential that the resources of the community be mobilized to focus upon the multiple causes of poverty with maximum efficiency of effort and minimum duplication of goals, and utilized by and for those people who most need the benefit of these resources.

II. STANDARDS FOR THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

A. PHILOSOPHY

Every member of the board of directors of a community action agency should be an active advocate for the personal dignity of every individual to equal opportunity, the board's philosophy should be such that it concentrates on seeking solutions to the problems of poverty even though the solutions may require change in long-established community institutions and traditions.

B. COMPOSITION

The board and executive committee and other policy-making groupings of the board membership of a community action agency should have membership representative of minority groups, civil rights organizations, residents of target areas, business leadership, labor, churches, education, public and private agencies, local government, recognized community leaders, and industry.

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C. INFORMATION BASE AND ROLE

All members of the board of directors should obtain adequate knowledge about community problems, program alternatives, the operations of local, state and federal agencies, and the program and administration of the community action agency. The board of directors and the executive committee should be actively engaged in the process of planning for programs and operations.

III. STANDARDS FOR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

The board of directors should formulate in writing the goals and objectives of the community action agency. These goals and objectives should flow out of and be designed to satisfy the expressed needs of the poor. Furthermore, each employee should understand the goals and objectives and organize his day to day activities to reflect them.

IV. STANDARDS FOR ADMINISTRATION

A. ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY

The board of directors should formulate in writing the administrative policies to be implemented by the executive director in order to achieve the goals and objectives of the community action agency. This should include a clear description of the division of responsibility for policy and administration between the board and staff. Furthermore, all staff should understand the administrative policies of the community action agency.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN

The community action agency should develop and formulate in writing an administrative plan. The administrative plan should include such things as the accounting plan, the organizational structure, personnel procedures, and procedures for plant operation. Furthermore, each employee should understand the administrative plan and organize his daily activities to reflect it.

C. COMMUNICATION

For purposes of both staff morale and efficiency, employees should be continually informed of what is happening within the organization, as well as what external forces affect the outcome of the community action agency's activities.

V. STANDARDS FOR EVALUATION OF PROGRAM PROCESS AND PRODUCT

The community action agency should develop and carry out a plan for continuous evaluation of the community action agency sponsored programs and organizations. Such an evaluation should be concerned not only with the success of individual projects but also the overall impact of the total program on the community in view of the goals and objectives of the community action agency. The results of such an evaluation should feed back into a regular program planning process in order to achieve more effective programs. This planning process should involve the community action project staff, agency personnel, the board of directors, participants in the program, and leaders of target area groups.

I. PROGRAM

1. To what extent has the community action agency developed programs effectively designed to combat the multiple causes of poverty as they affect the disadvantaged child?

[Survey community action agency's programs for disadvantaged children. Determine how these combat the cultural, educational, physical, psychological, environmental, etc., problems of children. What gaps have been filled? To what extent are these programs utilized? Interview target area residents.]

Highly comprehensive and effective attack on causes of poverty as they affect children.

Totally inadequate attack on problems of poverty as they affect children.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

(Circle the number which most nearly indicates where your response lies along the continuum between the two responses given.)

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The CAF efforts to asist the disadvantaged child have fallen into three main areas. First, there was a Head-Start Program which seems to have been reasonable successful. Secondly, there are few services offered at the neighborhood centers. And thirdly, there is at least one item for the future under consideration.

At the centers one of the programs is the service offered to family and children. At this point it does not seem to be fully developed. At the Westside Center there is a library geared mainly for youngsters. This seems to be a fairly well used service. Certainly such library facilities are needed in the area. Beyond this in the centers there has been some concern about recreation for the youngsters and on occasion the field staff engages in informal play with children that come to the centers. There has been some talk of whether or not to use recreational opportunities as a focus for neighborhood organization.

The proposed program is for a fairly intensive educational program in the guise of a Day Care Center.

On the whole except for the Head Start Program not many children are reached, there is no great continuity, but some good starts have been made.

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. To what extent has the community action agency developed programs effectively designed to combat the multiple causes of poverty as they affect the disadvantaged teenager?

[Survey community action agency's programs for disadvantaged teenagers. Determine how they combat the cultural, recreational, educational, motivational, economic, etc., problems of disadvantaged teenagers. To what extent are these programs utilized? Interview disadvantaged teenagers.]

Highly comprehensive and effective attack on causes of poverty as they affect disadvantaged teens.						Totally inadequate attack on problems of poverty as they affect disadvantaged teenagers.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The main program aimed at teen-agers has been the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This program has reached a fairly substantial number of youths in a rather standard NYC manner. There were evidently some serious, and to be expected, problems regarding interest, performance, supervision.

Also the rush of the project seems to have left the city employers unprepared for the NYC undertaking.

In the neighborhood centers there seems to be very little contact with teen agers other than through employment interest. There is very minor penetration into teen neighborhood groups, for example.

3. To what extent has the community action agency developed programs effectively designed to combat the multiple causes of poverty as they affect the disadvantaged adult?

[Survey community action agency's programs for disadvantaged adults. Determine how they combat problems of unemployment, poor housing, female head of household, overlarge families, isolation, lack of individual dignity, economic dependency, etc. Interview adult target area population, determine the extent these programs are utilized.]

Highly comprehensive and effective attack on causes of poverty as they affect adults						Totally inadequate attack on causes of poverty as they affect adults.
7	6	5	4	(3)	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The CAF's programs scored higher in their services to adults. Most of the services at the centers and also the services of several delegated agencies offer assistance to adults. To date this seems to have been especially true for women, at least in the neighborhoods.

In general the kinds of services offered in the neighborhood centers are needed and the efforts that community organizations are interesting. Some of these services are still too young to evaluate and one or two, for example legal services, are not yet operative.

4. To what extent does the community action agency coordinate programs to reach all members of a family.

[Survey programs, question program directors and target area residents, for example, is day care coordinated with the women's manpower program?]

Effective coordination maximum outreach. — No coordination, haphazard outreach.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

~~If this question means all members of a family and not just all age groups then it is restricted in some measure to what takes place in the neighborhood centers~~. One serious short coming is not to have reached more males in the program. And a similar comment has been made regarding teen agers. These comments apply especially to the centers but this affects other programs as well.

5. On the whole, to what extent has the community action agency developed and implemented unified and comprehensive programs designed to combat the multiple causes of poverty, as they affect the disadvantaged child, teenager, adult, as described under I of the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider your responses to the last four questions.]

Highly comprehensive attack on problems of poverty as they affect children, teenagers and adults.

Totally haphazard approach to problems of poverty as they affect children, teenagers and adults.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

This respondent did not determine in detail whether or not the multi-problems of a family were often treated as a unit.

I would think that the center's need~~s~~ to give even more attention to either sponsoring directly some programs, for example recreational services, or organizing the community for effective action to attain them through other channels. As the centers now stand and as the CAF's operation seems to be envisioned, one would think that the latter approach would be most fruitful.

Although, some of the centers' staff, and that includes neighborhood workers, work odd hours on demand ~~or~~ mar attention should be given to the official schedule at the center. The announced hours are those of normal businesses-or close to it. I would think that this is one factor affecting the reaching of males and teenagers in other programs of the center.

I was not aware that the staff had given much attention to some form of shift rotation or split hours. Although, we could not determine in the short time we were in Charlotte that this was in fact a need, I think that commonsense would suggest a deviation from the standard hours approach.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

A. CITIZEN EDUCATION

1. What is the community action agency staff level of understanding of each of the systems, services, and institutions, which operate in the community as it affects the poor?

   (Survey a number of community action agency staff, asking them to describe how some of the systems, services, and institutions operate.)

Community action agency staff seems to fully understand the operations of must community services, systems, and institutions, as each affects the poor.						Community action agency staff does not understand at all.
7	6	5	(4)	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

In general the staff's scores fairly high on this one. In some cases the understanding of how a particular institution operates perhaps needs to be refined and in other cases there may need to be a more open minded approach to an established institution, without forgetting the possibility that the institution itself might need to be pushed a bit. The institutions which exist ~~are those of~~ the community at large ~~in~~tend to operate from the top down. Either there are almost no neighborhood organizations or the center staff was not aware of them. The center staff does not seem to have penetrated very far into having an understanding or access to some of the informal systems in the neighborhoods. However, my guess is that this kind of understanding is growing.

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. What level of skills and techniques has the community action agency staff developed to further citizen education?

   (Survey a number of staff members to determine what training in citizen education, if any, they have had, and to learn what procedures they follow in educating around a given system.)

Community action agency staff is highly skilled. — Community action agency is totally unskilled.

7 6 (5) 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The staff scores reasonably well here and seems to be improving. Some of their educational efforts are marked by patience and, if this is not a technique of such education, it is certainly a great virtue. They have made use of The League of Women Voter Education Programs and these seem to be of generally good quality. However, I did not get to look in detail at how relevant the League instructor was able to make her presentation to the needs of the class.

Some of the counseling work is useful on a one to one basis in terms of getting a given person or family to understand a service or institution. Similarly, some of the neighborhood organizing ~~work~~ efforts, including such an adventure as Domestic United, have proved to be good vehicles for citizen education.

3. What is the board level of understanding of each of the systems, services, and institutions, which operate in the community as each affects the poor?

   [Survey a number of board members, asking them to describe how some of the systems, services, and institutions operate.]

Board seems to fully understand the operations of most community services, systems, and institutions, as each affects the poor.

Board does not understand at all.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Although the Board undoubtedly has knowledgeable people on it, about the various systems operating in the community, I score them relatively low because of feelings I received from interviewing a few board members and others who knew the Board, that there was a failure to comprehend the problems of the poor in depth and an unfamiliarity with social agencies ~~in~~ as municipal services at the point where they relate to problems of the poor.

4. For each program operated by the community action agency, does the community action agency take full advantage of the opportunity the program provides to further citizen education?

   [Ask the agency director to describe the community action agency's programs, pointing out what efforts are underway to promote citizen education in each program. For instance, in a Headstart program, are meetings of parents and other adults held at which free discussion of the education, transportation systems, etc., occurs? In an adult basic education program, are coffee breaks used to further the adults understanding of how systems, institutions, and services operate, how they affect the adult citizen, and what he can do to influence them? Ask participants in programs what have they learned from taking part in the program, what do they know about a given system, institution, or service.]

Community action agency takes full advantage of the opportunity for citizen education in all of its programs.						Community action agency takes no advantage of opportunity for citizen education in any program.
7	6	5	(4)	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

There were a number of indications in the efforts to organize neighborhood groups that by using relevant issues and speaking to the problem of how best to proceed that the agency has made use of such efforts to provide further citizen education.

5. Is the community action agency staff committed to the concept of neighborhood organization as a means of encouraging neighborhood responsibility for the identification and solution of common problems?

[Interview staff members working in program area.]

Community action agency staff appear strongly committed to concept of neighborhood organization.						Community action agency staff appear definitely opposed to the concept of neighborhood organization.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

In general the staff, especially in the centers, would score high here. Their job is complicated by the near total lack of existing neighborhood organizations. The beginning efforts have been worthy although some mistakes have been made. Here I am speaking of commitment to the concept of neighborhood organization, and it is not clear that this always ends in persistences and ability to asist the poor in identifying their problems.

6. Is the board committed to the concept of neighborhood organization as a means of encouraging neighborhood responsibility for the identification and solution of common problems?

[Interview board members.]

Board members appear strongly committed to concept of neighborhood organization.

Board members appear definitely opposed to the concept of neighborhood organization.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The Board probably ~~excepts~~ accepts the idea of working on the people in target areas and with them for general self help on an individual basis and for community organizations for those specific ends. However, I recieved a very clear impression that the Board does not understand that neighborhood organizing may very well lead to ferment which can easily include a challenge to existing systems and perhaps even demands ~~of~~ on the CAF itself.

7. Has the community action agency's citizen education program been limited to very few systems, services, and institutions, or has it attempted to cover the broader picture, showing how systems, services, and institutions may interlock?

[Determine what systems the community action agency has emphasized, with what approach and what success.]

Very broad, comprehensive, and interlocking coverage of services, systems, and institutions.

Very limited approach.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Conversations with board members, staff and other agencies' people would indicate little thinking or planning regarding an overall citizen education program relating to the services and institutions of the community. This seems to be true at two levels: (1) The education of the broader community and (2) The education of the people in the target areas.

However, people in the target areas may be learning about as many systems as they can, given the limitations of time and prior exposure.

8. To what extent has the process of citizen education carried on by the community action agency been effective in stimulating neighborhood and target area groups to seek improvements in the systems, services, and institutions of the community?

   [Determine what neighborhood groups have been stimulated to seek improvements. Interview members of neighborhood groups, community action staff.]

Process of citizen education highly effective in stimulating neighborhood groups.						Process of citizen educational totally ineffective in stimulating neighborhood groups.
7	6	5	4	(3)	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

It is probably to early to judge the process at this point. Some of the beginning efforts show promise.

9. On the whole, does the community action agency, within the limits of its ability, effectively promote citizen education, as described with I., A. of the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider your response to the seven previous questions, as well as any other findings which may bear upon your response.]

Community action agency is highly effective in promoting citizen education.						Community action agency is totally ineffective in its program for citizen education.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

~~At this point I feel that the potential is there. Also the staff seems to be willing. Furthermore, I think that the beginning efforts have been useful. I do not sense that the staff has evaluated its various attempts at citizen education as a whole. In other words they have not looked at their various undertakings as of citizen education. Such a look might well be suggestive of both more formal efforts and of further imaginative informal efforts.~~

In general the staff seems alert to the potential for citizen education through neighborhood organization and direct educational activities. The Board on the other hand seems somewhat less aware of either the need or the potential in this type of citizen education. The board appears, in general, to be unprepared for the fact that the activities of its' own agency may release a new force in the Charlotte Community.

It seems clear that the education which takes place in the broader community or in the target areas does not yet offer an integrated view of the workings of the social systems in the metropolitan area. This probably should not be expected because of the limited time and because the process of adult education is what it is. However, neither the staff nor the board seem to have made much headway in thinking through the variety of ways in which citizen education can be promoted and the need for at least thinking through a coherent over all approach.

B. SUPPORT OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP

1. Through the process of citizen education around the systems of the community, to what extent has the community action agency supported neighborhood and target area groups in their efforts to seek improvements in the systems, services, and institutions of the community?

   [Determine how many neighborhood groups have emerged since the community action agency started the program of citizen education. What are the purposes of these groups? How significant was the community action agency's role? Question the leaders of these groups.]

Many neighborhood groups in each target area are actively seeking improvements in systems, services, and institutions.						There are no neighborhood groups seeking improvements in systems, services, and institutions.
7	6	5	4	(3)	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The neighborhood organizing efforts have been useful in focusing interest on specific problems and proposals for their solutions. Groups have been organized around such issues as rat control, improper utility service, and the problems of domestic workers. Each of these efforts is new and it is difficult at this junc~~tion~~ture to determine what their staying power will be. The staff admits to a few errors along the way, but most of the groups seem~~s~~ to continue to function on some problems of concerns to the neighborhoods.

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. To what extent have neighborhood groups succeeded in learning the process of identifying, approaching, and solving their problems?

[Concentrate on dynamic process (focusing upon initial problem, seeking alternative solutions, and learning from success that other problems may be solved) rather than product. Interview group leaders, group members, and staff.]

Neighborhood groups have fully developed capacity to identify, approach, and solve problems.						Neighborhood groups have totally failed to develop capacity for problem identification, approach and solution.
7	6	5	4	(3)	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Again, what has been done to date seems to be useful, the process is slow, and there have not been any startling results thus far. It does seem that the ideas of neighborhood action and problem identification are catching hold among some elements of the various communities. The neighborhood organizations are probably already at the point where they very much need to have sufficient success to out run frustrations.

3. To what extent have the neighborhood groups concerned themselves with issues significant for continuing improvements in their well-being?

[Survey community action agency staff, leaders, and members of neighborhood groups. Cite issues in justification.]

Neighborhood groups strongly committed to resolution of highly significant issues.						Neighborhood groups unconcerned about significant issues.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I would repeat here largely what was said in question 1 on page 27.

4. To what extent have the neighborhood groups succeeded in the resolution of significant issues or the carrying out of projects?

[Survey community action agency staff, leaders, and members of neighborhood groups, determine issues and methods of resolution.]

Many significant issues resolved or projects completed.

No significant issues resolved or projects completed.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Some action has been taken. Either open protest has been made or problems have been referred to proper municipal agencies. However, in some cases neighborhood groups are not ready to take action (for instance in housing), on some issues for fear of reprisal.

5. To what extent does the community action agency staff provide continuing training and assistance to leaders of neighborhood and target area groups in developing strategic and tactical approaches to specific goals and issues which are consistent with the goals and objectives of the North Carolina Fund?

[Survey community action agency staff and leaders of neighborhood groups to find examples of training and assistance such as legal counsel, training in techniques of petitions, consultation in planning, etc.]

Community action agency staff provides consistently high level of assistance and training to leaders of neighborhood and target area groups.

Community action agency staff provides no assistance and training to leaders of neighborhood and target area groups.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The staff scores well here in its beginning efforts. Training techniques have been used. Citizen education groups have learned about petitions, about standard access to existing agencies, some of the possibilities of public demonstrations, and some of the special resources available to an organized neighborhood group. The problem here is greatly compounded by the fact that the staff in most instances had to develop the neighborhood groups in the first place.

6. To what extent has the community action agency provided physical support, such as meeting rooms, secretarial, duplicating, transportation and communication services to assist neighborhood groups which have goals and objectives consistent with those of the North Carolina Fund?

[Survey community action agency staff and leaders and members of neighborhood groups.]

Community action agency provides consistently high level of physical support to neighborhood groups.

Community action agency provides no physical support to neighborhood groups.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The neighborhood centers and equipment seem to be open for these purposes. In general, the neighborhood groups seem to be encouraged to make use of the centers' facilities.

7. To what extent does the community action agency seek to encourage the independence of the neighborhood or target area leaders and organizations?

[Survey community action agency staff, board, and appropriate indigenous leaders and members of neighborhood groups.]

Community action agency staff and board consistently encourage independence of neighborhood groups and their leaders.						Community action agency staff and board totally fail to encourage the independence of neighborhood groups and their leaders.
7	6	(5)	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

It is to early to tell. coddling The agency is sometimes accused by existing agencies of ~~tottering~~ their clients. My impression is most of the staff understands the process raised by this question and is committed to assisting the leaders in becoming independent. But no real test of the staff's commitment to this process seems to have arisen yet.

8. On the whole, does the community action agency, within the limits of its ability, consistently and actively support the indigenous leadership of the community as outlined within I., B. of the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider your responses to the previous five questions and other findings.]

Community action agency consistently and actively provides high level of support to indigenous leadership.

Community action agency provides no support to indigenous leadership.

7 6 5 (4) 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The question which this respondent did not satisfactorily resolve for himself is whether or not there had been much recognized indig~~nant~~ enous leadership in the community prior to the activities of the agency. This leadership seems to have developed out of the activities of the agency itself in creating neighborhood organizations. The agency does seem to support the leadership which it has helped create.

This special relation between the agency and leadership leaves unresolved the question of the degree of independence being encouraged in that leadership as set against the agency's supportive role.

The preceeding problem is at times compounded by the recognition of possible solutions to problems by individual members of the Board or staff wich may go beyond what the neighborhood would contemplate or be able to excute. It is possible, therefore, for a solution to a problem to be found by the action of the board member which will profit the neighborhood physically, but ~~due~~ do very little for developing community organization. As an example of what is meant here, when a problem comes to the attention of an individual board member it is always possible that a call by him to the proper party might very well effect a remedy. A similar call from the neighborhoood group might well have failed. The agency staff and board both face a real dilemma in deciding how to resolve such a situation.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

C. MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

1. To what extent have the services, institutions, and agencies in the community mobilized their resources to focus upon the problems of poverty, with maximum efficiency and minimum duplication of effort, as a result of community action agency effort?

   [Survey representatives of services, institutions, and agencies for examples of new or increased emphasis on problems of poverty, broader perspective, revamping of programs to meet the needs of the poor, etc. Discover whether the community action agency subcontracts programs to service agencies and institutions, what degree of control the community action agency maintains, and what plans there are for service, agency, or institution to continue maintenance of effort after the initial community action agency subcontract.]

High level of mobilization of services, agencies and institutions.						Exceedingly low level of mobilization of services, agencies, and institutions.
7	6	5	4	(3)	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The agency has had some success in coordinating programs of the Board of Education, Agriculture Extension and the Employment Service. The relations here seem to range from fair to very good. Both the Agriculture Extension and the Employment Service have special representatives in the neighborhood centers. These programs were barely operative at the time of the evaluation.

The agency's relations with Public Welfare, Department of Recreation, the Police, and The Health Department seem to range between none and very poor. However, an important exception should be noted here in that some form of cooperative program with the police is being contemplated and there is evidently no ill will between the agency and the police.

2. To what extent does the community action agency reach out to identify problems of individuals and families and direct these individuals and families to the appropriate and responsible agency?

[Survey leaders of neighborhood groups, target area citizens, community action agency staff. Determine outreach technique.]

Consistently high degree of outreach to target area, individuals and families.						No outreach, to individuals, target area, and families.
7	(6)	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The work of the neighborhood workers and others on the centers' staff seems to be good in this regard. Comment here is necessarily limited by the length of time of some of the programs have been in operation.

3. To what extent are the resources of agencies, services, and institutions being utilized by target area citizens and other persons who need their benefit?

[Survey leaders of target area groups, target area citizens, asking if they utilize a given resource. Survey representatives of agencies, services, and institutions to determine utilization level. Survey field staff of community action agency.]

Consistently high level of utilization of resources of agencies, services, and institutions by target area citizens.

Markedly low level of utilization of resources of services, agencies and institutions.

7 6 5 (4) 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

It is difficult to make a final judgment here. The agency seems to have made relatively little assessment of the size of the various problems it attempts to tackle. There is a steady flow of target area citizens into the centers. However, the problems of follow-up have not yet been overcome thereby complicat~~ion~~ing making an estimate of citizen~~s~~ use of services.

4. How effective are the lines of communication between the services, agencies, and institutions and the community action agency?

[Determine procedures for mutual information exchange. Survey representatives of services, agencies, and institutions to determine what they know about other on-going programs. Outline extenuating circumstances and situations of one-way communication only.]

Highly effective lines of communication between the community action agency, services, agencies, and institutions.						No communication between the community action agency, services, agencies, and institutions.
7	6	5	4	(3)	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I would repeat here some of the comments under question 1, this section. For individual agencies may be the following judgments will help.

Agriculture Extension - Good

Employment Service - Good

Board of Education - Excellent

Police Department - Potentially Good

Welfare - Poor

Recreation Department - Poor

Library - Good

Private Agencies - Fair

5. To what extent has the community action agency stimulated utilization of physical resources of the community?

(Survey community action agency staff, leaders of indigenous groups, representatives of services, agencies, institutions, and interested citizens for examples of donated meeting rooms, use of equipment, etc. Survey also for physical resources which might be utilized in the community action agency effort. Outline extenuating circumstances.)

High utilization of community's physical resources.						Virtually no utilization of physical resources.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

This respondent is not aware of any special stimulation toward utilizing the physical resources of the community other than the development of the physical sites for the neighborhood centers.

6. To what extent has the community provided financial support to the community action program?

(Determine the potential financial resources of the community. Survey community action agency director and board to determine what efforts have been made to tap these resources. Determine what financial resources of community have actually been obtained by community action agency. Outline extenuating circumstances.)

Community has provided high degree of financial support to the community action program.						Community has provided no financial support to the community action program.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The city and county governments have each contributed twenty-eight thousand dollars ($28,000) (?) in support of the agency's programs. This does not constitute a very substantial proportion of either governments' budget. Evidently the county government only contributed because of the weight of the argument that over one million dollars would come into the community to be spent, if the programs were funded.

7. To what extent has the community action agency utilized the financial resources of the Office of Economic Opportunity?

[Interview community action agency director and program development staff, Office of Economic Opportunity regional analyst, if possible. Outline extenuating circumstances, if any.]

Community action agency has fully utilized resources of Office of Economic Opportunity.						Community action agency has totally failed to utilize resources of Office of Economic Opportunity.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I score the agency high here because I interpret "fully utilize" here to mean that ~~the~~ ably wrote proposals and received funds.

8. To what extent has the community action agency utilized the financial resources of other Federal legislation?

[Survey catalogue of Federal programs. Interview community action agency director and program development staff. Outline extenuating circumstances.]

Community action agency has fully utilized resources of other Federal legislation.						Community action agency has totally failed to utilize resources of other Federal legislation.
7	6	5	4	3	(2)	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I am uncertain here, but think that the agency has had some role in encouraging the use of education act funds.

9. To what extent has the community action agency utilized the financial resources of the North Carolina Fund and other foundations?

[Interview community action agency director and program development staff. Interview Fund representatives. Outline extenuating circumstances.]

Community action agency has fully utilized resources of the North Carolina Fund and other foundations.

Community action agency has totally failed to utilize the resources of the North Carolina Fund and other foundations.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Again, some uncertainty. They have received funds from NCF, used them for holding operation, and used them for matching money in securing other grants.

10. How effective are the community action agency's procedures for soliciting and utilizing the human resources of professional volunteer workers from the community at large?

[Determine the procedure for soliciting and utilizing professional volunteer workers. Survey volunteer workers for their feelings on topic. Determine the potential volunteer professional work force of the community. How has it responded? Outline extenuating circumstances.]

Highly effective — Totally ineffective

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I did not look into this aspect of the program specifically with the staff that bears the main responsibility for volunteers. My impression here is that once that the Board of Directors members are excluded there has been little ulitization of volunteers at the professional level. There has been some short run consulting. Most of the professional involvement with the agency seems to come through delegated agencies.

11. How effective are the community action agency's procedures for soliciting and utilizing the human resources of non-professional volunteer workers from the community at large?

(Determine the procedure for soliciting and utilizing non-professional volunteer workers. Survey volunteer workers for their feelings on topic. Determine the potential non-professional volunteer work force of the community. How has it responded? Outline extenuating circumstances.)

Highly effective — Totally ineffective

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

There has been some effort in this direction. At least one mimeographed solicitation for volunteers was made. However, I did not get the feeling from the programs observed or staff reports that many non-professional volunteers were in fact involved. Volunteers do not seem to be used for program creation, and existing programs are so limited in size that the need for volunteers might be questioned.

12. How effective are the community action agency's procedures for soliciting and utilizing the human resources of volunteer workers from the target area population?

(Determine the procedure for soliciting and utilizing target area volunteer workers. Survey target area volunteer workers for their feelings on topic. Determine the potential target area volunteer work force of the community. How has it responded? Outline extenuating circumstances.)

Highly effective — Totally ineffective

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Some volunteers are working with neighborhood groups, for example, as officers of newly formed groups. At least one field staffer reported jealousy in the target community among some of those who did not get paid positions of those who did. This may affect the availability and quality of volunteers.

13. How effective is the community action agency's public information program in mobilizing, informing, and educating the various segments of the professional community?

[Survey representatives of professional community. Survey community action agency staff. Determine how various media and techniques are used to reach this audience.]

Highly effective — Totally ineffective

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

This seems to be weak and the judgment is based in part on the board's own understanding of the agency. There is some rivalry with other agencies whose lay supporters may feel that the CAF is competitive. General announcements of the CAF and a call for volunteers have been circulated. A number of news stories regarding CAF have been carried in the local press.

14. How effective is the community action agency's public information program in mobilizing, informing, and educating the various segments of the middle class community?

[Survey middle class community. Survey community action agency staff. Determine how various media and techniques are used to reach this audience.

Highly effective — Totally ineffective

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I judge this weak. Even cooperating agencies seem to lack a grasp of the potential impact of CAF. Similarly, the level of understanding of the problems of the poor by the middle-class is low.

15. How effective is the community action agency's public information program in mobilizing, informing, and educating the poor?

[Survey representatives of poor. Survey community action agency staff. Determine how various media and techniques are used to reach this audience.

Highly effective. Totally ineffective

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

This is spotty. I would included here all "out reach" activities. In some program areas "printed" publicity seems to be lacking. Specific meetings for organizing action are published by hand bills. These are O.K. This observer felt the need for better general interpretive pieces of the neighborhood centers and their services-something understandable and meaningful for the potential clientele group.

16. To what extent has the community action agency successfully established rapport with the community news media (T.V., radio, newspaper)?

[Survey newspapermen, radio announcers, T.V. news reporters. Determine examples of agency's efforts to establish rapport. Survey newspaper clippings, listen to news reports. Determine frequency and quality of CAA news coverage.]

Extremely High level of Rapport. — No Evidence of Rapport.

7 6 5 (4) 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

News coverage of special stories is good. Contact with the media seems to be O.K., but not sufficiently developed for mature stories regarding the plight of the poor and the agency's effort to develop remedial programs to meet real needs.

17. On the whole, to what extent has the community action agency mobilized, coordinated, and stimulated utilization of the resources of services, agencies, and institutions, as well as the physical, financial, and human resources of the community, as described in I., C. of the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider your responses to the last eight questions.]

Community action agency has mobilized, coordinated, and stimulated utilization of community's resources to greatest possible extent.						Community action agency has not mobilized, coordinated, and stimulated the utilization of community's resources.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

In truth the agency still has a long way to go in this regard. In some cases it simply will not be accepted as the coordinating or mobilizing force. In some of these cases ~~it~~ the may be still a need to find the imagination or the special route which will cause an agency ~~to seem~~ to be stimulated to new or broader actions or possibil~~ity~~ities even lead to cooperation with CAF. There have been some excellent starts in this regard. Time will tell whether they bear fruit. In some cases interesting developments did not seem to orginate with CAF. If relations with some older agencies have not already hardened, more time should be put into liaison with them. There are areas where failure to cooperate or "bad blood" has little profit.

II. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

A. PHILOSOPHY

1. To what extent does the board's actions and policies past and planning for the future reflect the committment of the board members to the personal dignity of every individual?

   [Survey board members, review board minutes, board policy, and future plans. Include minority opinions, if any, in justification.]

Board's actions, policies, and plans reveal strong committment to personal dignity of every individual.

Board's actions, policies and plans reveal very weak committment to personal dignity of every individual.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I am not confident that the board and this respondent would agree on what is involved here or as to what personal dignity for every individual means. The board has agreed to be an agency for operation and/or stimulating ~~the~~ anti-poverty programs. Its commitment to approving proposals which can be funded seems good. Most of these programs potentially can serve the cause of obtaining personal dignity. ~~is limited.~~ However, they have approved programs in many key areas, for example, legal aid, family services, education and training.

But board planning or the adoption of policies aimed at achieving personal dignity is limited.

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. To what extent do the board's past actions and policies and plans for the future reflect the board's committment to the personal right of every individual to equal opportunity?

[Survey board members, minutes, policies. Survey hiring practices, board's action on Headstart programs, etc.]

Board's actions, policies, and plans reveal strong committment to the personal right of every individual to equal opportunity.						Board's actions, policies and plans reveal very weak committment to the personal right of every individual to equal opportunity.
7	6	5	(4)	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The actions and policies, if and when they receive full ~~implication~~ implementation certainly stand to be in the direction of achieving equal opportunity. It may be of no consequency here, but I have personal doubts - ~~showed~~ reflected up by comments ~~by~~ of interviewees - that many of the board members have strong personal commitment ~~for~~ to equal opportunity. Many of them have accepted that "something" has to be done.

3. To what extent do the board's actions, policies, and plans reflect the board's committment to the principles of citizen education, staff support of indigenous leadership, and mobilization of resources as essential elements in the war on poverty?

[Interview of board members, review minutes, policies plans, local opinion.]

Board's actions, policies. and plans reflect a strong commitment to the principles of citizen education, support of indigenous leadership, and mobilization of resources.

Board's actions, policies, and plans reflect a very weak committment to the principles of citizen education, support of indigenous leadership, and mobilization of resources.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I score the board low here. I don't think that most of them comprehend the "principle" of citizen education ~~and~~ as used in this question.

4. To what extent do all board members actively share the responsibility for effectively and positively directing the community action agency to seek solutions to the problems of the poor?

[Review minutes, note attendance records, voting records, evidence of participation.]

All board members share responsibility for effectively guiding the community action agency to seek solutions to the problems of the poor.

No board member assumes active responsibility for guiding the community action agency to seek solutions to the problems of the poor.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The chairman is very active. The program committee seems to be quite active. The executive committee has evidently fallen on slow days. My interview with a vice-president and with the chairman, and watching the agency in action all seem to point to a rather normal situation in which relatively few persons on the board actively share the responsibility for directing the agency.

5. To what extent do the board's actions, policies and plans reflect the board's awareness that solutions to the problems of the poor may require change in long-established community institutions and traditions?

[Review minutes, policies, plans, interview board members. Determine examples which may reflect this awareness]

Board's actions, policies, and plans reveal the board's full awareness that solutions to the problems of poverty may require change.

Board's action, policies, and plans reveal no awareness that solutions to the problems of poverty may require change.

7 6 5 4 (3) 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

There seems to be general acceptance that long established community institutions and traditions must undergo some change. The crucial question here has to do with what degree of change is anticipated or needed. I doubt that the board has clear ideas in this regard.

6. On the whole, is the philosophy of the board, as reflected in its actions, policies and plans, conducive to the program goals of Community Action Agency Standards, and the effective guidance of the community action agency, as described in II., A, of the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider reponses to the last four questions and total findings.]

Board's action, policies and plans reflect a board philosophy fully consistent with Community Action Agency Standards and effective community action agency operation.

Board's action, policies, and plans reveal a philosophy full inconsistent with Community Action Agency Standards and effective community action agency operation.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR REPONSE:

The board's philosophy may be a little difficult to ~~bend~~ pin down. The philosophy ~~is~~ of individual members vary considerable. In general, no member presses for policies ~~of~~ agency actions, which to appreciable degree challenge what is judge to be politically practicable. The board members acquiesce in the development of program areas out of either a reconciliaion that "something should be done" or else that such program proposals are the way to secure funds.

"Something should be done" for some means understanding the plight of the poor and the need for remedial action, if human dignity is to be obtained. For others it means a fear of the consequences, if the community makes no practical response to the needs of its people in poverty.

I do not think that the board understands that neighborhood organizing can lead to fairly serious demands being made on the community including on the board itself.

These observations are born out by interviews with two executive committee members, a board member of a delegate agency, some community leaders and staff members.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

B. COMPOSITION

1. To what extent does the board have membership representative of minority groups, civil rights organizations, residents of target areas, business leadership, labor, churches, education, public and private agencies, local government, recognized community leaders, and industry?

[Survey list of board members and their backgrounds.]

Most interest groups represented. — Many important interest groups omitted.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Although, the board is overly large, it does not include significant representation from individuals or groups with a previous serious interest in the problems of poverty.

Lacking such persons and with representatives of the poor who are not spokesman for an organized voice, the board seems to get little serious presentation of views advocating a more sweeping approach to poverty problems. Indeed, one wonders, if there is any significant self-criticism built into the board structure other than those who would caution against "haste."

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. To what extent does membership representative of the target area population and minority groups share in policy making?

[Survey minutes, individual board members, and agency director]

Membership representative of target areas and minority group actively shares in policy making.

Membership representative of target areas and minority groups never participates in policy making.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

There is almost no indication of target area members seriously affecting policy. They seem not to be consulted outside of board meetings and usually are not spokesman on questions within the board.

3. On the whole, is the composition of the board, the quality of membership representative of interest groups, and the participation of all members of the board sufficient to reflect an effective dialogue of the community at large concerning the solution of the problems of poverty, in II. B. of the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider responses to the last three questions as well as additional relevant findings.]

Composition, representation, and participation of board affords and effective dialogue on solutions of problems of poverty

Composition, representation and participation of board does not allow an effective dialogue on solutions of problems of poverty.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The quality of the board is not all bad. It cuts across an important section of the community and its members, in general, feel that poverty programs should exist and that something should be done. I do feel that the board lacks members who challenge the agency and the community to do more, to be willing to forsake old ways, and to look with depth and understanding at the real problems which confront the community.

C. INFORMATION BASE AND ROLE

1. To what extent has the board obtained adequate knowledge about community problems, program alternatives, the operations of local, state, and federal agencies, and the program and administration of the community action agency?

[Survey board members, minutes.]

Board's knowledge highly adequate. Board's knowledge totally inadequate.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The board's knowledge in these areas seems to be limited. A few board members may be well informed on a given issue. My impression is that the usually format of presentation to the board of a possible program is pretty much in the framework of shall we have it or not have it. These seem to be the alternatives. This is not always the case, for example, the discussion over legal services involved "how" shall we have it--through the Bar Association or directly through CAF. But even here, the discussion tended to center around who should operate the program rather than what the program might effectively do for the poor.

I do not feel that the board as a whole is strong in its knowledge of agency administration.

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. To what extent do board members thoroughly understand the proposals which they approve?

[Survey board members, survey minutes, to determine extent of board member understanding of proposals which have been approved.]

Board members thoroughly understand proposals they approve. — Board members totally ignorant of proposals they approve.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I think that they are understood in broad outline. The legal services program mentioned under question one is perhaps a case in point. However, I personally doubt that the board members realized how "troublesome" such a service could be in challenging existing public and private institutions (Courts, police, loan companies, and landlords) once a lawyer becomes intrigued or folks demand the service. Perhaps it is felt that the Bar Association format will forestall difficulty.

3. To what extent have the community action agency's procedures for board member of orientation and training been successful in keeping all members of the board adequately informed, and orienting new board members?

[Determine procedures for board orientation and training. Survey new board members and compare their command of knowledge with that of experienced board members.]

Board member orientation and training procedures are highly adequate.						Board member orientation and training procedures are totally inadequate.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Don't know. Respondent's impression was that little is done in orentation and training for the board as a whole.

4. To what extent do the board members participate in the process of planning for programs and operations?

[Survey project director, board members, minutes and voting records.]

All board members participate in planning for program and operations.

No board members participate in planning for program and operations.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

As indicated earlier the chairman and program committee seem to be quite active. Beyond this the board does not seem to be especially involved in actual planning. This may be a virtue unless the board can be educated to the nature of the problems facing the community in a way that shows up the need for imaginative action.

5. On the whole, does the board have a sufficiently detailed knowledge of community problems, program alternatives, the operations of local, state and federal agencies, and the program and administration of the community action agency, to plan effectively for programs and operations, as described in II. C. of the Community Action Agency Standards.

[Consider your responses to the last three questions and other findings.]

Highly adequate information base -- can plan effectively.						Totally inadequate information base -- cannot plan effectively.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The board has some strengths in terms of information and understanding. They know roughly what can be expected of many existing agencies and what the political climate in Charlotte will allow. Whether the board is able to sufficiently challenge itself with other understandings of the community is a real question. I am not convinced that program alternatives, in any meaningful substi~~tutive~~ antide way, get much consideration from the board.

It is perhaps more difficult than is readily apparent, here, to separate "sufficiently detailed knowledge" from a sense of commitment. One is inclined to feel that, if the knowledge is detailed and accompained with a first hand feel of reality, that commitment to finding a solution will come about. I would guess that many of the members of the board need this kind of careful cultivation. It may be that board members have to be approached according to special interests which they now have and assisted in finding how these interests can positively relate to the serious situation faced by some Charlotte citizens.

III. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To what extent do the goals and objectives of the community action agency direct the community action agency to attack the causes of poverty in the community?

   [Survey problems of community, study goals and objectives, interview community action agency director, board members, community action agency staff, and leaders of the target area groups.]

Goals and objectives directly attack the causes of poverty. — Goals and objectives deal only with the symptoms of poverty.

7 6 5 4 (3) 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The director and much of the staff and the chairman of the board state that education and jobs are two main problems; several of the programs aim at improv~~ing~~ment in these areas.

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. To what extent are the goals and objectives consistent with the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Compare goals and objectives with the Community Action Agency Standards.]

Highly consistent — Inconsistent

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

To a fair degree the agency goals and objectives are consistent with the standards. The standards are not sufficiently fulfilled, perhaps.

3. To what extent have these goals and objectives grown out of the expressed needs of the poor?

[Interview leaders and members of neighborhood and target area groups. Determine history and development of goals and objectives.]

Goals and objectives closely related to and result of expressed needs of poor.						Goals and objectives completely unrelated to the expressed needs of the poor.
7	6	5	4	3	(2)	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Some of the neighborhood organizing and the problems with which the organizations deal have grown out of the express needs of the poor. Other programs seem to fit some of the ~~expressed~~ needs (such as availablity of decentralized employment service personnel) even though they have not grown directly out of the express needs.

I think the evaluators should recognize the potential, perhaps quite real, conflict in the question here (3) and question number one. "Express needs" and "causes of poverty" may be two quite different things. Or perhaps it just depends on who does the manipulating and how. But evaluators should be as reluctant to delude themselves as we would hope the agency in its turn would.

4. To what extent do the community action agency staff reflect a clear understanding of the goals and objectives in their activities?

[Interview community action agency staff for examples of goals and objectives translated into daily activities.]

Community action agency executive staff reflect clear understanding of goals and objectives.						Community action agency executive staff are totally confused about goals and objectives.
7	6	5	4	(3)	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Does this question mean to refer to the executive staff as the scale would indicate or to the agency staff in general?

There is some small conflict between what some of the field staff and central office staff see as the goals and objectives of daily activities. By and large, however, there is a general understanding of goals and objectives and the activities are aimed in that general direction. There is some need for clarification and growth. It is relevant to ask how much action is wanted by the agency and how much challenge is needed ~~tolerant~~. tolerable

5. On the whole, to what extent has the board formulated and communicated to the staff a statement of goals and objectives which form a background for action to direct the community action agency toward the attainment of program objectives, as stipulated in III of the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider your response to the last four questions.]

Goals and objectives highly adequate to guide the agency toward the solutions of poverty.						Goals and objectives totally inadequate to guide the agency toward the solutions of poverty.
7	6	5	4	3 ?	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

This question presents some confusion. If it ~~si~~ is intended as a summary of the preceding four questions, then it blanks some of the difficults which arise in talking about goals and objectives, on the board level, staff level, or in terms of expressed needs from target areas.

I think that the board and staff are still very much in a "feeling out" process regarding the communication of goals and objectives. Certainly, this is not a one way process in this or any other organization. The staff~~, however~~, in general, accepts certain parctical limitations on its activities, but it is not clear to me that they feel either strongly motivated or restrained by formulations of goals and objectives from the board.

IV. ADMINISTRATION

A. ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY

1. To what extent has the board developed an adequate statement of administrative policy?

   [Study statement of administrative policy for clarity. Interview community action agency director and executive staff. Seek examples of adequacy or inadequacy for given situation. Interview board members for same.]

Statement of Administrative Policy highly adequate to all occasions.						Statement of Administrative Policy totally inadequate.
7	6	5	(4)	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

There is now--since July-- an Administrative Handbook. It seems to be adequate for most administrative and personnel purposes at least where employees have no organized representation. This respondent has not tested some of the provisions of the Administrative Manual against actual practice.

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. How adequate is the description of division of responsibility for policy and administration between the board and the staff?

[Interview executive staff -- community action agency director, board members. Study statement for clear division of responsibility. Seek examples of misinterpretation.]

Division of responsibility clearly stated.						No clear division of responsibility.
7	6	5	(4)	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The division of responsibility seems to be reasonably good. But questions might be raised about how clear cut they are relative to the relations between the chairman of the Board and the director. This seemly close relationship, and the active role of the chairman in policy, are not all bad. In most other respects the staff seems to function as such and the board as such.

3. To what extent do the community action agency staff reflect an adequate understanding of administrative policy in their activities?

[Interview community action agency staff, for example, interview board chairman.]

Community action agency staff reflect fully adequate understanding of administrative policy.						Community action agency staff are totally confused about administrative policy.
7	6	5	(4)	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

It was not clear to me how closely the members of the staff had studied the administrative policy. In general, they seemed to be understanding of central policies including knowing when to be somewhat confused.

4. On the whole, to what extent is the statement of administrative policy, and the community action agency staff's understanding of it adequate to carry out the goals and objectives of the community action agency, as stipulated in IV., A. of the Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider your responses to the last three questions.]

Statement of administrative policy and staff understanding highly adequate to carry out goals and objectives.

Statement of administrative policy and staff understanding totally inadequate.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The agency scores reasonbly well on this question. Such confusions as exist seem normal, especially for a developing program.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

B. ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN

1. To what extent does the administrative plan adequately reflect the policies expressed by the board?

   [Survey plan, policies -- look for inconsistencies in provisions in plan for policies stated by board.]

Highly adequate reflection of policies.						Totally inadequate reflection of board policy.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Don't know. I have not looked that closely into Board Minutes. I assume that the Administrative Manual has the passive, if not the explicit, approval of the Board.

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. To what extent has an adequate accounting system been devised?

[Survey accounting plan; interview bookkeeper. Determine findings of federal audits, if any. Interview accounting staff.]

Highly adequate — Totally inadequate

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

My understanding from others is that the accounting system is reasonably adequate. This is based in part on observation that a recent audit indicated that things are okay.

3. To what extent have adequate personnel procedures been devised?

[Survey plan for personnel procedures. Investigate the keeping of personnel records, hiring, firing, and promotion procedures, etc. Interview person in charge of personnel management and staff members about the procedures. Investigate job descriptions.]

Highly adequate — Totally inadequate

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The personnel procedures in the Administrative Manual seem to be reasonably good. I have not d~~ived~~ilved very far into how the procedures have been carried out or what impact they have had on the staff. Two observations should perhaps be kept in mind. The first is that the CAF has secured a sizable staff in relatively a short period and that, secondly, communication which is closely related to personnel procedures is in need of further development.

4. To what extent have adequate procedures for plant operation been devised?

[Study procedures - interview staff.]

Highly adequate — Totally inadequate

7 6 (5) 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

My impression, only, is that the agency scored reasonably well here.

5. To what extent has an organizational structure been devised to adequately reflect goals and objectives, administrative policy, the programs, the accounting plan, personnel procedures, etc.?

[Study organization plan. Interview staff. Ask them to explain organizational structure as they see it.]

Highly adequate — Totally inadequate

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The evaluators have some differences among themselves as to the adequacy of organizational structure. The structure has been evolving and the structure chart raised a few questions which did not always have suitable answers. However, as important as structure is to formal lines of authority and as ~~they~~ it reflects on work flow, ~~they~~ it leaves much to be desired in terms of expressing what an organization is and what it does. The structure did reflect what the agency is functionally fit to do. In general, when overlooking all that a structure chart does not tell you, the plan was as good as most.

6. To what extent do the community action agency's staff members reflect their understanding of the administrative plan (accounting procedures, organizational structure, personnel procedures, plant operation, etc.) in their activities?

[Interview community action agency staff.]

Full understanding reflected in activities.						No understanding reflected in staff activities.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

When you focus on activities, there are still some questions as to who reports to whom. This problem is perhaps compounded, to an outsider, by the presence of personnel in the neighborhood centers who have other, and perhaps primary, responsibilities to other agencies. It is not clear to me whether the next point which I raise is related to an understanding of the administrative plan, but I got the feeling that the utilization of staff members by each other was inadequate.

7. On the whole, to what extent has the community action agency developed an adequate plan of administration, as stipulated in IV., B. of Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider your responses to the last six questions.]

Highly adequate plan of administration. — Plan of administration totally inadequate.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

The administrative plan seems to be reasonably adequate. I have no familiarity with the accounting plan, but the organizational structure ~~of~~ or personnel procedures have been worked out in some detail and seem~~s~~ to be reasonably good. Some procedures of plant operation, at least, have been worked out. There may be more detailed plans regarding plant, of which I am unaware. Many of the procedures are quite new, but at least the structure chart and administrative manual let employees know the ~~board's~~ broad outline and many of the details of the administration. Intra-staff communication was good and bad. There are probably sufficient staff meetings and they are appropriately divided between central staff and key neighborhood center staff and meeting of the neighborhood staff alon~~g~~. I think there was some lack of clarity about what staff meetings were to accomplish.

I did not read a House Organ. With several centers in operation as well as the central office, it could well be that such an organ is needed.

Communication is supplemented by pretty good relations between at least some of the supervision observed and the people in the field.

C. COMMUNICATIONS

1. How adequate is intra-staff communication?

[Interview staff members. Attend staff meetings. Read house organ.]

Intra-staff communication is consistently excellent. — Intra-staff communication is very poor.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Intra-staff communication is perhaps a little erratic at this point. Several staff members commented that it was improving. The formalities of staff meetings at various levels are observed and it appeared that enough such meetings are held. There seems to be some uncertainity as to what the meetings are to accomplish.

A fair amount of openess in discussing problems seems to exist in staff relations. This may not be a uniform condition, however.

2. To what extent are staff members fully cognizant of what is happening within the organization, as well as what external forces, such as the North Carolina Fund, Office of Economic Opportunity, local agencies, and state agencies, affect the outcome of the community action agency's activities?

[Interview staff members, attend staff meetings.]

Staff members are fully cognizant.						Staff members totally ignorant.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

It is somewhat difficult for staff members to keep abreast ~~to~~ of what is happening within the organization, but they seem to do reasonably well. They are, in general, aware of a variety of external forces which affect the organization.

3. On the whole, what quality of communications, as stipulated in IV., C. of the Community Action Agency Standards, exists within the community action agency?

[Consider your responses to the last three questions.]

Consistently high quality of accurate information.						Markedly low quality of inaccurate information.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

On ~~a hold~~ the whole ~~the~~ communication ~~was in~~ within the organization ~~and~~ at this point seems to be improving. The staff meeting structure seems to be relatively adequate in frequency and level. It is more difficult to judge the quality or utility of the meetings.

Several staff people expressed the opinion that staff communication is getting better. I saw no indication that the informal channels of communication were really closed. There is some rivalry between the centers and this may have some impact on full communication. However, the out come may well be that everyone tells everything so that new ideas and programs in one center are lost to the others.

V. EVALUATION OF PROGRAM PROCESS AND PRODUCT

1. To what extent does the community action agency's procedures for evaluation permit an evaluation of the overall impact of the total program upon the community as well as an evaluation of the success of individual programs?

   [Survey evaluation plan. Determine whether records include vital statistics, dates, and services performed for each individual, over the course of his relationship with the community action agency. Determine whether information about the individual served by a given program, or the various programs participated in by one individual can be easily compiled for presentation. Determine what evaluation has been undertaken to discover the overall effectiveness of each program and the value of alternative approaches to the problems the programs seek to answer.]

Evaluation procedures permit total evaluation of community action agency program as well as evaluation of individual projects.

Evaluation procedures permit less than minimal evaluation of either projects or total program.

7 6 5 4 3 (2) 1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

I was not impressed that evaluations of programs of impact on the community was at a high level. Once again, for some of the programs to which I paid most attention, this was due to the recency of their establishment. However, I did not get the feeling that the agency was planning for serious evaluation of its various program efforts. There are records being kept which, though in need of some refinement, are good. They will provide the basis for certain forms of evaluation .

PAGE (s) MISSING

2. To what extent do the results of the evaluation procedures feed back into a regular program planning process?

[Review evaluation plan, evaluation results, action taken by planning function of the community action agency. Determine changes, if any, that have occurred as a result of evaluation.]

Evaluation results are integral part of a sound planning process.						Evaluation results are not considered in planning process.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

Perhaps the answer should be "Don't know." This respondent is unaware of any agency-wide evaluation used in agency planning.

Individual staff members, and thereby programs, to a degree, have informally assessed specific activities and made revisions, or planned further activities. But to this point such evaluation seems to be void of a more general assessment of the programs impact on either a community or on the problems of poverty.

3. To what extent does the planning process involve the community action staff, relevant agency personnel, and participants in the program?

[Question staff, agency personnel, program participants, and indigenous leaders.]

Participants of program, agency personnel and community action agency staff highly involved in the program planning process.						Staff, agency personnel, and program participants are minimally involved in planning process, if at all.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

In general, planning seems to be weak. This could be a function of new~~est~~ in ~~c~~some programs and having all that could be done in others.

4. On the whole, to what extent do the evaluation procedures in conjunction with the program planning process contribute to the effective planning and operations of the community action agency, and provide an accurate record of the activities of the community action agency, as stipulated in V of Community Action Agency Standards?

[Consider your responses to the last three questions.]

Evaluation procedures and planning process are essential elements of planning and operations, as well as providing accurate records of community action agency activities.						Evaluation procedures and planning process totally ineffectual for planning and operations -- fail to provide an accurate record of activities of community action agency.
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

JUSTIFY YOUR RESPONSE:

In asking questions of the staff, director, center coordinators, and field staff, I found little evidence of planning of a broader nature to relate activities to goals. A sense of attack or strategy seem sadly lacking. It is true that in an undertaking such as Domestic United that there have been specific activities which involved a field person stationed at the center, someone from the central office and target area residents in planning the next steps of the movement.

However, in this general area there seems to be a lack of intra-agency consultation and a lack of planning among the relevent field personnel, the central staff, and participants in the programs.

The records of the agency are probably reasonably good. There has been little efforts to evaluate them to date. And such evaluation as has taken place leans to much in the direction of quantitation. Nevertheless the need and the pressure for quantity is very real.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

~~R.C.~~, ~~P.G.~~, ~~B.H.~~

f.y.i.

and

The attached is the questionnaire ~~[illegible]~~ for a Southern survey by the Inst for Soc. Sci. Res. at U.N.C. (J. in Prothro, Beza, et al — though they are not the authors of the survey)

The info is available on tape but with some limitation re publication.

Please return. Em

CSEP
CARD SORT ITEMS
DRAFT #7

DECK & CARD NO.		CONTENTS
R	80	Humphrey as President would cut government spending.
B	61	Nixon as President would cut government spending.
W	23	Wallace as President would cut government spending.
Y	37	When in office the Democratic party cuts government spending.
R	64	When in office the Republican party cuts government spending.
Y	22	Government spending should be cut.
W	42	Humphrey as President would hold down the cost of living.
Y	17	Nixon as President would hold down the cost of living.
W	39	Wallace as President would hold down the cost of living.
Y	43	When in office the Democratic party holds down the cost of living.
R	59	When in office the Republican party holds down the cost of living.
B	79	The government ought to hold down the cost of living.
W	25	There would be more jobs and better wages if Humphrey were President.
Y	23	There would be more jobs and better wages if Nixon were President.
W	31	There would be more jobs and better wages if Wallace were President.
Y	30	There are more jobs and better wages when the Democratic party is in office.
W	29	There are more jobs and better wages when the Republican party is in office.
Y	33	The country needs more jobs and better wages.
W	21	Humphrey as President would increase social security benefits.
B	56	Nixon as President would increase social security benefits.
R	69	Wallace as President would increase social security benefits.
Y	38	When in office the Democratic party increases social security benefits.
W	18	When in office the Republican party increases social security benefits.
Y	45	Social security benefits ought to be increased.

W 44 Humphrey as President would stop spending money on poverty programs.

B 50 Nixon as President would stop spending money on poverty programs.

W 14 Wallace as President would stop spending money on poverty programs.

B 76 The Democratic party would stop spending money on poverty programs.

R 52 The Republican party would stop spending money on poverty programs.

B 64 The government should stop spending money on poverty programs.

R 71 Humphrey as President would bring peace in Vietnam.

B 70 Nixon as President would bring peace in Vietnam.

R 79 Wallace as President would bring peace in Vietnam.

Y 32 The Democratic party would bring peace in Vietnam.

W 19 The Republican party would bring peace in Vietnam.

B 66 We must have peace in Vietnam.

R 58 Humphrey as President would take a stronger stand in Vietnam, even if it means invading North Vietnam.

Y 14 Nixon as President would take a stronger stand in Vietnam, even if it means invading North Vietnam.

W 11 Wallace as President would take a stronger stand in Vietnam, even it if means invading North Vietnam.

Y 34 The Democratic party would take a stronger stand in Vietnam, even if it means invading North Vietnam.

R 60 The Republican party would take a stronger stand in Vietnam, even if it means invading North Vietnam.

B 63 The government ought to take a stronger stand in Vietnam, even if it means invading North Vietnam.

W 37 Humphrey as President would give financial aid to countries that request it.

Y 35 Nixon as President would give financial aid to countries that request it.

R 61 Wallace as President would give financial aid to countries that request it.

B 69 When in office the Democratic party gives financial aid to countries that request it.

W 45 When in office the Republican party gives financial aid to countries that request it.

B 53 The government ought to give financial aid to countries that request it.

W	32	Humphrey as President would control riots and violence.
B	68	Nixon as President would control riots and violence.
W	27	Wallace as President would control riots and violence.
B	60	The Democratic party would control riots and violence.
W	36	The Republican party would control riots and violence.
B	67	The government should control riots and violence.
R	55	Humphrey as President would allow the police more authority.
B	49	Nixon as President would allow the police more authority.
R	72	Wallace as President would allow the police more authority.
B	47	The Democratic party would give the police more authority.
W	26	The Republican party would give the police more authority.
Y	21	The police ought to be given more authority.
R	50	Humphrey as President would let Negroes move into white neighborhoods.
Y	42	Nixon as President would let Negroes move into white neighborhoods.
R	74	Wallace as President would let Negroes move into white neighborhoods.
Y	12	The Democratic party would let Negroes move into white neighborhoods.
W	28	The Republican party would let Negroes move into white neighborhoods.
B	46	I favor letting Negroes move into white neighborhoods.
R	48	Humphrey as President would help big business.
Y	16	Nixon as President would help big business.
W	15	Wallace as President would help big business.
Y	39	When in office the Democratic party helps big business.
R	62	When in office the Republican party helps big business.
B	62	The government ought to help big business.
R	67	Humphrey as President would help labor unions.
Y	40	Nixon as President would help labor unions.
R	57	Wallace as President would help labor unions.
B	48	When in office the Democratic party helps labor unions.
R	65	When in office the Republican party helps labor unions.

B	57	The government ought to help labor unions.
B	65	Humphrey as President would help the common man.
W	24	Nixon as President would help the common man.
Y	36	Wallace as President would help the common man.
R	66	When in office the Democratic party helps the common man.
Y	31	When in office the Republican party helps the common man.
W	35	The government ought to help the common man.
B	54	Humphrey as President would help Negroes.
W	22	Nixon as President would help Negroes.
B	74	Wallace as President would help Negroes.
W	30	When in office the Democratic party helps Negroes.
B	59	When in office the Republican party helps Negroes.
R	53	The government ought to help Negroes.
Y	29	Humphrey has had an excellent record in public service.
W	38	Nixon has had an excellent record in public service.
Y	13	Wallace has had an excellent record in public service.
B	58	Lyndon Johnson has done an excellent job as President.
Y	27	<u>If he had been elected</u>, Barry Goldwater would have done an excellent job as President.
W	33	The governor of this state has done an excellent job in office.
B	73	The Democratic party has done an excellent job of running the national government <u>in the last four years.</u>
W	13	<u>If it had been in office</u>, the Republican party would have done an excellent job of running the national government <u>in the last four years</u>.
B	78	The Democratic party would do an excellent job running the national government in the <u>next</u> four years.
R	76	The Republican party would do an excellent job running the national government in the <u>next</u> four years.
Y	18	Whether or not a candidate for President has had a good previous record in public service is very important to me.

R	73	Humphrey as President could be trusted.
B	71	Nixon as President could be trusted.
R	78	Wallace as President could be trusted.
B	80	You can trust the Democratic party.
W	34	You can trust the Republican party.
B	52	Whether or not you can trust the men who run the government is very important to me.
W	16	Humphrey has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
Y	19	Nixon has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
R	77	Wallace has the kind of personality a President ought to have.
B	75	The kind of personality a President has is very important to me.
W	40	How a President stands on the issues is very important to me.
Y	20	The kind of man we have for Vice-President is very important to me.
W	43	Humphrey is a loyal Democrat.
Y	26	Nixon is a loyal Republican.
R	63	Wallace is a loyal Democrat.
Y	11	It is very important to me which party a Presidential candidate belongs to.
R	49	In politics, Humphrey is conservative.
Y	41	In politics, Nixon is conservative.
R	46	In politics, Wallace is conservative.
Y	25	The Democratic party is conservative.
B	55	The Republican party is conservative.
W	20	Whether or not a President is conservative is very important to me.
R	68	Hubert Humphrey would make an excellent President.
R	47	Richard Nixon would make an excellent President.
R	56	George Wallace would make an excellent President.
B	72	Robert Kennedy would have made an excellent President.
R	70	Ted Kennedy would make an excellent President.
Y	28	Eugene McCarthy would make an excellent President.

D-#2-6

R	54	Ronald Reagan would make an excellent President.
Y	44	Nelson Rockefeller would make an excellent President.
R	75	John Lindsay would make an excellent President.
Y	24	Edmund Muskie would make an excellent Vice-President.
W	12	Spiro Agnew would make an excellent Vice-President.
Y	15	Curtis LeMay would make an excellent Vice-President.
W	41	Humphrey talks too much.
B	51	Wallace is an extremist.
W	17	Humphrey as a candidate was influenced too much by President Johnson.
B	77	I'd like to work on a job with both Negroes and whites.
R	51	I'd like to see white and Negro children go to the same school.

SAMPLE CARD #1 I like fried eggs.

SAMPLE CARD #2 President Johnson likes fried eggs.

PLEASE ATTACH SCREENING FORM

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY--
DO NOT FILL IN
QUESTIONNAIRE NO._____

November, 1968
Study No. 1826 NC

RECORD THE FOLLOWING: Sample Point No._____ Contact No._____

QUESTIONNAIRE

IF RESPONDENT IS OTHER THAN INITIAL CONTACT, REPEAT INTRODUCTION. ASSURE RESPONDENT THAT THIS IS A BONA FIDE SURVEY AND THAT ALL RESPONSES ARE CONFIDENTIAL.

1. Who is the head of this household?

Respondent is head.....___11-1
Spouse of respondent is head.___ -2
Other relative of respondent is head.....___ -3
Person not related to respondent is head.....___ -4

2a. In the elections for President since you've been old enough to vote, would you say that you have voted in all of them, most of them, some of them, or none of them?

All.....___12-1
Most.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 3a)
Some.....___ -3
None.....___ -4 (ASK 2b)

2b. Have you ever voted in any election?

Have voted.....___13-1
Never voted.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 4)
Can't recall....___ -3

3a. Have you always voted for the same party, or have you voted for different parties for President?

Same party.....___14-1 (ASK 3b)
Different parties___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3 (SKIP TO 3c)

3b. Which party was that?

Republican.....___15-1
Democratic.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 4)
Other (vol).....___ -3
Refused.....___ -4

3c. Have you voted more often for the Republican party or the Democratic party?

Republican.....___16-1
Democratic.....___ -2
Both about equally (vol).....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4
Refused.....___ -5

4. (ASK EVERYONE) Regardless of how you vote, when it comes to national politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Republican...___17-1 (ASK 4a,b)
Democrat.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 4d,e)
Independent..___ -3 (SKIP TO 4g)
Wallace party (vol)___ -4 (SKIP TO 4h)
Other (vol)..___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6 (SKIP TO 4i)
Refused.....___ -7

4a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

Strong.....___18-1 (ASK 4b)
Not very strong___ -2

4b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat rather than a Republican in national politics?

Yes.....___19-1 (ASK 4c)
No.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 5)
Not sure.....___ -3

4c. When did you change from Democrat to Republican? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____20- (SKIP TO 5)

4d. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

Strong.....___21-1 (ASK 4e)
Not very strong___ -2

4e. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican rather than a Democrat in national politics?

Yes.....___22-1 (ASK 4f)
No.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 5)
Not sure.....___ -3

4f. When did you change from Republican to Democrat? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____ 23- (SKIP TO 5)

4g. By "Independent" do you mean that you think of yourself as a part of Wallace's American Independent party, or do you mean that you don't think of yourself as belonging to any party?

Wallace party..... ___ 24-1 —(ASK 4h)
No party..... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 4i)

4h. Would you call yourself a strong backer of Wallace's party or a not very strong backer of his party?

Strong..... ___ 25-1 —(ASK 4i)
Not very strong.... ___ -2

4i. Do you usually think of yourself as closer to the Republican party or as closer to the Democratic party?

Republican..... ___ 26-1 —(ASK 4j)
Democratic..... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 4L)
Closer to neither.. ___ -3
Not sure..... ___ -4 —(SKIP TO 4n)
Refused..... ___ -5

4j. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Democratic party instead of the Republican party in national politics?

Yes..... ___ 27-1 —(ASK 4k)
No..... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 5)
Not sure..... ___ -3

4k. When did you change to what you are now? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____ 28- (SKIP TO 5)

4L. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Republican party instead of the Democratic party in national politics?

Yes..... ___ 29-1 —(ASK 4m)
No..... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 5)
Not sure..... ___ -3

4m. When did you change to what you are now? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____ 30- (SKIP TO 5)

4n. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Republican party or as closer to the Democratic party?

Yes, Republican..... ___ 31-1 —(ASK 4o)
Yes, Democrat..... ___ -2
No, never..... ___ -3 —(SKIP TO 5)
Not sure..... ___ -4

4o. When did you change to what you are now? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____ 32-

5. (ASK EVERYONE) How about when it comes to politics here in North Carolina? Regardless of how you vote, do you usually think of yourself in state politics as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Republican..... ___ 33-1 —(ASK 5a,b)
Democrat..... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 5d,e)
Independent..... ___ -3 —(SKIP TO 5g)
Wallace party (vol)..... ___ -4 —(SKIP TO 5h)
Other (vol)..... ___ -5
Not sure..... ___ -6 —(SKIP TO 5i)
Refused..... ___ -7

5a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican at the state level?

Strong..... ___ 34-1 —(ASK 5b)
Not very strong..... ___ -2

5b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat rather than a Republican in state politics?

Yes..... ___ 35-1 —(ASK 5c)
No..... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 6)
Not sure..... ___ -3

5c. When did you change from Democrat to Republican at the state level? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____ 36- (SKIP TO 6)

5d. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat at the state level?

Strong.....___37-1 (ASK 5e)
Not very strong...___ -2

5e. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican rather than a Democrat in state politics?

Yes.....___38-1 (ASK 5f)
No.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 6)
Not sure.....___ -3

5f. When did you change from Republican to Democrat at the state level? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____39- (SKIP TO 6)

5g. By "Independent" do you mean that in state level politics you think of yourself as part of Wallace's American Independent party, or do you mean that you don't think of yourself as belonging to <u>any</u> party?

Wallace party.....___40-1 (ASK 5h)
No party.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 5i)

5h. Would you call yourself a strong backer of Wallace's party or a not very strong backer of his party at the state level?

Strong.....___41-1 (ASK 5i)
Not very strong...___ -2

5i. In state politics, do you usually think of yourself as closer to the Republican party or as closer to the Democratic party?

Republican.....___42-1 (ASK 5j)
Democratic.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 5L)
Closer to neither.___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4 (SKIP TO 5n)
Refused.....___ -5

5j. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Democratic party instead of the Republican party at the state level?

Yes.....___43-1 (ASK 5k)
No.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 6)
Not sure.....___ -3

5k. When did you change to what you are now? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____44- (SKIP TO 6)

5L. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Republican party instead of the Democratic party in state politics?

Yes.....___45-1 (ASK 5m)
No.....___ -2 (SKIP TO 6)
Not sure.....___ -3

5m. When did you change to what you are now? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____46- (SKIP TO 6)

5n. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Republican party or as closer to the Democratic party in state politics?

Yes, Republican.....___47-1 (ASK 5o)
Yes, Democratic.....___ -2
No, never.....___ -3 (SKIP TO 6)
Not sure.....___ -4

5o. When did you change to what you are now? (RECORD ACTUAL YEAR OR GENERAL TIME PERIOD BELOW)

_____48-

6. (IF RESPONDENT HAS <u>NEVER</u> VOTED IN <u>ANY</u> ELECTION [A "NEVER VOTED" ANSWER IN Q.2b], SKIP TO 12. ASK 6a OF ALL OTHERS)

6a. Did you vote in the election of 1964 when Goldwater ran against Johnson for President?

Voted.....___49-1 (ASK 6b)
Didn't vote.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3 (SKIP TO 7a)
Refused.....___ -4
Too young in '64....___ -5 (SKIP TO 8a)

6b. Did you vote for Goldwater, the Republican, or Johnson, the Democrat?

Goldwater.....___50-1
Johnson.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3
Refused.....___ -4

7a. Did you vote in the election of 1960 when Nixon ran against Kennedy for President?

Voted.....___ 51-1 —(ASK 7b)
Didn't vote.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3 —(SKIP TO 8a)
Refused.....___ -4
Too young in '60..___ -5

7b. Did you vote for Nixon, the Republican, or Kennedy, the Democrat?

Nixon.....___ 52-1
Kennedy.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3
Refused.....___ -4

8a. In 1966 here in North Carolina there was an election for United States Senator. John Shallcross ran against Everett Jordan. Did you vote in that election?

Voted.....___ 53-1 —(ASK 8b)
Didn't vote.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3 —(SKIP TO 10a)
Refuse to answer..___ -4
Not NC resident...___ -5 —(SKIP TO 9a)
Too young in '66..___ -6 —(SKIP TO 11a)

8b. Did you vote for Shallcross, the Republican, or Jordan, the Democrat?

Shallcross.....___ 54-1
Jordan.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3
Refuse to answer..___ -4

9a. Did you vote in the election for Congressman in 1966? (ANY DISTRICT)

Voted.....___ 55-1 —(ASK 9b)
Didn't vote.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3 —(SKIP TO 10a)
Refused.....___ -4

9b. Did you vote for the Republican or the Democratic candidate for Congressman?

Republican.....___ 56-1
Democratic.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3
Refused.....___ -4

10a. In 1964 there was an election for Governor here in North Carolina. Robert Gavin ran against Dan Moore. Did you vote in that election?

Voted.....___ 57-1 —(ASK 10b)
Didn't vote.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3 —(SKIP TO 11a)
Refuse to answer..___ -4
Not NC resident...___ -5

10b. Did you vote for Gavin, the Republican, or Moore, the Democrat?

Gavin.....___ 58-1
Moore.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3
Refuse to answer..___ -4

11a. Earlier this year, each of the parties held a primary election for Governor. Jim Gardner and John Stickley ran for the Republican nomination, and Melville Broughton, Reginald Hawkins, and Bob Scott ran for the Democratic nomination. Did you vote in one of those primaries?

Voted.....___ 59-1 —(ASK 11b)
Didn't vote.....___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3
Refuse to answer..___ -4 —(SKIP TO 12)
Not NC resident...___ -5
Too young then....___ -6

11b. Did you vote in the Republican primary or in the Democratic primary for Senator?

Republican.....___ 60-1 —(ASK 11c)
Democratic.....___ -2 —(SKIP TO 11d)
Can't recall.....___ -3
Refused.....___ -4 —(SKIP TO 12)

11c. Did you vote for Gardner or for Stickley?

Gardner.....___ 61-1
Stickley.....___ -2 —(SKIP TO 11e)
Can't recall.....___ -3
Refuse to answer..___ -4

11d. Did you vote for Broughton, Hawkins, or Scott?

Broughton.....___ 62-1
Hawkins.....___ -2
Scott.....___ -3 —(SKIP TO 11f)
Can't recall.....___ -4
Refuse to answer..___ -5

11e. At the same time as the gubernatorial primary, three men ran for the Republican nomination for the United States Senate: Bob Somers, Ed Tenney, and John Zimmerman. Did you vote for Somers, Tenney, or Zimmerman?

Somers.....	___63-1	
Tenney.....	___ -2	
Zimmerman.....	___ -3	(SKIP TO 12)
Other; none of them.....	___ -4	
Can't recall.....	___ -5	
Refuse to answer..	___ -6	

11f. At the same time as the gubernatorial primary, three men ran for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate: Sam Ervin, John Gathing, and Charles Pratt. Did you vote for Ervin, Gathing, or Pratt?

Ervin.....	___64-1
Gathing.....	___ -2
Pratt.....	___ -3
Other; none of them.....	___ -4
Can't recall.....	___ -5
Refuse to answer..	___ -6

12. (ASK EVERYONE) Now let's talk about something else. Just tell me for each of the statements I'll read whether you tend to agree or disagree. (READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD BELOW)

a. All things considered, this community is the best one in North Carolina to live in.

b. All things considered, North Carolina is the best state in the United States to live in.

c. All things considered, the United States is the best country in the world to live in.

	12a. Best Community	12b. Best State	12c. Best Country
Agree.....	___65-1	___66-1	___67-1
Disagree....	___ -2	___ -2	___ -2
Not sure....	___ -3	___ -3	___ -3

13a.Now, what is the most important problem that people like yourself are facing these days? (RECORD ONLY ONE PROBLEM. PROBE FOR DETAIL)

68-
69-

13b.Do you think there is anyone who can help solve this problem? Who is that? Who else can help solve this problem? (PROBE IF "NOT SURE": Is there any person, group of people, or organization? Who is that?)

70-
71-

13c.What is the next most important problem that people like yourself are facing these days? (RECORD ONLY ONE PROBLEM. PROBE FOR DETAIL)

72-
73-

13d.Do you think there is anyone who can help solve this problem? Who is that? Who else can help solve this problem? (PROBE IF "NOT SURE": Is there any person, group of people, or organization? Who is that?)

74-
75-

13e.(IF IN 13b RESPONDENT DID NOT MENTION ANY GOVERNMENT OR ANY POLITICAL BODIES OR FIGURES, ASK:) Is there anything government can do to help solve the problem of (PROBLEM MENTIONED IN 13a)?

Can do.....___76-1
Can't do.....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

13f.(ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS) Which candidate for President do you feel could have done more to solve the problem of (PROBLEM MENTIONED IN 13a) the way you'd like to see it solved--Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace--or couldn't any of them help solve this problem?

Nixon.....___77-1
Humphrey.....___ -2
Wallace.....___ -3
None of them.....___ -4
Not sure which.....___ -5
Refused.....___ -6

13g.(IF IN 13d RESPONDENT DID NOT MENTION ANY GOVERNMENT OR ANY POLITICAL BODIES OR FIGURES, ASK:) Is there anything government can do to help solve the problem of (PROBLEM MENTIONED IN 13c)?

Can do.....___78-1
Can't do.....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

13h.(ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS) Which candidate for President do you feel could have done more to solve the problem of (PROBLEM MENTIONED IN 13c) the way you'd like to see it solved--Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace--or couldn't any of them help solve this problem?

Nixon.....___79-1
Humphrey.....___ -2
Wallace.....___ -3
None of them.....___ -4
Not sure which.....___ -5
Refused.....___ -6

14a.Now let's talk a bit about the election campaign. Just before election day, who did you think would get the most votes for President across the country--Nixon, the Republican, Humphrey, the Democrat, or Wallace, the Independent?

Nixon.....___11-1
Humphrey.....___ -2 (ASK 14b)
Wallace.....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4 (SKIP TO 14c)
Refused.....___ -5

14b.Were you thinking then that it would be a close race, or did you think he'd win by quite a bit?

Close race.....___12-1
Win by quite a bit..___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

14c. Before the election, who did you think would get the fewest number of votes across the country--Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?

Nixon.....___13-1
Humphrey.....___ -2 (ASK 14d)
Wallace.....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4 (SKIP TO 15a)
Refused.....___ -5

14d. Were you thinking then that he'd be 'way behind the other two candidates, or did you think he'd come close to at least one of the others?

'Way behind.....___14-1
Come close to at least one.....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

15a. (ASK EVERYONE) How about here in North Carolina? Just before election day, who did you think would get the most votes for President here in the state--Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?

Nixon.....___15-1
Humphrey.....___ -2 (ASK 15b)
Wallace.....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4 (SKIP TO 15c)
Refused.....___ -5

15b. Were you thinking then that it would be a close race here in North Carolina or did you think he'd win by quite a bit?

Close race.....___16-1
Win by quite a bit..___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

15c. Before the election, who did you think would get the fewest number of votes here in the state--Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?

Nixon.....___17-1
Humphrey.....___ -2 (ASK 15d)
Wallace.....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4 (SKIP TO 16)
Refused.....___ -5

15d. Were you thinking then that he'd be 'way behind the other two candidates, or did you think he'd come close to at least one of them?

'Way behind.....___18-1
Come close to at least one.....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

16. In the elections last Tuesday, did you vote or not? (ANY OFFICE)

Voted.....___19-1 (ASK 17a)
Didn't vote at all..___ -2 (SKIP TO 19)
Refused.....___ -3

17a. Who did you vote for this time for President--Nixon, the Republican, Humphrey, the Democrat, or Wallace, the Independent?

Nixon.....___20-1
Humphrey.....___ -2 (ASK 17b)
Wallace.....___ -3
Other (vol).....___ -4
Don't recall.....___ -5
Didn't vote for President.....___ -6 (SKIP TO 18)
Refused.....___ -7

17b. How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did? (GET MOST SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION YOU CAN)

21-

18. How about the vote for Congressman last Tuesday. Did you vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate for Congress--or didn't you vote for Congressman?

Republican.....___22-1
Democrat.....___ -2
Other (vol).....___ -3
Don't recall which..___ -4
Didn't vote for Congressman.....___ -5
Refused.....___ -6

18a. How about the election for United States Senator? Did you vote for Bob Somers, the Republican, Sam Ervin, the Democrat, or didn't you vote for Senator?

Somers.....___23-1
Ervin.....___ -2
Other (vol.).....___ -3
Don't recall which..___ -4
Didn't vote for Senator.....___ -5
Refuse to answer....___ -6

18b. How about the vote for Governor? Did you vote for Jim Gardner, the Republican, Bob Scott, the Democrat, or didn't you vote for Governor?

Gardner.....___24-1
Scott.....___ -2
Other (vol.).....___ -3
Don't recall which___ -4
Didn't vote for
Governor.....___ -5
Refuse to answer..___ -6

18c. Finally, what about the elections for the state and local offices we haven't talked about? Did you vote a straight party ticket, or did you vote for candidates from different parties?

Straight ticket....___25-1 —(ASK 18d)
Different parties..___ -2 —(SKIP TO 18e)
Can't recall.....___ -3
Didn't vote for
other offices....___ -4 —(SKIP TO 22a)
Refused.....___ -5

18d. Which ticket did you vote for--the Republicans or the Democrats?

Republicans.....___26-1
Democrats.....___ -2
Other (vol).....___ -3 —(SKIP TO 22a)
Can't recall.....___ -4
Refused.....___ -5

18e. Well, for those other state and local offices, did you vote mostly for Republicans or mostly for Democrats?

Mostly Republicans.___27-1
Mostly Democrats...___ -2
Equal split (vol)..___ -3 —(SKIP TO 22a)
Can't recall.....___ -4
Refused.....___ -5

(ASK 19-21 ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO "DIDN'T VOTE AT ALL" OR "REFUSED" IN Q. 16)

19. If you had voted, who would you have voted for for President--Nixon, the Republican, Humphrey, the Democrat, or Wallace, the Independent?

Nixon.....___28-1
Humphrey.....___ -2
Wallace.....___ -3
Other.....___ -4
Not sure.....___ -5
Refused.....___ -6

20a. Who would you have voted for last Tuesday for Congressman--the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate for Congress?

Republican.....___29-1
Democratic.....___ -2
Other (vol).....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4
Refused.....___ -5

20b. How about the election for United States Senator? Would you have voted for Bob Somers, the Republican, or Sam Ervin, the Democrat?

Somers.....___30-1
Ervin.....___ -2
Other (vol).....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4
Refused.....___ -5

20c. How about the vote for Governor? Would you have voted for Jim Gardner, the Republican, or Bob Scott, the Democrat?

Gardner.....___31-1
Scott.....___ -2
Other (vol.)....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4
Refuse to answer___ -5

21. What was the main reason you didn't vote in this election? (DO NOT READ LIST. RECORD BELOW MAIN REASON RESPONDENT DID NOT VOTE.)

[NOT REGISTERED; NOT ELIGIBLE; COULDN'T MEET RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS].....___32-1
[ILLNESS (SELF OR FAMILY); OLD AGE].....___ -2
[TOO BUSY; DIDN'T HAVE TIME; OUT OF TOWN].....___ -3
[NEVER VOTE; GENERAL LETHARGY]___ -4
[DIDN'T LIKE CANDIDATES; NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CANDIDATES; DIDN'T CARE WHO WON].....___ -5
[OTHER].....___ -6
[NOT SURE].....___ -7

22a. (ASK EVERYONE) Now I want to read you some political problems and issues that other people have mentioned to us. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) Just tell me whether you think each of the problems I read is very important to you, important, not very important, or not important at all to you. How important to you is the question of:

ITEM NUMBER	Very Important	Important	Not Very Important	Not Important at All	Not Sure
01. Whether or not social security benefits are increased.....	___33-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
02. Whether or not we have peace in Vietnam.....	___34-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
03. How government treats labor unions.....	___35-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
04. What happens to the cost of living.....	___36-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
05. Whether or not riots and violence are controlled.....	___37-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
06. Whether or not the government gives financial aid to countries that request it.....	___38-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
07. How government treats big business.....	___39-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
08. Whether or not Negroes are allowed to move into white neighborhoods.....	___40-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
09. Whether or not we have more jobs and higher wages.....	___41-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
10. Whether or not the police are given more authority.....	___42-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
11. How much money the government spends.....	___43-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
12. Whether or not we take a stronger stand in Vietnam.....	___44-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
13. How government treats the common man.....	___45-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
14. Whether or not the government stops spending money on poverty programs.....	___46-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
15. How government treats Negroes....	___47-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5

22b. COUNT THE NUMBER OF STATEMENTS IN 22a THAT RESPONDENT HAS CLASSIFIED AS "VERY IMPORTANT." THIS NUMBER IS:

[ZERO..... ___] —(ENTER A ZERO IN EACH BOX)
[ONE..... ___] —(GO TO 22c)
[TWO OR MORE..... ___] —(SKIP TO 22d)

48 49 [ ][ ] → (TAKE BACK CARD A AND SKIP TO 23a)

22c. CIRCLE THE ONE ITEM NUMBER IN 22a THAT RESPONDENT HAS CLASSIFIED AS "VERY IMPORTANT" TO HIM. ENTER THAT NUMBER, ONE DIGIT TO A BOX, IN THE TWO BOXES TO THE RIGHT OF 22b. THEN TAKE BACK CARD A AND SKIP TO 23a.

22d. Now I'm going to read back the items you said were "very important" to you. I'd like you to tell me which one of the items is most important to you. (READ ALL ITEMS WHICH RESPONDENT HAS RATED AS "VERY IMPORTANT" IN 22a.)

CIRCLE THE ITEM NUMBER THE RESPONDENT DECIDES IS "MOST IMPORTANT" TO HIM AND ENTER THAT NUMBER, ONE DIGIT TO A BOX, IN THE TWO BOXES TO THE RIGHT OF 22b. IF RESPONDENT IS "NOT SURE" WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT TO HIM, ENTER A "9" IN EACH BOX ([9][9]). THEN TAKE BACK CARD A AND ASK 23a.

23a. (ASK EVERYONE) Generally speaking, would you say that you personally cared a great deal which of the three candidates won the presidential election, or would you say that you didn't care very much which of them won? (DO NOT READ LIST. RECORD VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE BELOW.)

[CARED VERY MUCH]..... ___ 50-1
[CARED PRETTY MUCH].... ___ -2
[PRO-CON; DEPENDS]..... ___ -3
[DIDN'T CARE VERY MUCH; CARED A LITTLE]..... ___ -4
[DIDN'T CARE AT ALL]... ___ -5
[NOT SURE]..... ___ -6

23b. How about the election for United States Senator? Would you say that you personally cared a great deal which of the two candidates won the election for Senator here in the state, or would you say that you didn't care very much which of them won? (DO NOT READ LIST)

[CARED VERY MUCH]..... ___ 51-1
[CARED PRETTY MUCH].... ___ -2
[PRO-CON; DEPENDS]..... ___ -3
[DIDN'T CARE VERY MUCH; CARED A LITTLE]..... ___ -4
[DIDN'T CARE AT ALL]... ___ -5
[NOT SURE]..... ___ -6

23c. How about the race for Governor here? Would you say that you personally cared a great deal which of the two candidates won the election, or would you say that you didn't care very much which of them won? (DO NOT READ LIST)

[CARED VERY MUCH]..... ___ 52-1
[CARED PRETTY MUCH].... ___ -2
[PRO-CON; DEPENDS]..... ___ -3
[DIDN'T CARE VERY MUCH; CARED A LITTLE]..... ___ -4
[DIDN'T CARE AT ALL]... ___ -5
[NOT SURE]..... ___ -6

24a. Was there anything in particular about Jim Gardner, the Republican candidate for Governor, that might have made you want to vote for him? What was that? Anything else?

53- _____
54- _____
55- _____
56- _____

24b. Was there anything about Jim Gardner that might have made you want to vote against him? What was that? Anything else?

57- _____
58- _____
59- _____
60- _____

24c. Was there anything in particular about Bob Scott, the Democratic candidate for Governor, that might have made you want to vote for him? What was that? Anything else?

61- _____
62- _____
63- _____
64- _____

24d. Was there anything in particular about Bob Scott that might have made you want to vote against him? What was that? Anything else?

65-
66-
67-
68-

24e. How about the race for United States Senator? Was there anything in particular about Bob Somers, the Republican candidate, that might have made you want to vote for him? What was that? Anything else?

69-
70-
71-
72-

24f. Was there anything in particular about Bob Somers that might have made you want to vote against him? What was that? Anything else?

73-
74-
75-
76-

24g. Was there anything in particular about Sam Ervin, the Democratic candidate for Senator, that might have made you want to vote for him? What was that? Anything else?

77-
78-
79-
80-

24h. Was there anything in particular about Sam Ervin that might have made you want to vote against him? What was that? Anything else?

11-
12-
13-
14-

25a. Now about the political parties: All-in all and across the country, would you say there is an important difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, some difference, or no difference between them? (RECORD BELOW IN FIRST COLUMN)

25b. By and large, would you say there is an important difference, some difference, or no difference, between the Republican party and Wallace's Independent party? (RECORD BELOW IN SECOND COLUMN)

25c. And by and large, is there an important difference, some difference, or no difference between the Democratic party and Wallace's party? (RECORD BELOW IN THIRD COLUMN)

	25a. Repub.-Dem. Differ.	25b. Repub.-Wallace Differ.	25c. Dem.-Wallace Differ.
Important difference	___15-1	___16-1	___17-1
Some difference.....	___ -2	___ -2	___ -2
No difference.....	___ -3	___ -3	___ -3
Not sure.....	___ -4	___ -4	___ -4
Refused.....	___ -5	___ -5	___ -5

26. In just a minute I'm going to give you a set of cards. Each card contains a statement that someone has made to us before. I would like you to read each card and decide whether you agree or disagree with the statement.

This is how it works. (OPEN SORT BOARD AND PLACE IT IN FRONT OF RESPONDENT SO HE CAN READ IT. THEN POINTING TO THE BOXES, THE WORDS BELOW AND THE SYMBOLS ABOVE THEM, SAY:) As you can see, there are seven boxes; below each box are the words "Strongly Disagree," "Disagree,""Slightly Disagree," "Not Sure," "Slightly Agree," "Agree," and "Strongly Agree." Above each box are symbols indicating the strength of agreement or disagreement; that is, three minuses for "Strongly Disagree," two minuses for "Disagree," one for "Slightly Disagree," and on the other side of the board, one plus for "Slightly Agree," two pluses for "Agree," and three for "Strongly Agree."

When I give you the cards, I'd like you to read each card and place it in one of the seven boxes that best describes how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement.

Now, let's try a couple of sample cards so you can see how it works. (FROM THE SORT #1 ENVELOPE, TAKE OUT GREEN SAMPLE CARD #1--"I LIKE FRIED EGGS"--READ IT OUT LOUD AND THEN SORT IT ON THE BOARD ACCORDING TO HOW MUCH YOU, THE INTERVIEWER, AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT. PLACE CARD ON BOARD SO RESPONDENT CAN READ IT AND EXPLAIN WHY YOU PLACED THE CARD AS YOU DID. THEN SAY:)

Now you take the card and place it on the board according to how much you agree or disagree with the statement. (LET RESPONDENT SORT CARD.)

Let's try one more. (TAKE SAMPLE CARD #2: "PRESIDENT JOHNSON LIKES FRIED EGGS") This reads: "President Johnson likes fried eggs." ..Well, I don't have any idea whether he likes fried eggs or not, so I would put this card here on the Not Sure box. (PUT CARD ON NOT SURE BOX SO RESPONDENT CAN READ IT, THEN ASK:) Now, where would you put that card?

(IF RESPONDENT CANNOT READ CARDS WELL, SEE YOUR INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS.)

(IF RESPONDENT CAN READ CARDS AND BOARD--AND UNDERSTANDS PROCEDURE, SAY:) You ought to sort each card according to your first reaction to the statement. (GIVE HIM WHITE DECK AND LET HIM BEGIN. PUT THE TWO GREEN SAMPLE CARDS BACK IN SORT #1 ENVELOPE.)

DO NOT WATCH RESPONDENT CLOSELY AFTER YOU SEE HE'S SORTING WELL. IF HE READS WELL BUT IS TAKING MORE THAN 10-15 SECONDS PER CARD, REMIND HIM THAT CARDS SHOULD BE SORTED ON FIRST IMPRESSION.

(WHEN RESPONDENT FINISHES SORTING WHITE DECK, SAY:) Now please take all the cards you've put on the Strongly Disagree box (POINT), turn them over, and read the number on the back of each card to me. I'll check off the numbers as you read them. When we're through with those in the Strongly Disagree box, let me know and we'll go on to the cards in the next box--and so on across the board until we've finished with each box in turn. (BE CERTAIN THAT RESPONDENT PICKS UP EACH PILE IN SEQUENCE FROM THE STRONGLY DISAGREE BOX THROUGH TO THE STRONGLY AGREE BOX. AS RESPONDENT READS NUMBERS, CHECK THEM OFF IN THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN IN THE WHITE DECK RECORD ON THE NEXT PAGE.)

WHEN ALL WHITE DECK CARDS HAVE BEEN RECORDED, COLLECT THEM AND PUT THEM BACK IN SORT #1 ENVELOPE. THEN GIVE RESPONDENT RED DECK AND LET HIM SORT THE RED CARDS. WHILE HE SORTS THEM, CHECK THE RECORDINGS FOR THE WHITE DECK, MAKING SURE YOU HAVE RECORDED ONE AND ONLY ONE ANSWER FOR EACH CARD (NUMBER 11 THROUGH 45).

WHEN RESPONDENT FINISHES SORTING RED DECK, REPEAT RECORDING PROCEDURE, CHECKING OFF THE RED CARD NUMBERS IN THE RED DECK RECORD.

WHEN ALL RED CARDS HAVE BEEN RECORDED, COLLECT THEM AND REPLACE THEM IN SORT #1 ENVELOPE. TAKE BACK SORT BOARD AND CONTINUE THE INTERVIEW.

CARD IV

WHITE DECK

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
____11-1	____11-2	____11-3	____11-4	____11-5	____11-6	____11-7
____12-1	____12-2	____12-3	____12-4	____12-5	____12-6	____12-7
____13-1	____13-2	____13-3	____13-4	____13-5	____13-6	____13-7
____14-1	____14-2	____14-3	____14-4	____14-5	____14-6	____14-7
____15-1	____15-2	____15-3	____15-4	____15-5	____15-6	____15-7
____16-1	____16-2	____16-3	____16-4	____16-5	____16-6	____16-7
____17-1	____17-2	____17-3	____17-4	____17-5	____17-6	____17-7
____18-1	____18-2	____18-3	____18-4	____18-5	____18-6	____18-7
____19-1	____19-2	____19-3	____19-4	____19-5	____19-6	____19-7
____20-1	____20-2	____20-3	____20-4	____20-5	____20-6	____20-7
____21-1	____21-2	____21-3	____21-4	____21-5	____21-6	____21-7
____22-1	____22-2	____22-3	____22-4	____22-5	____22-6	____22-7
____23-1	____23-2	____23-3	____23-4	____23-5	____23-6	____23-7
____24-1	____24-2	____24-3	____24-4	____24-5	____24-6	____24-7
____25-1	____25-2	____25-3	____25-4	____25-5	____25-6	____25-7
____26-1	____26-2	____26-3	____26-4	____26-5	____26-6	____26-7
____27-1	____27-2	____27-3	____27-4	____27-5	____27-6	____27-7
____28-1	____28-2	____28-3	____28-4	____28-5	____28-6	____28-7
____29-1	____29-2	____29-3	____29-4	____29-5	____29-6	____29-7
____30-1	____30-2	____30-3	____30-4	____30-5	____30-6	____30-7
____31-1	____31-2	____31-3	____31-4	____31-5	____31-6	____31-7
____32-1	____32-2	____32-3	____32-4	____32-5	____32-6	____32-7
____33-1	____33-2	____33-3	____33-4	____33-5	____33-6	____33-7
____34-1	____34-2	____34-3	____34-4	____34-5	____34-6	____34-7
____35-1	____35-2	____35-3	____35-4	____35-5	____35-6	____35-7
____36-1	____36-2	____36-3	____36-4	____36-5	____36-6	____36-7
____37-1	____37-2	____37-3	____37-4	____37-5	____37-6	____37-7
____38-1	____38-2	____38-3	____38-4	____38-5	____38-6	____38-7
____39-1	____39-2	____39-3	____39-4	____39-5	____39-6	____39-7
____40-1	____40-2	____40-3	____40-4	____40-5	____40-6	____40-7
____41-1	____41-2	____41-3	____41-4	____41-5	____41-6	____41-7
____42-1	____42-2	____42-3	____42-4	____42-5	____42-6	____42-7
____43-1	____43-2	____43-3	____43-4	____43-5	____43-6	____43-7
____44-1	____44-2	____44-3	____44-4	____44-5	____44-6	____44-7
____45-1	____45-2	____45-3	____45-4	____45-5	____45-6	____45-7

RED DECK

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
____46-1	____46-2	____46-3	____46-4	____46-5	____46-6	____46-7
____47-1	____47-2	____47-3	____47-4	____47-5	____47-6	____47-7
____48-1	____48-2	____48-3	____48-4	____48-5	____48-6	____48-7
____49-1	____49-2	____49-3	____49-4	____49-5	____49-6	____49-7
____50-1	____50-2	____50-3	____50-4	____50-5	____50-6	____50-7
____51-1	____51-2	____51-3	____51-4	____51-5	____51-6	____51-7
____52-1	____52-2	____52-3	____52-4	____52-5	____52-6	____52-7
____53-1	____53-2	____53-3	____53-4	____53-5	____53-6	____53-7
____54-1	____54-2	____54-3	____54-4	____54-5	____54-6	____54-7
____55-1	____55-2	____55-3	____55-4	____55-5	____55-6	____55-7
____56-1	____56-2	____56-3	____56-4	____56-5	____56-6	____56-7
____57-1	____57-2	____57-3	____57-4	____57-5	____57-6	____57-7
____58-1	____58-2	____58-3	____58-4	____58-5	____58-6	____58-7
____59-1	____59-2	____59-3	____59-4	____59-5	____59-6	____59-7
____60-1	____60-2	____60-3	____60-4	____60-5	____60-6	____60-7
____61-1	____61-2	____61-3	____61-4	____61-5	____61-6	____61-7
____62-1	____62-2	____62-3	____62-4	____62-5	____62-6	____62-7
____63-1	____63-2	____63-3	____63-4	____63-5	____63-6	____63-7
____64-1	____64-2	____64-3	____64-4	____64-5	____64-6	____64-7
____65-1	____65-2	____65-3	____65-4	____65-5	____65-6	____65-7
____66-1	____66-2	____66-3	____66-4	____66-5	____66-6	____66-7
____67-1	____67-2	____67-3	____67-4	____67-5	____67-6	____67-7
____68-1	____68-2	____68-3	____68-4	____68-5	____68-6	____68-7
____69-1	____69-2	____69-3	____69-4	____69-5	____69-6	____69-7
____70-1	____70-2	____70-3	____70-4	____70-5	____70-6	____70-7
____71-1	____71-2	____71-3	____71-4	____71-5	____71-6	____71-7
____72-1	____72-2	____72-3	____72-4	____72-5	____72-6	____72-7
____73-1	____73-2	____73-3	____73-4	____73-5	____73-6	____73-7
____74-1	____74-2	____74-3	____74-4	____74-5	____74-6	____74-7
____75-1	____75-2	____75-3	____75-4	____75-5	____75-6	____75-7
____76-1	____76-2	____76-3	____76-4	____76-5	____76-6	____76-7
____77-1	____77-2	____77-3	____77-4	____77-5	____77-6	____77-7
____78-1	____78-2	____78-3	____78-4	____78-5	____78-6	____78-7
____79-1	____79-2	____79-3	____79-4	____79-5	____79-6	____79-7
____80-1	____80-2	____80-3	____80-4	____80-5	____80-6	____80-7

27. Some people don't pay much attention to election campaigns. How about you--were you very interested in this campaign, fairly interested, not very interested, or not interested at all in the campaign this fall?

Very interested.....___11-1
Fairly interested.....___ -2
Not very interested.....___ -3
Not at all interested.....___ -4
Can't recall.....___ -5

28. How much attention did you pay to reports about the campaign on television and the radio, and in newspapers and magazines? Did you pay a great deal of attention, some attention, or not very much attention to reports about the campaign?

Great deal.....___12-1
Some.....___ -2
Not very much.....___ -3
Can't recall.....___ -4

29. How often did you talk about the election campaign with your family, friends, and other people? Did you talk about it regularly, often, from time-to-time, once in a great while, or not at all?

Regularly.....___13-1
Often.....___ -2 (ASK 30a)
Time-to-time.....___ -3
Once in while.....___ -4
Not at all.....___ -5 (SKIP TO 32a)
Can't recall.....___ -6

30a. During the campaign, did you talk to anyone and try to explain to them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?

Talked to.....___14-1 (ASK 30b)
Didn't talk to....___ -2 (SKIP TO 31a)
Can't recall.....___ -3

30b. Who did you talk to--a member of your family, one of your friends, or someone where you work? (CHECK ONLY ONE)

Family only.....___15-1
Friends only.....___ -2
Someone at work only.....___ -3
Family and friends.....___ -4
Family and someone at work..___ -5
Friends and someone at work.___ -6
Family, friends and someone at work.....___ -7
Can't recall.....___ -8

31a. During the campaign, did anyone talk to you and try to explain to you why you should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates?

Talked to.....___16-1 (ASK 31b)
Not talked to....___ -2 (SKIP TO 32a)
Can't recall.....___ -3

31b. Who was it that talked to you--a member of your family, one of your friends, or someone where you work? (CHECK ONLY ONE)

Family only.....___17-1
Friends only.....___ -2
Someone at work only.....___ -3
Family and friends.....___ -4
Family and someone at work...___ -5
Friends and someone at work..___ -6
Family, friends and someone at work.....___ -7
Can't recall.....___ -8

32a. (ASK EVERYONE) During this past campaign, did you go to any meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that where candidates were present or where political speeches were made? (RECORD BELOW)

32b. Did you do any work for a party or candidate by doing things like passing out literature, addressing letters, or contacting voters? (RECORD BELOW)

32c. During this past year, have you worn a campaign button or put a bumper sticker on your car? (RECORD BELOW)

32d. This year, did you give any money or buy any tickets to help a party or a candidate pay campaign expenses? (RECORD BELOW)

	Did Do	Did Not Do	Can't Recall
32a. Went to meetings, etc..	___18-1	___-2	___-3
32b. Worked for party, etc.....	___19-1	___-2	___-3
32c. Wore button, etc	___20-1	___-2	___-3
32d. Gave money, etc.	___21-1	___-2	___-3

INTERVIEWER: TURN QUESTIONNAIRE OVER AND CONTINUE.

33a. During the campaign, did any of the political parties send mail to your home or drop off campaign literature at your house?

Yes.....___ 22-1 —(ASK 33b)
No.....___ -2 —(SKIP TO 34a)
Can't recall.....___ -3

33b. Which party was that--the Republicans, the Democrats, or Wallace's Independent party? (CHECK ONLY ONE)

Republicans only.....___ 23-1
Democrats only.....___ -2
Wallace party only.....___ -3
Republicans and Democrats...___ -4
Republicans and Wallace.....___ -5
Democrats and Wallace.....___ -6
Reps., Dems., and Wallace...___ -7
Other (vol).....___ -8
Can't recall.....___ -9

34a. Before election day, did anyone from one of the parties telephone your home or come around to your house to talk about the election?

Called or came by___ 24-1 —(ASK 34b)
Didn't call or come.....___ -2 —(SKIP TO 35a)
Don't recall.....___ -3

34b. Which party were they from--the Republicans, the Democrats, or Wallace's Independent party? (CHECK ONLY ONE)

Republicans only.....___ 25-1
Democrats only.....___ -2
Wallace party only.....___ -3
Republicans and Democrats...___ -4
Republicans and Wallace.....___ -5
Democrats and Wallace.....___ -6
Reps., Dems., and Wallace...___ -7
Other (vol).....___ -8
Can't recall.....___ -9

35a. Did anybody from one of the parties--either personally or by letter--ask you or a member of your family to contribute money or buy tickets to help pay campaign expenses?

Asked to give.....___ 26-1 —(ASK 35b)
Not asked to give.___ -2 —(SKIP TO 36a)
Can't recall.....___ -3

35b. Which party was that--the Republicans, the Democrats, or Wallace's Independent Party? (CHECK ONLY ONE)

Republicans only.....___ 27-1
Democrats only.....___ -2
Wallace party only.....___ -3
Republicans and Democrats...___ -4
Republicans and Wallace.....___ -5
Democrats and Wallace.....___ -6
Reps., Dems., and Wallace...___ -7
Other (vol).....___ -8
Can't recall.....___ -9

36a. On election day, did anybody from one of the parties contact you or any member of your family?

Yes.....___ 28-1 —(ASK 36b)
No.....___ -2 —(SKIP TO 37)
Can't recall.....___ -3

36b. Which party was that--the Republicans, the Democrats, or Wallace's Independent party? (CHECK ONLY ONE)

Republicans only.....___ 29-1
Democrats only.....___ -2
Wallace party only.....___ -3
Republicans and Democrats...___ -4
Republicans and Wallace.....___ -5
Democrats and Wallace.....___ -6
Reps., Dems., and Wallace...___ -7
Other (vol).....___ -8
Can't recall.....___ -9

37. All-in-all, which party do you feel worked the hardest to win votes for their ticket around here--the Republicans, the Democrats, the Wallace party--or didn't any of the parties do much to win around here?

Republicans.....___ 30-1
Democrats.....___ -2
Wallace party.....___ -3
None did much.....___ -4
Other (vol).....___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6

38. During the campaign, did you personally meet or see in person a candidate for <u>any</u> public office?

Met or saw.....___ 31-1
Didn't meet or see___ -2
Can't recall.....___ -3

39a. Now let's talk about something different. Some people seem to think about what's going on in government all the time--whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government all the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

All the time.....	32-1	(ASK 39b,c)
Some of the time.	-2	
Now and then.....	-3	
Hardly at all....	-4	(SKIP TO 40a)
Not sure.....	-5	

39b. Which one do you follow most closely--international affairs, national affairs, state affairs, or local affairs? (RECORD BELOW)

39c. Which one do you follow least--international affairs, national affairs, state affairs, or local affairs? (RECORD BELOW)

	39b. Follow Most	39c. Follow Least
International.....	33-1	34-1
National.....	-2	-2
State.....	-3	-3
Local.....	-4	-4
Not sure.....	-5	-5

40a. (ASK EVERYONE) We find that people differ in how much faith and confidence they have in various levels of government in this country. In your case, do you have most faith and confidence in the national government, your state's government, or in local government around here? (RECORD BELOW)

40b. Which level of government do you have least faith and confidence in--the national government, your state's government, or local government around here? (RECORD BELOW)

	40a. Most Faith	40b. Least Faith
National.....	35-1	36-1
State.....	-2	-2
Local.....	-3	-3
Not sure.....	-4	-4
Refused.....	-5	-5

41a. Thinking about the government in Washington, about how much effect do you think its activities, the laws passed and so on, have on your day-to-day life? Do you think they have a great effect, some effect, or no effect? (RECORD BELOW)

41b. Now take the state government of North Carolina. About how much effect do you think its activities and laws have on your day-to-day life--a great effect, some effect, or no effect? (RECORD BELOW)

41c. What about local government around here? How much effect do the local government's activities and laws have on your day-to-day life--a great effect, some effect, or no effect? (RECORD BELOW)

	41a. Washington Govt.	41b. State Govt.	41c. Local Govt.
Great effect..	37-1	38-1	39-1
Some effect...	-2	-2	-2
No effect.....	-3	-3	-3
Not sure.....	-4	-4	-4

42. Now let me read some things people say about the national government in Washington. Just tell me if you tend more to agree or more to disagree with each of them. (READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD BELOW)

	Agree	Dis-Agree	Not Sure
a. The government in Washington wastes a lot of the money we pay in taxes.....	40-1	-2	-3
b. The government in Washington pays a lot of attention to what the people think when it decides what to do..	41-1	-2	-3
c. Quite a few of the people running the government in Washington are at least a little crooked.....	42-1	-2	-3
d. Almost all the people running the government in Washington are intelligent.....	43-1	-2	-3
e. Most of the important decisions made by the government in Washington are actually made by a few men who don't even hold a public office...	44-1	-2	-3

43. And now I'm going to read you some things people say about the state government here in North Carolina. Just tell me if you tend more to agree or more to disagree with each of them. (READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD ANSWER BELOW)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
a. The state government at Raleigh wastes a lot of the money we pay in taxes.....	___45-1	___-2	___-3
b. The state government at Raleigh pays a lot of attention to what the people think when it decides what to do.....	___46-1	___-2	___-3
c. Quite a few of the people running the state government at Raleigh are at least a little crooked.....	___47-1	___-2	___-3
d. Almost all the people running the state government at Raleigh are intelligent.....	___48-1	___-2	___-3
e. Most of the important decisions made by the state government at Raleigh are actually made by a few men who don't even hold a public office.....	___49-1	___-2	___-3

44. Let me read you some statements people sometimes make about the state legislature of North Carolina. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD B) Would you tell me for each statement whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly. (READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD BELOW)

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Dis-Agree	Disagree Strongly	Not Sure
a. There are times when it almost seems better for the citizens of the state to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the state legislature to act.....	___50-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
b. If you don't particularly agree with a state law, it is all right to break it if you are careful not to get caught.....	___51-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
c. There are times when it would almost seem better for the Governor to take the law into his own hands rather than wait for the state legislature to act.....	___52-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
d. One should be willing to do everything that he could to make sure that any proposal to abolish the state legislature was defeated..	___53-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
e. It would not make much difference if the constitution of our state was rewritten to reduce the powers of the state legislature..	___54-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
f. Even though one might strongly disagree with a state law--after it has been passed by the state legislature one ought to obey it..	___55-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5
g. If our state legislature continually passed laws that the people disagreed with, it might be better to do away with the legislature altogether.....	___56-1	___-2	___-3	___-4	___-5

(TAKE BACK CARD B)

45a. In general, how would you rate the job that the state legislature has done in the past two years--excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor? (RECORD TO RIGHT)

45b. In general, how would you rate the job that the Congress in Washington has done in the past two years--excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor? (RECORD TO RIGHT)

	45a. State Legislature	45b. Congress
Excellent.....	___57-1	___58-1
Pretty good...	___ -2	___ -2
Fair.....	___ -3	___ -3
Poor.....	___ -4	___ -4
Not sure.....	___ -5	___ -5

46. Now I'm going to read you some statements people make about voting and other similar things. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree. (READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD BELOW)

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
a. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote in it	___59-1	___-2	___-3
b. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with	___60-1	___-2	___-3
c. It isn't so important to vote when you know that your party doesn't have any chance to win	___61-1	___-2	___-3
d. For you personally, trying to decide who to vote for is a difficult process	___62-1	___-2	___-3
e. For you personally, getting to the polls and waiting to vote usually takes a lot of time and effort	___63-1	___-2	___-3
f. So many other people vote in a national election that your vote really doesn't matter	___64-1	___-2	___-3
g. Instead of bothering with elections, this country would be better off if some popular leader just took over power	___65-1	___-2	___-3
h. People like yourself don't have any say about what the government does	___66-1	___-2	___-3
i. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like yourself can't really understand what's going on	___67-1	___-2	___-3
j. If people like you have <u>any</u> say about what the government does, it is only by voting	___68-1	___-2	___-3
k. Public officials don't care much what people like you think	___69-1	___-2	___-3
l. The courts in this country have been a major cause of the breakdown of law and order	___70-1	___-2	___-3
m. This country is better off being run by <u>politicians</u> than it <u>would</u> be if it were run by <u>generals</u>	___71-1	___-2	___-3
n. Too many people are trying to change things too fast in this country	___72-1	___-2	___-3

47. Now when it comes to politics in general, do you usually think of yourself as a conservative, as a liberal, as middle-of-the-road, or don't you think of yourself along liberal or conservative lines?

Doesn't think of self this way. ___73-1 —(ASK 47a)
Conservative.... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 47b)
Liberal..... ___ -3 —(SKIP TO 47c)
Middle-of-road.. ___ -4 —(SKIP TO 47d)
Refused..... ___ -5 —(SKIP TO 48a)

47a. If you <u>had</u> to think of yourself along these lines, would you think of yourself as a conservative, as a liberal, or middle-of-the-road when it comes to politics?

Conservatives.... ___74-1 —(ASK 47b)
Liberal..... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 47c)
Middle-of-road... ___ -3 —(SKIP TO 47d)
Not sure..... ___ -4 —(SKIP TO 48a)

47b. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> conservative, or a <u>not very strong</u> conservative?

Strong..... ___75-1
Not very strong... ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 48a)
Not sure..... ___ -3

47c. Would you call yourself a <u>strong</u> liberal, or a <u>not very strong</u> liberal?

Strong..... ___76-1
Not very strong.. ___ -2 —(SKIP TO 48a)
Not sure..... ___ -3

47d. Well, do you think of yourself as closer to conservatives or closer to liberals?

Conservatives..... ___77-1
Liberals..... ___ -2
Neither (vol)..... ___ -3
Not sure..... ___ -4

48a.(ASK EVERYONE) Before we start the last section of the interview, I'd like to ask you this: Just suppose that instead of voting in the election last Tuesday, you, yourself could have picked any American who is living and who has been active in politics to be President of the United States. Who would you pick? (RECORD BELOW)

_____ 78-
_____ 79-

48b.(IF ON 48a. RESPONDENT "PICKS" NIXON, HUMPHREY, OR WALLACE, SKIP TO 49. IF HE "PICKS" ANYONE ELSE, ASK:)

Again, suppose you had to pick someone to be President. Who would you pick from the three candidates who were running this time--Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace?

Nixon.....___80-1
Humphrey.....___ -2
Wallace.....___ -3
Not sure.....___ -4
Refused.....___ -5

49. (TAKE YELLOW DECK OUT OF SORT #2 ENVELOPE. OPEN SORT BOARD AND PLACE IT IN FRONT OF RESPONDENT SO HE CAN READ IT.)

Finally, I'd like you to sort a few more cards. They are different from the ones you sorted before.

You remember about the cards and the board. Please read the cards one at a time, and place each card on the box which best represents how much you agree or disagree with the statement on the card. (POINT TO THE BOXES) Remember, if you come to a statement that you haven't thought much about, or one that you haven't made up your mind about, you should put the card here (POINTING) on the Not Sure box.

Remember too that you are to sort the cards according to your first reactions to the statements. (GIVE RESPONDENT YELLOW DECK AND LET HIM BEGIN. WHILE HE SORTS, YOU SHOULD CHECK THE PREVIOUS RED DECK RECORD TO MAKE SURE THERE IS ONE AND ONLY ONE CHECK MARK FOR EACH CARD.)

WHEN RESPONDENT HAS FINISHED SORTING YELLOW DECK, HAVE HIM READ BACK THE NUMBERS OF THE CARDS, ONE BOX AT A TIME, BEGINNING WITH THE STRONGLY DISAGREE BOX AND CONTINUING THROUGH TO THE STRONGLY AGREE BOX. AS RESPONDENT READS THE NUMBERS, CHECK THEM OFF IN THE APPROPRIATE COLUMN IN THE YELLOW DECK RECORD ON THE NEXT PAGE.

WHEN ALL YELLOW DECK CARDS HAVE BEEN RECORDED, COLLECT THEM AND PUT THEM BACK IN SORT #2 ENVELOPE.

THEN GIVE RESPONDENT THE BLUE (AND FINAL) DECK AND LET HIM SORT THE BLUE CARDS. WHILE HE SORTS, CHECK THE YELLOW DECK RECORD TO BE CERTAIN THAT THERE IS ONE AND ONLY ONE CHECK MARK FOR EACH CARD.

WHEN RESPONDENT FINISHES SORTING THE BLUE DECK, REPEAT RECORDING PROCEDURE, CHECKING OFF THE BLUE CARD NUMBERS IN THE BLUE DECK RECORD.

WHEN ALL BLUE CARDS HAVE BEEN RECORDED, COLLECT THEM AND PUT THEM BACK IN SORT #2 ENVELOPE.

TAKE BACK SORT BOARD AND CONTINUE THE INTERVIEW.

CARD VI

YELLOW DECK

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
11-1	11-2	11-3	11-4	11-5	11-6	11-7
12-1	12-2	12-3	12-4	12-5	12-6	12-7
13-1	13-2	13-3	13-4	13-5	13-6	13-7
14-1	14-2	14-3	14-4	14-5	14-6	14-7
15-1	15-2	15-3	15-4	15-5	15-6	15-7
16-1	16-2	16-3	16-4	16-5	16-6	16-7
17-1	17-2	17-3	17-4	17-5	17-6	17-7
18-1	18-2	18-3	18-4	18-5	18-6	18-7
19-1	19-2	19-3	19-4	19-5	19-6	19-7
20-1	20-2	20-3	20-4	20-5	20-6	20-7
21-1	21-2	21-3	21-4	21-5	21-6	21-7
22-1	22-2	22-3	22-4	22-5	22-6	22-7
23-1	23-2	23-3	23-4	23-5	23-6	23-7
24-1	24-2	24-3	24-4	24-5	24-6	24-7
25-1	25-2	25-3	25-4	25-5	25-6	25-7
26-1	26-2	26-3	26-4	26-5	26-6	26-7
27-1	27-2	27-3	27-4	27-5	27-6	27-7
28-1	28-2	28-3	28-4	28-5	28-6	28-7
29-1	29-2	29-3	29-4	29-5	29-6	29-7
30-1	30-2	30-3	30-4	30-5	30-6	30-7
31-1	31-2	31-3	31-4	31-5	31-6	31-7
32-1	32-2	32-3	32-4	32-5	32-6	32-7
33-1	33-2	33-3	33-4	33-5	33-6	33-7
34-1	34-2	34-3	34-4	34-5	34-6	34-7
35-1	35-2	35-3	35-4	35-5	35-6	35-7
36-1	36-2	36-3	36-4	36-5	36-6	36-7
37-1	37-2	37-3	37-4	37-5	37-6	37-7
38-1	38-2	38-3	38-4	38-5	38-6	38-7
39-1	39-2	39-3	39-4	39-5	39-6	39-7
40-1	40-2	40-3	40-4	40-5	40-6	40-7
41-1	41-2	41-3	41-4	41-5	41-6	41-7
42-1	42-2	42-3	42-4	42-5	42-6	42-7
43-1	43-2	43-3	43-4	43-5	43-6	43-7
44-1	44-2	44-3	44-4	44-5	44-6	44-7
45-1	45-2	45-3	45-4	45-5	45-6	45-7

BLUE DECK

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
46-1	46-2	46-3	46-4	46-5	46-6	46-7
47-1	47-2	47-3	47-4	47-5	47-6	47-7
48-1	48-2	48-3	48-4	48-5	48-6	48-7
49-1	49-2	49-3	49-4	49-5	49-6	49-7
50-1	50-2	50-3	50-4	50-5	50-6	50-7
51-1	51-2	51-3	51-4	51-5	51-6	51-7
52-1	52-2	52-3	52-4	52-5	52-6	52-7
53-1	53-2	53-3	53-4	53-5	53-6	53-7
54-1	54-2	54-3	54-4	54-5	54-6	54-7
55-1	55-2	55-3	55-4	55-5	55-6	55-7
56-1	56-2	56-3	56-4	56-5	56-6	56-7
57-1	57-2	57-3	57-4	57-5	57-6	57-7
58-1	58-2	58-3	58-4	58-5	58-6	58-7
59-1	59-2	59-3	59-4	59-5	59-6	59-7
60-1	60-2	60-3	60-4	60-5	60-6	60-7
61-1	61-2	61-3	61-4	61-5	61-6	61-7
62-1	62-2	62-3	62-4	62-5	62-6	62-7
63-1	63-2	63-3	63-4	63-5	63-6	63-7
64-1	64-2	64-3	64-4	64-5	64-6	64-7
65-1	65-2	65-3	65-4	65-5	65-6	65-7
66-1	66-2	66-3	66-4	66-5	66-6	66-7
67-1	67-2	67-3	67-4	67-5	67-6	67-7
68-1	68-2	68-3	68-4	68-5	68-6	68-7
69-1	69-2	69-3	69-4	69-5	69-6	69-7
70-1	70-2	70-3	70-4	70-5	70-6	70-7
71-1	71-2	71-3	71-4	71-5	71-6	71-7
72-1	72-2	72-3	72-4	72-5	72-6	72-7
73-1	73-2	73-3	73-4	73-5	73-6	73-7
74-1	74-2	74-3	74-4	74-5	74-6	74-7
75-1	75-2	75-3	75-4	75-5	75-6	75-7
76-1	76-2	76-3	76-4	76-5	76-6	76-7
77-1	77-2	77-3	77-4	77-5	77-6	77-7
78-1	78-2	78-3	78-4	78-5	78-6	78-7
79-1	79-2	79-3	79-4	79-5	79-6	79-7
80-1	80-2	80-3	80-4	80-5	80-6	80-7

FACTUAL

Now I'd like to ask you just a few things about you and your family.

F1. What is your age? (RECORD AGE BELOW)

_____ 11-_____
_____ 12-_____

F2. Are you married now--and living with your (husband/wife)--or are you separated, divorced, widowed, or have you never been married (Single)?

Married and living with spouse (or spouse in service)....___13-1
Separated....___ -2
Divorced....___ -3
Widowed....___ -4
Never been married....___ -5

F3a. How many children 18 years of age and under live in this household? (WRITE IN NUMBER BELOW)

_____ 14-_____
(IF NO CHILDREN, SKIP TO F4) 15-_____

F3b. (IF ANY CHILDREN, ASK:) Are any of these children boys between the ages of 15 and 19?

Boy(s) 15-19....___16-1
No boys 15-19....___ -2

F4. What was the highest grade of school you ever attended? (IF RESPONDENT IS ATTENDING NOW, RECORD GRADE HE IS NOW IN)

No schooling___17-0

Grade School
1st grade...___ -1
2....___ -2
3....___ -3
4....___ -4
5....___ -5
6....___ -6
7....___ -7
8....___ -8

High School
9....___ -9
10....___18-0
11....___ -1
12....___ -2

College
13....___18-3
14....___ -4
15....___ -5
16....___ -6

Graduate or Professional School
17....___ -7
18 or more___ -8

Not sure how much schooling___ -9

F5. (ASK ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD:) What was the highest grade of school that the head of the household ever attended? (IF HEAD IS ATTENDING NOW, RECORD GRADE HE IS NOW IN)

No schooling___19-0

Grade School
1st grade...___ -1
2....___ -2
3....___ -3
4....___ -4
5....___ -5
6....___ -6
7....___ -7
8....___ -8

High School
9....___ -9
10....___20-0
11....___ -1
12....___ -2

College
13....___20-3
14....___ -4
15....___ -5
16....___ -6

Graduate or Professional School
17....___ -7
18 or more..___ -8

Not sure how much schooling..___ -9

F6a. (ASK EVERYONE) Are you presently employed--or are you unemployed, retired, a student (OR IF FEMALE) a housewife?

Employed....___21-1 —(ASK F6b)
Unemployed....___ -2 —(SKIP TO F6c)
Retired....___ -3 —(SKIP TO F6d)
Student....___ -4
Housewife....___ -5 —(SKIP TO F9a)
Other (SPECIFY)
_____ ___ -6

F6b. Who do you work for? (RECORD BELOW AND THEN SKIP TO F7a)

F6c. Who do you usually work for? (RECORD BELOW AND THEN SKIP TO F7b)

F6d. Who did you work for? (JOB HELD LAST BEFORE RETIREMENT) (RECORD BELOW AND THEN SKIP TO F7c)

	F6b. Employed	F6c. Unemployed	F6d. Retired
Self-employed....	___22-1	___23-1	___24-1
Someone else--a private firm...	___ -2	___ -2	___ -2
Government--includes public schools and military.....	___ -3	___ -3	___ -3
Refused.....	___ -4	___ -4	___ -4

F7a.What type of work do you do? (PROBE FULLY--FIND OUT WHAT JOB IS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW AND THEN READ INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE F8a)

F7b.What type of work do you usually do? (PROBE FULLY--FIND OUT WHAT JOB IS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW AND THEN READ INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE F8a)

F7c.What type of work did you do? (JOB HELD LAST BEFORE RETIREMENT) (PROBE FULLY--FIND OUT WHAT JOB WAS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW AND THEN READ INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE F8a)

25-_____
26-_____

(IF TYPE OF WORK GIVEN IN F7, ABOVE, IS THAT OF FARM OWNER, MANAGER, TENANT OR FARM LABORER, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION; OTHERWISE SKIP TO F9a)

F8a.Is your farming a part-time or a full-time job?

Part-time.....___27-1—(ASK F8b)
Full-time.....___ -2—(SKIP TO F8c)

F8b.What other type of work do you do? (PROBE FULLY--FIND OUT WHAT JOB IS CALLED DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW AND THEN ASK F8c)

28-_____
29-_____

F8c.What kind of farming do you do here mostly? (PROBE FOR MAJOR CROPS AND PRODUCTS)

30-_____

F9a.(IF RESPONDENT IS HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, SKIP TO F12a)

(IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, ASK THE FOLLOWING ABOUT THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD:) Is the head of the household employed or is (he/she) unemployed, retired, a student or a housewife?

Employed.....___31-1—(ASK F9b)
Unemployed.....___ -2—(SKIP TO F9c)
Retired.....___ -3—(SKIP TO F9d)
Student.....___ -4
Housewife.....___ -5—(SKIP TO F12a)
Other (SPECIFY)
_____ -6

F9b.Who does the head of the household work for? (RECORD BELOW AND THEN SKIP TO F10a)

F9c.Who does the head of the household usually work for? (RECORD BELOW AND THEN SKIP TO F10b)

F9d.Who did the head of the household work for? (JOB HELD LAST BEFORE RETIREMENT) (RECORD BELOW AND THEN SKIP TO F10c)

	F9b. Head Employed	F9c. Head Unemployed	F9d. Head Retired
Self-employed....	___32-1	___33-1	___34-1
Someone else--a private firm...	___ -2	___ -2	___ -2
Government--includes public schools and military.....	___ -3	___ -3	___ -3
Refused.....	___ -4	___ -4	___ -4

F10a. What type of work does the head of the household do? (FIND OUT WHAT JOB IS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW AND THEN READ INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE F11a)

F10b. What type of work does the head of the household usually do? (FIND OUT WHAT JOB IS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW AND THEN READ INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE F11a)

F10c. What type of work did the head of the household do? (JOB HELD LAST BEFORE RETIREMENT) (FIND OUT WHAT JOB WAS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW AND THEN READ INSTRUCTIONS ABOVE F11a)

35-_____

36-_____

(IF TYPE OF WORK GIVEN IN F10, ABOVE IS THAT OF FARM OWNER, FARM MANAGER, TENANT, OR FARM LABORER, ASK FOLLOWING QUESTION; OTHERWISE SKIP TO F12a)

F11a. Is farming a part-time or a full-time job for the head of the household?

Part-time.....___37-1 (ASK F11b)
Full-time.....___ -2 (SKIP TO F11c)

F11b. What other type of work does the head of the household do? (PROBE FULLY--FIND OUT WHAT JOB IS CALLED, DUTIES INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW AND THEN ASK F11c)

38-_____

39-_____

F11c. What kind of farming does the head of the household do? (PROBE FOR MAJOR CROPS AND PRODUCTS)

40-_____

F12a. (ASK EVERYONE) Are you, or is anyone in this household currently a member of a farmers' organization--such as the Farm Bureau, the Farmers Union, or the Grange? (IF "YES":) Who is it here that belongs? (RECORD ONLY ONE)

Only respondent belongs___41-1
Member in household....___ -2 (ASK F12b)
Both respondent & someone else here belong...___ -3
No farm organization member in household..___ -4 (SKIP TO F13a)
Not sure.....___ -5

F12b. What organization is that? (MULTIPLE RECORD IF MORE THAN ONE ORGANIZATION)

Farm Bureau.....___-1
Farmers Union.....___-2
Grange.....___-3
National Farmers Organization.....___-4
Other (SPECIFY) 42-_____
_____-5 43-_____
Not sure.....___-6 44-_____

F13a. (ASK EVERYONE) Are you currently a member of a labor union, or is anyone here in the household a member? (RECORD ONLY ONE)

Respondent only is member.....___45-1
Member in household___ -2 (ASK F13b)
Both respondent and someone else here are members.....___ -3
No union member in household.....___ -4 (SKIP TO F14)
Not sure.....___ -5

F13b. Do you happen to know who the local labor union leaders around here supported for President?

Know.....___46-1 (ASK F13c)
Do not know...___ -2 (SKIP TO F13d)
Not sure.....___ -3

F13c. Which Presidential candidate did the local union leaders support? (RECORD ONLY ONE)

Nixon.....___47-1
Humphrey.....___ -2
Wallace.....___ -3
Other.....___ -4
Leaders divided.___ -5
Supported no one___ -6

F13d. Do you happen to know who the national labor union leaders supported for President?

Know.....___48-1—(ASK F13e)
Do not know....___ -2 —(SKIP TO F14)
Not sure.....___ -3

F13e. Which Presidential candidate did the national union leaders support? (RECORD ONLY ONE)

Nixon.....___49-1
Humphrey.....___ -2
Wallace.....___ -3
Other.....___ -4
Leaders divided...___ -5
Supported no one..___ -6

F14. (ASK EVERYONE) We're also interested in finding out how you think some of the people you know voted in the election. How about your friends--how many of them voted for Nixon for President--all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them?

All.....___50-1—(SKIP TO F17)
Most.....___ -2
Some.....___ -3
Few.....___ -4 —(ASK F15)
None.....___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6
Refused.....___ -7

F15. How many of your friends voted for Humphrey--all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them?

All.....___51-1—(SKIP TO F17)
Most.....___ -2
Some.....___ -3
Few.....___ -4 —(ASK F16)
None.....___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6
Refused.....___ -7

F16. How many of your friends voted for Wallace--all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them?

All.....___52-1
Most.....___ -2
Some.....___ -3
Few.....___ -4
None.....___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6
Refused.....___ -7

F17. (IF MARRIED, ASK:) How about your (husband/wife)? Did (he/she) vote for Nixon, for Humphrey, or for Wallace?

Nixon.....___53-1
Humphrey.....___ -2
Wallace.....___ -3 —(SKIP TO F19)
Other (vol).....___ -4
Didn't vote (vol).___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6
Refused.....___ -7

F18. (IF NOT MARRIED, ASK:) What about your family? Did they vote mostly for Nixon, mostly for Humphrey, or mostly for Wallace?

Mostly Nixon.....___54-1
Mostly Humphrey.....___ -2
Mostly Wallace.....___ -3
About evenly split.....___ -4
Mostly other (vol).....___ -5
None of family voted....___ -6
Not sure.....___ -7
Refused.....___ -8

F19. (ASK ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED[CHECK F6a]. IF RESPONDENT IS NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED, SKIP TO F22.)
How about the people where you work? How many of them voted for Nixon--all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, none of them?

All.....___55-1—(SKIP TO F22)
Most.....___ -2
Some.....___ -3
Few.....___ -4 —(ASK F20)
None.....___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6
Refused.....___ -7

F20. How many of the people where you work voted for Humphrey--all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them?

All.....___56-1—(SKIP TO F22)
Most.....___ -2
Some.....___ -3
Few.....___ -4 —(ASK F21)
None.....___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6
Refused.....___ -7

F21. How many of the people where you work voted for Wallace--all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them?

All.....___57-1
Most.....___ -2
Some.....___ -3
Few.....___ -4
None.....___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6
Refused.....___ -7

F22. (ASK EVERYONE) There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or to the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?

Belong.....___58-1 —(ASK F22a)
Don't belong.___ -2 —(SKIP TO F22b)
Not sure.....___ -3

F22a. Which one do you belong to--the middle class or the working class?

Middle class..___59-1 —(SKIP TO F22c)
Working class.___ -2 —(SKIP TO F22d)
Not sure.....___ -3 —(ASK F22b)

F22b. Well, if you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?

Middle class..___60-1 —(ASK F22c)
Working class.___ -2 —(SKIP TO F22d)
Not sure.....___ -3 —(SKIP TO F23)

F22c. Would you say that you are above average middle class, or that you are in the upper part of the middle class?

Average middle___61-1
Upper middle..___ -2 —(SKIP TO F23)
Not sure.....___ -3

F22d. Would you say that you are about average working class, or that you are in the upper part of the working class?

Average working.....___62-1
Upper working.....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

F23. (ASK EVERYONE) What would you say your family was when you were growing up--middle class or working class?

Middle class.....___63-1
Working class....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3
Refused.....___ -4

F24. What is your religion, if any?

Protestant.....___64-1 —(ASK F24a)
Roman Catholic..___ -2 —(SKIP TO F25)
Jewish.....___ -3 —(SKIP TO F24b)
Other (SPECIFY)
_____ ___ -4 —(SKIP TO F25)
None..... ___ -5 —(SKIP TO F26a)
Refused..... ___ -6

F24a. What church is that--Baptist, Methodist, or what?

Baptist.....___65-1
Methodist.....___ -2
Presbyterian....___ -3
Congregational..___ -4
Lutheran.....___ -5 —(SKIP TO F25)
Episcopalian....___ -6
Mormon.....___ -7
Other (SPECIFY)
_____ ___ -8
Not sure.....___ -9

F24b. Are you Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform?

Orthodox.....___66-1
Conservative....___ -2
Reform.....___ -3

F25. How often do you go to church services--regularly, often, seldom, or never?

Regularly.....___67-1
Often.....___ -2
Seldom.....___ -3
Never.....___ -4
Refused.....___ -5

F26a. (ASK EVERYONE) Has anyone in this household served in the armed forces in Vietnam?

Yes.....___68-1
No.....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

F26b. Are there any males in this household who are 18 or older and who might be called into active service in the armed forces?

Yes.....___ 69-1
No.....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

F27. Were you born in the United States or in some other country?

United States.....___ (ASK F27a)
Some other country...___ (SKIP TO F27b)

F27a. Which state were you born in? (RECORD BELOW AND SKIP TO F28)

_____ 70-
_____ 71-

F27b. What country were you born in? (RECORD BELOW)

_____ 72-
_____ 73-

F28. (ASK EVERYONE) What country was your father born in?

United States.....___
Other (SPECIFY)
_____ ___ 74-
Not sure.....___ 75-

F29. Do you happen to know what country your father's father was born in?

United States.....___
Other (SPECIFY)
_____ ___ 76-
Not sure.....___ 77-

F30. Aside from being an American, what one nationality do you mainly consider yourself to be (RECORD BELOW)

_____ 78-
_____ 79-

F31a. Did you grow up in the United States or in another country?

United States.....___ (ASK F31b)
Other country.....___ (SKIP TO F31c)

F31b. What state did you live in the longest when you were growing up? (RECORD BELOW)

_____ 11-
_____ 12-

F31c. (IF RESPONDENT GREW UP IN STATE DIFFERENT FROM CURRENT RESIDENCE, OR IN SOME OTHER COUNTRY, ASK:) How old were you when you came to this state? (RECORD AGE BELOW)

_____ 13-
_____ 14-

F32a. (ASK EVERYONE) How many years have you lived in this community? (RECORD NUMBER OF YEARS BELOW)

_____ 15-
_____ 16-

F32b. Do you expect to move from this house in the next six months?

No.....___ 17-1 —(SKIP TO F33)
Yes.....___ -2 —(ASK F32c)
Not sure...___ -3

F32c. Might you be moving to another house in this same community, or would you likely be moving away from this community?

Same community.....___ 18-1 —(SKIP TO F33)
Moving from community___ -2 —(ASK F32d)
Not sure.....___ -3

F32d. Where do you think you'll be moving? (RECORD CITY/TOWN AND STATE)

_____ 19-
_____ 20-

F33. When you were growing up, did you live mostly on a farm, in a town, in a small city, in a suburb, or in a large city?

Farm.....___ 21-1
Town.....___ -2
Small city.....___ -3
Suburb.....___ -4
Large city.....___ -5
Not sure.....___ -6

F34. What type of work did your family mainly do while you were growing up? (FIND OUT WHAT JOB WAS CALLED, DUTIES, INVOLVED, ETC. RECORD BELOW)

_____ 22-
_____ 23-

F35. When you were growing up, was your father very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't he pay much attention to politics?

Very much interested.....___24-1
Somewhat interested.....___ -2
Didn't pay much attention___ -3
Don't remember.....___ -4

F36. Did your father think of himself mostly as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Republican.....___25-1
Democrat.....___ -2
Independent.....___ -3
Other (vol).....___ -4
Don't remember.....___ -5

F37. How about your mother? When you were growing up, was your mother very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't she pay much attention to politics?

Very much interested.....___26-1
Somewhat interested.....___ -2
Didn't pay much attention___ -3
Don't remember.....___ -4

F38. Did your mother think of herself mostly as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Republican.....___27-1
Democrat.....___ -2
Independent.....___ -3
Other (vol).....___ -4
Don't remember.....___ -5

F39. As far back as you know, has anyone related to you ever been elected or appointed to a public office at any level of government?

Has held office.....___28-1
Not held office.....___ -2
Not sure.....___ -3

F40. About what do you think your total income will be this year for yourself and your immediate family here? (HAND RESPONDENT CARD C) Just give me the letter of the right income category.

A. Under $1,000.....___29-0
B. $1,000 to $1,999.....___ -1
C. $2,000 to 2,999.....___ -2
D. $3,000 to 3,999.....___ -3
E. $4,000 to 4,999.....___ -4
F. $5,000 to 5,999.....___ -5
G. $6,000 to 6,999.....___ -6
H. $7,000 to 7,999.....___ -7
I. $8,000 to 8,999.....___ -8
J. $9,000 to 9,999.....___ -9
K. $10,000 to 11,999.....___30-0
L. $12,000 to 14,999.....___ -1
M. $15,000 to 19,999.....___ -2
N. $20,000 to 24,999.....___ -3
O. $25,000 and over.....___ -4
Not sure.....___ -5
Refused.....___ -6

(TAKE BACK CARD C)

F41. We might like to talk to some other people in this community. Would you mind telling me the names and addresses of your two best Friends? And what do they do?

NAME: _____
ADDRESS:
(IN FULL) _____

WHAT DO: _____

NAME: _____
ADDRESS:
(IN FULL) _____

WHAT DO: _____

THANK RESPONDENT FOR HIS/HER COOPERATION AND TERMINATE INTERVIEW.

INTERVIEWER: RECORD THE FOLLOWING FROM OBSERVATION--DO NOT ASK.

F42. RESPONDENT'S SEX IS:

MALE.....___ 31-1
FEMALE.....___ -2

(GO ON TO NEXT PAGE)

F43. ETHNIC GROUP OR RACIAL BACKGROUND:

WHITE.....___32-1
NEGRO.....___ -2
MEXICAN-AMERICAN.....___ -3
PUERTO-RICAN.....___ -4
ORIENTAL.....___ -5
AMERICAN INDIAN.....___ -6
OTHER (SPECIFY)

_____ ___ -7
NOT SURE.....___ -8

F44. COMPARED TO OTHER INTERVIEWING I'VE DONE, THIS INTERVIEW WENT:

Very well.....___33-1
About average.....___ -2
Not so well.....___ -3

MAKE SURE THE SCREENING FORM IS FIRMLY ATTACHED TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME OF RESPONDENT (PLEASE PRINT)

_____

ADDRESS:

_____

CITY, TOWN:

_____

STATE:

_____

TELEPHONE NO: AREA CODE:

THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH LOUIS HARRIS AND ASSOCIATES, INC.

Interviewer's Name:

_____

Date of Interview:_____
Time (o'clock) of interview:_____
Length of interview (minutes):_____
SAMPLE POINT NUMBER:_____

Validated by:_____
Date validated:_____

File — Charlie Cheatham Project

A PROPOSAL

NORTH WEST FLORIDA RURAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

May 8, 1970

Prepared by

JERRY BANKS

Note: The material contained in this proposal was prepared after conversations with Mr. Charles J. Cheatham. The writer has not verified the sources of information or data. The accounting documents are rough estimates in each case. Questions pertaining to legal matters represent the interpretation of the writer and should be referred to counsel. The writer neither endorses or rejects the venture as part of this proposal.

Charles Cheatum Project

A Proposal for Land Reform and Agricultural/Economic Development in Walton County, Holmes County and Washington County, Florida

(This is a joint proposal by the National Urban League, Southern Regional Office, Atlanta, Georgia, and the DCP Corporation, Defuniak Springs, Florida).

Introduction: With increasing rapidity this nation's demand for agricultural products is spiralling and the stock of available agricultural land is disappearing. Soon all of America's productive land resources will be needed, along with the best in technology, to just feed our expanding population.

Reliable information indicates that most of the existing productive and potentially productive land is already concentrated among a relatively small number of owners, many of them large corporate employments. And for sometime agricultural forecasters have been predicting the end of family farming and the rise of huge agri-business combines. Already, most family farms are considered "margional" (non-profitable), with one or more family members employed off the farm to make ends meet.

The end of successful farming in America will also mean the end for this nation's people of the opportunity for a man to apply his energy and skills to his own plot of ground and build his own brand of prosperity and happiness. From this base most of middle-class America has come, and it is this launching base, previously denied by social discrimination, which will no longer be available to minority people if all productive land is controlled by the few. Farmers will then be only hirelings, the same as all factory workers not independent landowners charting their own courses and building their own future.

Rationale: The proposal which follows is the result of the efforts of one man, Charles Cheatum, President of the DCP Corporation, and the interest of staff members of the National Urban League's Southern Regional Office.

Charles Cheatum is a native Southerner, a trained Aeronautics Engineer and a man long active in seeking and demanding equal rights and treatment for all people, as well as an Agriculturalist. His concern for equal

rights and his attempts to promote socially integrated economic and other activities has led to several "relocations" in South Mississippi, Alabama, and Panhandle Florida as he has sought effective ways to develop the area and eliminate segregation.

Some years ago he became convinced that the coastal plains area where he lived was a potential garden spot despite the light sandy soil type. He realized that with regular precipitation the excellent year around weather would allow tremendous production advantages over the better quality land in the east and mid-west. The surface streams and almost unlimited groundwater provided excellent irrigation opportunities which would overcome the irradic rainfall.

After careful study, three years ago he selected Walton, Holmes, and Washington counties in Florida as the last areas in the United States where extensive quantities of potentially tillable land could still be obtained at a reasonable price. He moved to DeFuniak Springs and began to carefully lay plans to initate a remarkable scheme to reclaim the now heavily forrested land, the new farms, provide agricultural and managerial training, select and produce the most profitable types of vegetables and truck crops and arrange appropriate processing and marketing systems.

Mr. Cheatum, from experience, has chosen to serve with extreme caution and to camaflage the real goals of his efforts. He founded the DCP Corporation which now holds title to about 1000 acres of undeveloped land in several locations. The other stockholders know only of his proven ability to unheard of quantities of vegetables and not of his intention to put low-income Black sharecroppers into business for themselves. He has built sizeable ponds for irrigation and possible catfish farming; shown that flood irrigation is cheaper and better for intensive cropping that the common pressure sprinkling became expert in Federal Assistance Programs which can provide up to 100% financing for housing, land, farming equipment, and even seed.

The need to move soon to put the program into operation is becoming increasingly urgent as already several large corporations have purchased huge tracts of land in the area and begun growing corn, wheat, soybeans, and cattle. Not only does this type of farm not promote initive and personal rewards, but the methods used waste enormous amounts of land and the crops are not the type which provide the much needed green and fresh food for direct human consumption.

But Mr. Cheatum needed more financing in order to begin to put his package together and he needed someone who could help him deal with the diverse total society of North Florida-to give him enough support to successfully keep the white power points from crushing the venture and him in the process and to build the bridge to the black and other poor people who will ultimately benefit from and run the corporation. Financing could be gotten easily, he knew, but the sources open to him would only help as long as the corporation piles up much for the few, and would pull out when the planned land reform and distribution of corporate ownership were discovered thus sinking the idea forever.

He visited several organizations with rural programs.without receiving much encouragement. Then, on a hunch, he tried the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League where he found some interest. Two staff persons visited his experimental sites in DeFuniak Springs and have determined to their own satisfaction the feasibility of his plans. As a result of the contracts, the proposal has been developed.

The National Urban League, especially through the experiences of its Southern Regional Office, has become more and more aware of the intrinsic link between urban and rural problems - that the plight of the rural poor is what is driving these people to the cities and thus compounding the miseries of the inner city ghetto. The League recognizes that most rural oriented families would rather stay there if a reasonable choice were available, and that rural people are poorly prepared to cope with urban complexities and have little hope of obtaining rewarding employment.

To respond to these rural needs, the Urban League has initiated pilot rural development projects: one in Hancock County, Georgia, (economic development); another in Lowndes County, Alabama (community mobilization); and a third in Gulfport, Mississippi (community re-development). From these experiences it is most anxims to expand its rural activity especially in agricultural development, as resources become available.

The Proposal: The Ford Foundation is hereby asked to provide the working capital needed to launch this badly needed land reform and agricultural/economic development program through purchase of $100,000 of stock in the DCP Corporation. These shares will, in turn, be held in escrow and placed in trust for future distribution to the owner/farmers who will benefit most directly as the result of this proposal.

These owner/farmers will come from the multitude of sharecroppers, margional farmers, and migrant workers who now populate this area, who have considerable skills in intensive plant care and culture, but lack both the financial leverage and managerial know-how to put these skills to work for the best interest of themselves and their families. These persons will benefit directly in three ways: (1) They will purchase their own lots and homes through low-cost Farm and Home Administration loans; (2) They will become part owners of the DCP Corporation; (3) As such as mass purchasing of seed, fertilizer, marketing operations, and the corporate and cooperative ventures.

It is estimated that each acre developed according to DCP's plan will produce five to ten thousand dollars worth of crops per year at field prices. Even with higher than average expenses, each family should realize a handsome profit on their own efforts in addition to their share of the earnings of DCP Corporation. In addition, persons of extraordinary ability and desire will be trained through on-the-job experiences as managers, supervisors, equipment operators, and for the maney other positions which will be counted as DCP purchases and develops additional acreage and expands its marketing and other related operations.

The proceeds of the stock purchase will be used as follows: $25,000 will be granted by DCP to the National Urban League (see budget attached) to operate for one year an Urban League Center in DeFuniak Springs, Florida, on a suitable nearby location. The Center will be staffed by a Director, who will be competent in rural community organization and development, and, preferably, agricultural economics, a secretary, and several part-time community workers who may be stationed throughout the area served. The purpose of the Center will be to provide DCP Corporation and Mr. Cheatum with visiable outside support (clout) for the local operation, subsidize DCP's currently limited administrative and managerial resources, and develop maximum involvement and participation in DCP by local black people and other minority groups.

The remaining $75,000 will be used by DCP Corporation as "seed" money to get the land into agricultural production, to initiate the housing program, and as downpayment on needed machinery and equipment. As quickly as possible, these items will be converted to other financing methods (often 100% under Federal Guarantee Programs) and the released funds will return to the corporation along with current income from operations, to become "seed" for new land purchases, developments, equipment, etc., which, in turn, will also be re-financed. This type of leverage financing will allow the corporation to expand rapidly and bring in many poor families as owner/farmers in a very short time.

Proposed Budget - Panhandle Florida
Urban League Center (Annual)

Personnel			
Center Director		$10,000	
Secretary		5,000	
(2) Field Workers($100 per mo. each)		2,400	
Bebefit Package - 6%		1,044	
			$18,444
Space Costs			
Office Rental plus Furniture and equipment - $100 per mo.			1,200
Transportation			
Local mileage - $50 per mo.	600		
Conferences, Meetings, Major trips	1,000		1,600
Other Expenses			
Office Supplies	$45 per mo.	540	
Telephone	75 per mo.	900	
Postage	25 per mo.	300	
Reproduction, mimeo	25 per mo.	300	
Printing & Publicity	20 per mo.	240	
			2,280
Indirect Costs - 13%			3,058
Total			$26,582

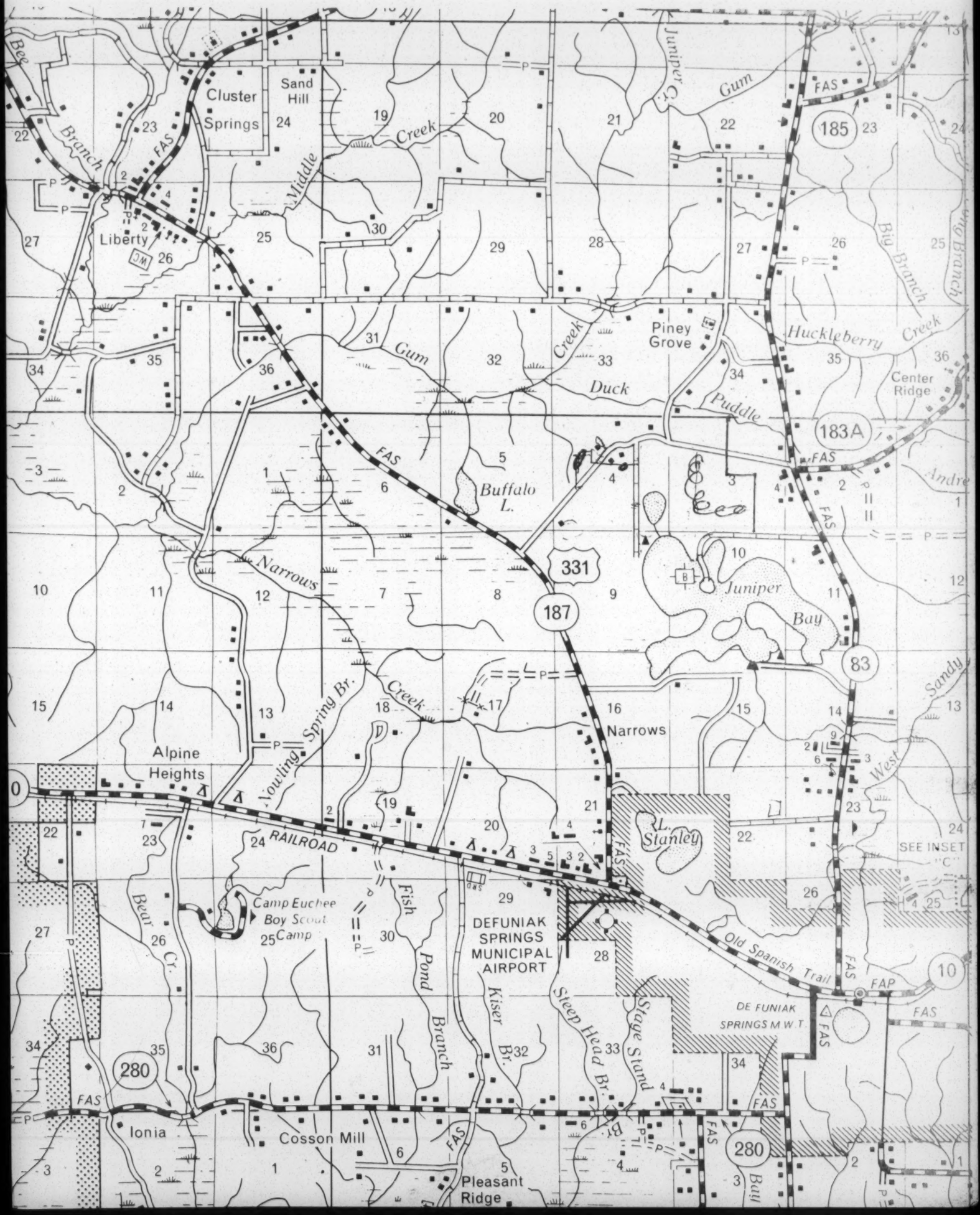
Population By Race

County	Total Population	Black	% Black
Holmes	10,884	452	4.2
Walton	15,576	2,107	13.5
Washington	11,249	2,175	19.3
	37,669	4,734	12.5

Since 1950, the population of Holmes County has fallen nearly 1/3, Washington County has remained relatively stable, and Walton County has gained slightly, mainly due to the military operations at Eglin AFB.

Personal Per Capital Income - 1964
* State Rank (67 counties)

County	PerCapital Income	Rank*
Holmes	$ 924	67
Walton	1,018	65
Washington	1,069	63



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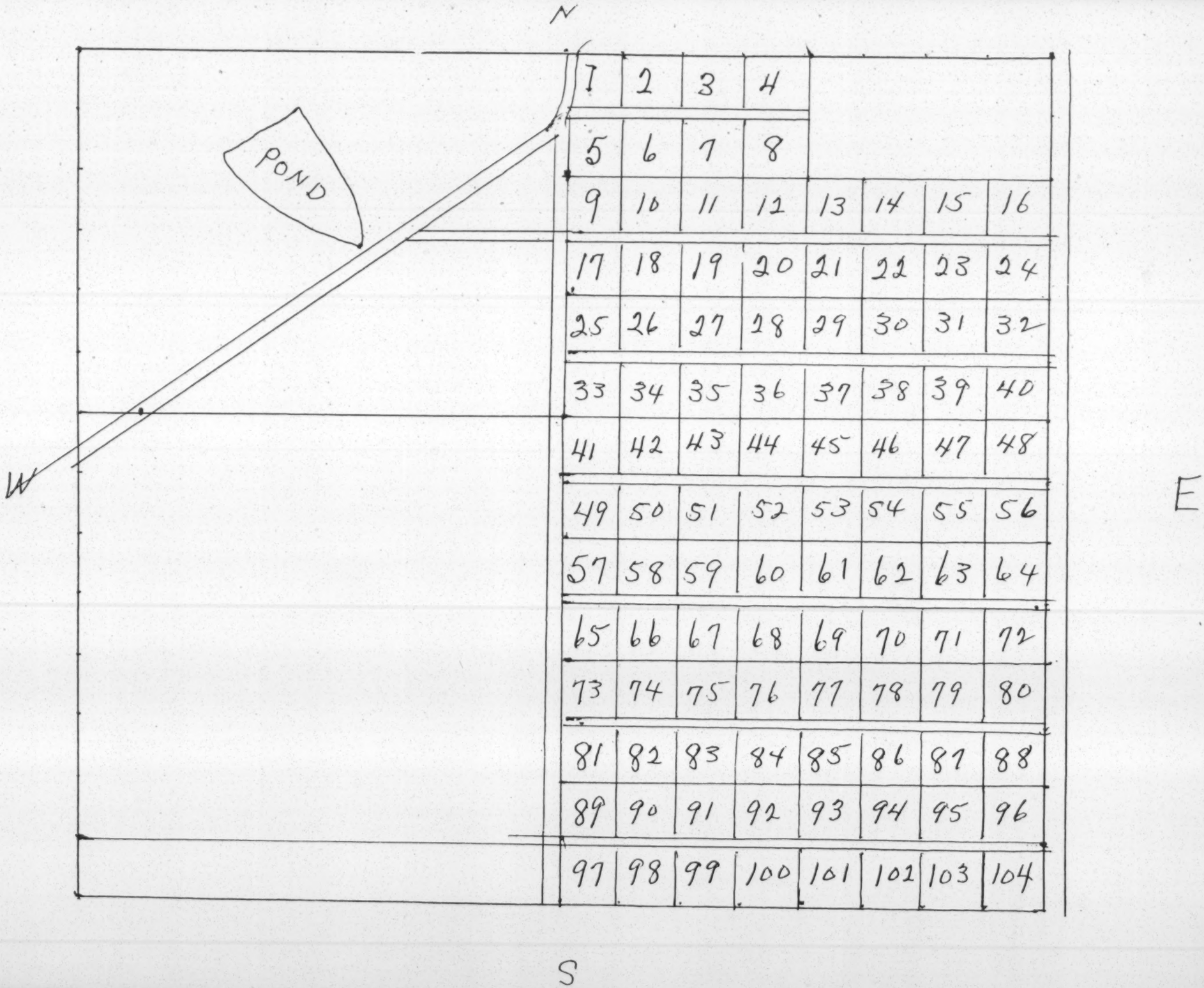
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J. Cheatham

Im 50 years old, born & raised in Cadado County, Ala. attended Ala State Uni. in School of Agriculture. Joined Army Air Corps in 1942 out 1944. Farmed in Ala till 1953. Worked for Aircraft Corp. "Hayes International Corp. Birmingham Ala" 1953, 1964. I was Director of Maintance for this Corp. at Ft Rucker Ala. I had 2000. employes maintaining 900 fixed & Rotary wing a/c. Most of these employes were hired from the Negroes area in southeast Ala, southwest Ga & North Florida. Most were farmers with very little education. I trained 150 of these people as supervisors. 50 of these people will be available to us as production managers.

I bought land in 1956 in north west Florida & started experimenting with produce production under irrigation & owen the first irrigation equipment in Walton County Fla. Since that time 40,000 acres in that County has gone under irrigation.

Im now buying & developing land in south Ala & Northwest Fla.

Ive been trading with The American Bank. Geneva Ala. Comer Corbett President.

Ive talked to the Banks in Opp, Ala, Andalusia Ala, Panama City Fla. Crestview Fla, Bonifay Fla Graniell Fla. Marianna Fla. Jacksonville Florala Ala, & some more I dont remember as of now.

Northwest Florida Rural Developement Corp. was organized two years ago. a Closed Corp. with 101 shares.

The Corp. must make a profit on developing land. land that I have developed is for cost $350. per acre. We sell land for $500. per acre. We must realize that as we develop land it will go up. We probably be paying $500. per acre in the near future for undeveloped land. But production per acre will take care of the higher cost. The peanut & cotton farmer will not be able to compete with us on purchasing land as his net income wont average over $40. per acre.

The Corp must keep the water that is the lakes & ponds. If we control the water we can control the land around us. We can keep out pollution & also if industry need water we build the industry.

I want to put land in Corp. to cover the investors into the Corp. If a man buys stock in the Corp. he will own shares in land.

If the Corp gets 10% of the gross production from each farmer for marketing & management, each farmer will be worth $1500. per year to us. If we hire a production manager on salary plus commission, one manager can manage 100 farmers or a gross income $150,000 per year. After we pay the ~~market~~ production manager the remainder goes to the Corp to run the main office.

The land covered with water will be used to grow catfish when feasable. Some land will be better suited for recreation, if so that is what we will do

Our greatest asset now is land is available.
I have spent every dime I could raise to tie this land down.

I have talked with Mr. Douglas with Shell oil
also Mr. Batka, here in atlanta.
Mr. Hicks with Gulf oil, atlanta
Mr. Moore with Murphy oil Mobile.

Bank Financing

We want to work our financing through banks in the Atlanta area. If we cannot get banks to coop. with us we are in trouble. If we are to keep a free enterprise system, the ~~banks~~ banks must play their role. Our plan must be worked with the banks in mind.

If the banks donot get into the flow of the economy in the southeast, the federal government will be forced to handle the financing.

We want to work with banks with direct loans when possible. We want to work with banks on small business loans in conjunction. We want the banks to advise us on how each & every project is to be financed.

It seems to me if the coop. buys & develops the land. We in turn take an application from a farmer. We can get a Farm Home adm. loan for him to build a house. I have met with F.H.A. on this plan & they are in agreement.

We can get his tractor financed from the implement dealer. He only needs a $500. to $600. tractor. The coop takes a ~~mortgage~~ mortage on the five acres of land. We in turn take this note to a bank & turn this note to bank. The bank in turn knows the coop is behind the note. If the farmer does not pan out we in turn find another farmer to take this five acre.

Since the coop will be managing the farmer & handling all his money. We can set up plan for the farmer to have a

take out plan from the produce the have ~~[illegible]~~ said for him. In fact I would like to set up a chart by mail plan so we could deposit his money on his account & let him check by mail.
I think one of the most important things we can do for these poor people is establish them in the bank.
We must realize that there ~~[illegible]~~ 1 little farmers & share croppers are an asset to our plan. We need these people & they need us.

The Corp in some cases can buy land from farmers & develope said land & the farmer will finance the land sale. But if the 5 acer farmer is finance outside the bank. We need to establish this family with a bank.

I have talked with about 25 people in Atlanta about buying shares in this Corp. Most have shown interest. I have not checked out all of these people.
I am in hopes the Bank can help us with people I could talk with about this program. I would like for the Bank to recommed to people for me to meet with.

We must realize that business management must be furnished these people or they will fail. I like to think of us as his manager like a movie actor or ball player has a business manager. We will be furnishing a service he must have.

CRP.

Headquarters for this Corps will be set in Atlanta. Reasons for this the board of director for this Corps will be mainly from Atlanta. All decisions will come from one office in Atlanta. All production + marketing schedule will come from this office. They will in turn go to the production managers in each area.
production area will include S.E. Tenn South, Ga, Miss, Ala, Ga + all of Florida. later we will move north of this area for nuts + fruits that will not grow in this southern area.

Im interested in selling stock in this Corp to business people in Atlanta.
~~The people of~~ The business people of Atlanta must realize they are the hub of the southeast, not just Ga.
I don't need people that can farm or manage farmers. We have plenty of them in our area. We need business people that want to see the southeast take care of its own people. The federal government is ~~through~~ throwing enough money away every year in the southeast to develop this whole area. It is not the federal government fault we have poor people in the south. It is the business leader in the southeast. If the business community in Atlanta take this plan or another plan + work with the government we can eleminate poverty. The business community must do their part, especially the banks. If the business community in Atlanta will

work with us on this plan & put the money the federal government is willing to spend on these poor people I'm sure we can change the whole area.

The produce the raise in Calif. is he raised on land that will sell for $2500. per acre. They spend from $80. to $120. for water each year. pay very high taxes. They in turn have $1.30 per box freight on the produce to ship to eastern U.S.

The Bank of America financed this program in Calif. Those people took seed from this area & developed crops to raise in that desert.

The land in the area we need to develop is on the best water table in the U.S.A. We need to develop this area with the idea of not letting those westerner & yankees coming in & running the water. The water table, the climate & the available market gives us all the advantage over any Calif. friend.

If we do not develop this area those people will & the can give a damn less about contaminating our air & water.

The Corps owns 30 acres of land in Walton Co. Florida. Members of the Corp. own land adjacent to this land.
The Corps was organized to develop & sell land to small farmers & in turn market their produce. We want to sell shares to the business people of Atlanta so we can have a board of directors in Atlanta.

Marketing produce from is area turned out to be the easiest job I had. I thought would be the hardest.
I first went to Mr. Benson of piggly wiggly stores, Mr. Palmer with Delalamppes stores. I asked them what I should do to sell their produce. I realized the first thing was to be able to irrigate so we could schedule our producing They said set up a office so they could call me & find out what I could furnish & they could order the next from out west.
We experimented with neighborhood curb markets in conjunction with service stations This is our reason for wanting to establish our own market.
The Chain store only has one problem & that is fresh produce. He cannot get fresh produce he cause of the way it is handled. The farmer has to gather his produce in a prepared condition because he does not know how soon it will go on the retail market We will put our produce on the market within 18 hrs after harvest.

Land Development.

I Corp. Buys land. Develops land by Building lakes, ponds. Use the land adjacent to ponds + lakes to farm fresh produce.

Land for fresh produce will be divided into 5 acre tracks to be sold to individual farmers. Land will be set aside in lot sizes for each five acre farmer to own a lot to build a house on. This will allow a housing area for each developed farm. Each farm should have enough land for at least 25 small farmers. This will allow Equipment each small farmer needs, to be set in a pool ~~farm~~ for him to rent.

Each small farmer will only need to own a small two Row tractor with three point hookups. This will enable him to use any equipment he needs for his production.

Example of individual 5 acre farm.

His five acres will be divided in to 10-½ acre tracks. The production schedule will run as follows. The first 3 ½ acre tracks will be planted prior to this farmer buying the five acre tract. The first ½ acre tract will be ready for harvest upon his arrival. A schedule will be followed so this farmer will be gathering from ½ acre track each day. This farmer will each morning gather 15 bags of produce + set on ~~the~~ dock on farm to be loaded to truck. This truck will leave by noon time each day for market. This will allow time to be on any market block of Miami the following morning.

All produce will be marked for each individual farmer so we will know who raised each

What.

We will have a Manager over each 100 families. This Manager will schedule all production for these one hundred farmers. This manager will get his production schedule from the Atlanta Office.

The farmer 15 boxes of produce will gross about $60. per day. after Boxes Lest, investment & water expense he should have about $40. left.

The Corp. share of the 15 Boxes for Morpetis will be $6.00

Production Comparison

We should think of producing $3000. per acre per year instead of the $100. to 300. per acre we would get from raising Corn, Cotton, peanuts, soybeans, wheat & so on. If we can do this & we can we can put 30 times as much money in circulation in a given area.

If we raise tomatoes, Beets, Broccoli Brussel sprout Cabbage, Cantaloupe, Carrot, Cauliflower, Celery, Collard Cucumber) Eggplant, Endive, Lettuce, Mustard, onion parsley, parsnip, pepper, Radish, Rutabaga, Spinach, Squash, Turnips, Plus Horticulture specialties such as potted plant flower. We can raise on average of three crops per year on each acre. These crops well average $1000. per acre per crop or $3000. per acre per year. production per crop, per acre on some of these crops, Tomatoes $3000. per acre. Cabbage $800. Carrot $700. Cantaloupe $900. Bunch onion $7000. Egg plant $700.

Marketing.

We will set up individuals in business in every Major City East of the Miss; as follows.

A man will be chosen for each of these cities as a part of this Corp. & in turn will find available locations such as service station & small business locations in this town. & will in turn work out franchises with the individual business operator to furnish fresh produce.

After we have these markets in operation. We then consider setting up small manufacturing plants in depressed areas to manufacture other items that can be sold through our Market.

We have found that if we will put good fresh produce in a neighborhood, this will draw the house wife. In turn the area can be developed into to a small shopping Center.

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

MAXIMUM FEASIBLE PARTICIPATION:
The Origins, Implications, and Present Status

by
LILLIAN RUBIN

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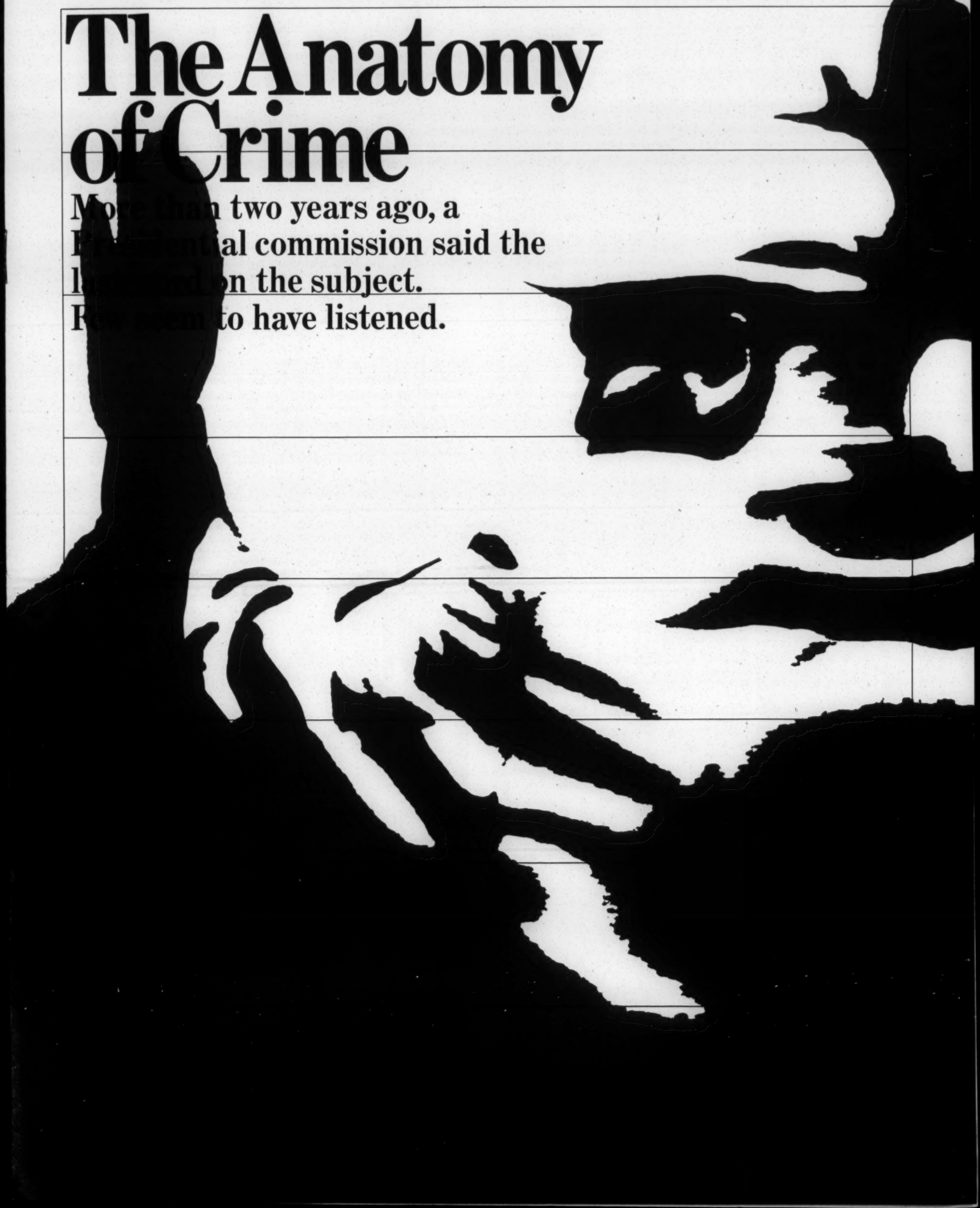
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720
1968

Univ of Aberdeen

The Anatomy of Crime

More than two years ago, a Presidential commission said the law had on the subject. Now seem to have listened.



Continuity and Change in Antipoverty Programs

Second Report of the
National Advisory Council
on Economic Opportunity
March 1969

Univ of Hartford

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The Revolt of the White Lower Middle Class

By Pete Hamill

They call my people the White Lower Middle Class these days. It is an ugly, ice-cold phrase, the result, I suppose, of the missionary zeal of those sociologists who still think you can place human beings on charts. It most certainly does not sound like a description of people on the edge of open, sustained and possibly violent revolt. And yet, that is the case. All over New York City tonight, in places like Inwood, South Brooklyn, Corona, East Flatbush and Bay Ridge, men are standing around saloons talking darkly about their grievances, and even more darkly about possible remedies. Their grievances are real and deep; their remedies could blow this city apart....

In any conversation with working-class whites, you are struck by how the information explosion has hit them. Television has made an enormous impact on them, and because of the nature of that medium—its preference for the politics of theatre, its seeming inability to ever explain what is happening behind the photographed image—much of their understanding of what happens is superficial. Most of them have only a passing acquaintance with blacks, and very few have any black friends. So they see blacks in terms of militants with Afros and shades, or crushed people on welfare. Television never bothers reporting about the black man who gets up in the morning, eats a fast breakfast, says goodbye to his wife and children, and rushes out to work. That is not news. So the people who live in working-class white ghettos seldom meet blacks who are not threatening to burn down America or asking for help or receiving welfare or committing crime. And in the past five or six years, with urban rioting on everyone's minds, they have provided themselves (or been provided with) a confused, threatening stereotype of blacks that has made it almost impossible to suggest any sort of black-white working-class coalition. ... The working-class white man spends much of his time complaining almost desperately about the way he has become a victim. Taxes and the rising cost of living keep him broke, and he sees nothing in return for the taxes he pays. The Department of Sanitation comes to his street at three in the morning, and a day late, and slams garbage cans around like an invading regiment. His streets were the last to be cleaned in the big snowstorm, and they are now sliced up with trenches that could only be called potholes by the myopic. His neighborhood is a dumping ground for abandoned automobiles, which rust and rot for as long as six weeks before someone from the city finally takes them away. He works very hard, frequently on a dangerous job, and then discovers that he still can't pay his way; his wife takes a Thursday night job in a department store and he gets a weekend job, pumping gas or pushing a hack. For him, life in New York is not much of a life....

Patriotism is very important to the working-class white man. Most of the time he is the son of an immigrant, and most immigrants sincerely believe that the Pledge of Allegiance, the Star-Spangled Banner, the American Flag are symbols of what it means to be Americans. They might not have become rich in America, but most of the time they were much better off than they were in the old country. On "I Am an American" Day they march in parades with a kind of religious fervor that can look absurd to the outsider (imagine marching through Copenhagen on "I Am a Dane" Day), but that can also be oddly touching. Walk through any working-class white neighborhood and you will see dozens of veterans' clubs, named after neighborhood men who were killed in World War Two or Korea. There are not really orgies of jingoism going on inside; most of the time the veterans' clubs serve as places in which to drink on Sunday morning before the bars open at 1 p.m., or as places in which to hold baptisms and wedding receptions. But they are places where an odd sort of know-nothingism is fostered. The war in Vietnam was almost never questioned until last year. It was an American war, with Americans dying in action, and it could not be questioned.

The reasons for this simplistic view of the world are complicated. But one reason is that the working-class white man fights in every American war. Because of poor educations, large numbers of blacks are rejected by the draft because they can't pass the mental examinations; the high numbers of black casualties are due to the disproportionate number of black career NCOs and the large number of blacks who go into airborne units because of higher pay. The working-class white man (and his brothers, sons and cousins) only get deferments if they are crippled; their educations, usually in parochial schools, are good enough to pass Army requirements, but not good enough to get them into the city college system (which, being free, is the only kind of college they could afford). It is the children of the rich and the middle class who get

all those college deferments.

While he is in the service, the working-class white hates it; he bitches about the food, the brass, the living conditions; he tries to come back to New York at every opportunity, even if it means two 14-hour car rides on a weekend. But after he is out, and especially if he has seen combat, a romantic glaze covers the experience. He is a veteran, he is a man, he can drink with the men at the corner saloon. And as he goes into his 30s and 40s, he resents those who don't serve, or bitch about the service the way he used to bitch. He becomes quarrelsome. When he gets drunk, he tells you about Saipan. And he sees any form of anti-war protest as a denial of his own young manhood, and a form of spitting on the graves of the people he served with who died in his war....

A large reason for the growing alienation of the white working class is their belief that they are not respected. It is an important thing for the son of an immigrant to be respected. When he is young, physical prowess is usually the most important thing; the guy who can fight or hit a ball or run with a football has more initial respect than the guy who gets good marks in school. But later, the man wants to be respected as a good provider, a reasonably good husband, a good drinker, a good credit risk (the worse thing you can do in a working-class saloon is borrow $20 and forget about it, or stiff the guy you borrowed it from)....

There is one further problem involved here. That is the failure of the literary/intellectual world to fully recognize the existence of the white working class, except to abhor them. With the exception of James T. Farrell, no major American novelist has dealt with the working-class white man, except in war novels. Our novelists write about bullfighters, migrant workers, screenwriters, psychiatrists, failing novelists, homosexuals, advertising men, gangsters, actors, politicians, drifters, hippies, spies and millionaires; I have yet to see a work of the imagination deal with the life of a wirelather, a carpenter, a subway conductor, an ironworker or a derrick operator. There hasn't even been much inquiry by the sociologists; *Beyond the Melting Pot*, by Nathan Glazer and Pat Moynihan, is the most useful book, but we have yet to see an Oscar Lewis-style book called, say, *The Children of Flaherty*. I suppose there are reasons for this neglect, caused by a century of intellectual sneering at bourgeois values, etc. But the result has been the inability of many intellectuals to imagine themselves in the plight of the American white working man. They don't understand his virtues (loyalty, endurance, courage, among others) and see him only through his faults (narrowness, bigotry, the worship of machismo, among others). The result is the stereotype. Black writers have finally begun to reveal what it means to be black in this country; I suppose it will take a working-class novelist to do the same for his people. It is certainly a rich, complex and unworked mine.

But for the moment, it is imperative for New York politicians to begin to deal with the growing alienation and paranoia of the working-class white man. I really don't think they can wait much longer, because the present situation is working its way to the point of no return. The working-class white man feels trapped and, even worse, in a society that purports to be democratic, ignored. The tax burden is crushing him, and the quality of his life does not seem to justify his exertions. He cannot leave New York City because he can't afford it, and he is beginning to look for someone to blame. That someone is almost certainly going to be the black man.

This does not have to be the situation, of course. If the government were more responsive to the working-class white man, if the distribution of benefits were spread more widely, if the government's presence were felt more strongly in ways that benefit white communities, there would be a chance to turn this situation around. The working-class white man does not care if a black man gets a job in his union, as long as it does not mean the loss of his own job, or the small privileges and sense of self-respect that go with it. I mean it; I know these people, and know that they largely would not care what happens in the city, if what happens at least has the virtue of fairness. For now, they see a terrible unfairness in their lives, and an increasing lack of personal control over what happens to them. And the result is growing talk of revolt.

The revolt involves the use of guns. In East Flatbush, and Corona, and all those other places where the white working class lives, people are forming gun clubs and self-defense leagues and talking about what they will do if real race rioting breaks out. It is a tragic situation, because the poor blacks and the working-class whites should be natural allies. Instead, the black man has become the symbol of all the working-class white man's resentments.

"I never had a gun in my life before," a 34-year-old Queens bartender named James Giuliano told me a couple of weeks ago. "But I got me a shotgun, license and all. I hate to have the thing in the house, because of the kids. But the way things are goin', I might have to use it on someone. I really might. It's comin' to that. Believe me, it's comin' to that."

The working-class white man is actually in revolt against taxes, joyless work, the double standards and short memories of professional politicians, hypocrisy and what he considers the debasement of the American dream. But George Wallace received 10 million votes last year, not all of them from rednecked racists. That should have been a warning, strong and clear. If the stereotyped black man is becoming the working-class white man's enemy, the eventual enemy might be the democratic process itself. Any politician who leaves that white man out of the political equation, does so at very large risk. The next round of race riots might not be between people and property, but between people and people. And that could be the end of us. ▬

for additional copies, write to
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

Univ of Houston

The Plight Of The Not-So-Poor

"The American workingman seems to think that somebody else is getting a special deal. That somebody else is the poor . . ."

EV

Bibliography

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articles of interest in current periodicals

Vol. 20, No. 7 August 12, 1969

Africa, South

RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A LETTER FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.
Midstream, August/September 1969, pp. 66-72.
"It seems unlikely that the next decade will be a period of significant social change. There will probably be a growing realization that complete geographic separation of the races is not possible or desirable, and an increasing acceptance of segregated racial co-existence as it exists today in the urban areas, with the whites firmly entrenched on top. There may be some tinkering with the system, but no dramatic transformation."

Anti-Semitism

ANGRY BLACKS, GUILTY WHITES, THREATENED JEWS, by Henry Fairlie.
Interplay, June/July 1969, pp. 25-28.
"The main theme of this article: that there is a link between the growing, and more open, anti-Semitism which is abroad in the world, and the growing disenchantment with, and hostility to, the state of Israel."

Black Nationalist Movement

BLACK PANTHERS, by Nora Sayre.
The Progressive, July 1969, pp. 20-23.
A report on the black political movement by the New York correspondent for The New Statesman of London.

JIHAD! TOWARD A BLACK NATIONAL CREDO, by Askia Muhammad Touré.
Negro Digest, July 1969, pp. 10-17.
"What we must strive to do is to organize our separateness and make it work for us by forging our 20 to 60 million souls into the highest modern form of human organization, the nation-state."

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
CENTER FOR HUMAN RESOURCES

DATE 11/13/69

TO Emory Via

FROM Robert Winn

//	Comments	//	Necessary Action
//	Initial	//	Concurrence
//	Information	//	For Signature
//	Recommendation	//	Note and File
		//	File

Attached is a copy of the rough draft schedule for my training program.

Univ of Houston
Prog.

OEO UNION LEADERSHIP PROGRAM
Center for Human Resources
University of Houston

OUTLINE OF TRAINING
Week of December 7 - 13, 1969

Sunday, December 7, 1969

3:00 P.M.	Registration
4:00 P.M.	General Session -- Speaker: Robert Winn Orientation and Introductions
5:00 P.M.	Adjourn
6:30 P.M.	Dinner and Address -- Labor's Commitment to the War on Poverty

Monday, December 8, 1969

8:00 A.M.	General Session -- Film: "The Battle of Newburgh" A filmed documentary of Newburgh, New York's battle over welfare problems
9:15 A.M.	Coffee Break
9:30 A.M.	Workshops -- Discussion of the movie with particular attention to the causes and human consequences of living on welfare.
10:30 A.M.	General Session -- Speaker: Dr. Joseph Champagne "Psychological Effects of Poverty" An introduction to the psychological effects of poverty on the poverty-stricken. Questions and answers from the floor.
12:00 P.M.	LUNCH
1:30 P.M.	General Session -- Speaker: Robert Winn "The Poverty Cycle" An exploration of the causes and influences which produce and perpetuate poverty.
2:30 P.M.	Workshops -- Discussion of how organized labor can assist in breaking the poverty cycle.
3:30 P.M.	Coffee Break
3:45 P.M.	General Session -- Speaker: Dr. Earl Williams "The Economics of Poverty" A presentation of the economic implications of poverty in America.

4:45 P.M. Workshops -- Discussion of the Economics of poverty presentation.

5:45 P.M. ADJOURN

Tuesday, December 9, 1969

8:00 A.M. General Session -- Speaker: Dr. Earl Williams
"The Historical View of OEO"
The goals, purposes, problems and changes in OEO will be discussed.

9:00 A.M. General Session -- "Panel Presentation" The various OEO programs and their intent will be discussed by the labor liaison officers from the four OEO regional office. Panel members: Edgar Berlin, Charles Cates, Paul Katz and Jesse Lester.

10:30 A.M. Coffee Break

10:45 A.M. Workshop -- Discussion of the OEO programs and their effectiveness.

12:00 P.M. LUNCH

1:30 P.M. General Session -- "Community Action Agencies" A general introduction to the aims, structure, and philosophy of Community Action Programs. Questions and answers from the floor.

2:30 P.M. Workshops -- Group work tasks centered on aims and philosophy of CAP.

3:30 P.M. Coffee Break

3:45 P.M. Workshops -- Discussion of organized labor's role within the Community Action Agency.

5:00 P.M. ADJOURN

6:30 P.M. DINNER

7:15 P.M. General Session -- Speaker: George Guernsey
Film: "The Inheritance" followed by discussion.

Wednesday, December 10, 1969

8:00 A.M. General Session -- Panel Presentation
Other assistance programs will be the topic of the panel members who represent these programs. Questions and answers from the floor.

10:00 A.M. Coffee Break

10:15 A.M. Workshops -- A discussion of the panel presentation with panel members serving as resource people in the workshops.

(?) 1:30 P.M. Assembly -- Field trips

Thursday, December 11, 1969

8:00 A.M. General Session -- Speaker: "Understanding the Poor" A presentation of why the poor seem to lack motivation by our standards.

9:00 A.M. Workshops -- Discussion of the general session "Understanding the Poor."

10:00 A.M. Coffee Break

10:15 A.M. General Session -- Speaker: Mike Hernandez "Mexican-American: the 2nd Largest Ethnic Group in the U. S." A presentation of the culture, inequities and present status of the Mexican-American. Questions and answers from the floor.

12:00 P.M. LUNCH

1:30 P.M. General Session -- Speaker: Julius Gordon "Blackness in Labor and Poverty" A discussion.

3:00 P.M. Coffee Break

?

3:15 P.M. General Session -- Speaker: Emory Via "The Poor White and the Ghettos" A presentation and film about the poor white in our country. Also, the creation of "inner cities" will be discussed.

5:00 P.M. ADJOURN

6:30 P.M. Dinner and Trainee Reports of Field Trips

Friday, December 12, 1969

8:00 A.M. General Session -- Film: "The Eyes of the Beholder"

8:30 A.M. Workshops -- Rumor Clinic
The workshop groups will participate in the actual creation of rumors and their results.

10:00 A.M. Coffee Break

10:15 A.M.	General Session -- Film Forum Discussion Leader: George Guernsey Films: "What Harvest for the Reaper" and "Pancho"
12:00 P.M.	LUNCH
1:30 P.M.	General Session -- State AFL-CIO Officers
3:00 P.M.	Coffee Break
3:15 P.M.	General Session -- Speaker: Julius Gordon "Developing Inter-group Relationships"
4:00 P.M.	Workshops -- Discussion of group dynamics and leadership
5:00 P.M.	ADJOURN
6:30 P.M.	BANQUET -- Speaker: John H. Falk

Saturday, December 13, 1969

8:00 A.M.	General Session -- Speaker: Richard Baurmann "The O.E. Committee and Poverty Conferences"
9:00 A.M.	GROUP MEETINGS with Field Representatives -- the participants will meet with the field representatives responsible for their respective states.
9:45 A.M.	General Session -- Speaker: Robert Winn "Closing Remarks"

CHANGES in URBAN AMERICA

Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR / BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

BLS Report No. 333

Univ of Houston Prospect

Still Forgotten: The Working Poor

DENNIS DUGGAN
Mr. Duggan, formerly a reporter on The New York Times *and the* Herald Tribune, *is now a national news correspondent for* Newsday.

Only in the past few months has the plight of the 20 million American working poor begun to attract attention. Heirs of the Industrial Revolution, they have become its neglected offspring: desperate pockets of workers earning more than welfare but less than what their own government says is a moderate income. They are bitter and bankrupt and almost totally without voice.

In Cambridge, Mass., the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies headed by Robert C. Wood, former Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, is assigning "high priority" to research on the working poor. As Wood describes him: "He is the ordinary employee in the factory and in the office. Twenty million strong, he forms the bulk of the nation's working force. He makes $5,000 to $10,000 a year, has a wife and two children, owns a house in town, between the ghetto and the suburbs, or perhaps in a low-cost subdivision on the urban fringe—and he owes plenty in installment debts on his car and his appliances. He finds his tax burden heavy, his neighborhood services poor, his national image tarnished, and his political clout diminishing. This, too, is alienation."

Most of the fresh archaeological digging into the working-class poverty of America has been done by the American Jewish Committee and particularly by Irving M. Levine, its director of urban planning. He and others feel that unless these not so poor are extricated from their plight, their tensions and frustrations may touch off a hideous confrontation with those above and those below them. As one observer puts it: "These people would rather bowl than go to the barricades, but if they get to the barricades they'll sure be throwing those bowling balls at everyone."

Even now, the working poor are muttering. Some call it white backlash, on the part of those embittered by what they consider the wining and dining of the real poor at their expense. During the Presidential campaign, George Wallace and his pocketbook platform brought this sentiment to the surface.

National attention has focused on black riots in Detroit, Newark, the Watts section of Los Angeles, and other cities since 1964, but very little heed has been paid to white riots that broke out during the same period in sections of Chicago, in Cicero, in Folcroft near Philadelphia, in the Kensington section of Philadelphia and in Milwaukee—these latter riots are what *Ebony* magazine recently called "The White Problem of America." Even more relevant was the "stunning" upset victory on April 29 by a 41-year-old Minneapolis burglary detective in a primary race for the mayoralty of that city. Scoring heavily in the working-class wards and running as an independent on a law and order platform, Charles Stenvig won 30,000 votes and beat out both the Democratic Farm Labor candidate and the Republican candidate. Stenvig's victory was even more spectacular in view of the fact that Minneapolis is thought to be one of the country's most enlightened cities and its electorate several notches above most in political savvy. Minneapolis *Star* reporter Steve Farkin, who followed the race, doesn't rule out the possibility that Stenvig will win in a June 10 run-off with Republican Dan Cohen, who is president of the city council.

Still another manifestation of the unrest of the working poor is what former Under Secretary of the Treasury Joseph Barr calls a "taxpayer revolt." Walter Reuther recently warned a Congressional committee that the nation is "on the verge of a tax revolt by workers and other embattled middle-class elements."

In Milwaukee, a group of sixty tax protesters pasted a proclamation demanding more equitable federal taxes to the wall of the Federal Building. They asked that the $600 federal income tax exemption per dependent be doubled, that the standard deduction be raised from 10 per cent, or $1,000 to 15 per cent, or $2,000, that parents be permitted to deduct education expenses, and that the government close loopholes that permit the wealthy to treat their tax forms as a kind of "laugh-in."

In Caro, Mich. a vocal group is threatening to stop paying property taxes if the state legislature or the courts don't give property owners a break. Property taxes were instituted in a time of stable economy, but today's inflation and rising land values are kiting the assessed valuation of these properties and forcing burdensome property taxes on already tax-broke workers. Dr. John Carpovich is heading the Caro revolt and claims to have nineteen counties with about 30,000 workers organized in Michigan. The taxpayer revolt is spreading in other directions. Some municipalities have had to shut down schools because taxpayers refused to vote for essential increased allocations. New schools have been deferred in other areas because their bond issues were turned down.

But despite these signs of growing unrest, the working poor are still America's neglected class. Having absolutely no spokesman in industry, they note that the hard-core unemployed have attracted the sympathy of such important businessmen as Henry Ford and Donald Kendall, chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen and chairman and president of Pepsico, Inc. Business leaders tend to blame the government for the plight of their disillusioned workers, and disclaim responsibility for the high taxes and inflation that have put these workers on a treadmill. A spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers can think of no businessman in the country who has shown concern for this group. And Hugh Rex Edwards, head of a research group called The Guild, observes: "Scholars would rather go where the action is. They're interested in the black revolution." He notes in addition that the working poor lack organizations of their own:

> They are the worst manipulators of the media. They're still in a Gutenberg world when everyone else has gone McLuhan. No one talks for them. They're little groups of people without the capacity to realize they're in the same boat. They often work against each other. As a total population, they've been struck dumb.

In government, only Daniel P. Moynihan—the Harvard-educated sociologist who grew up in Manhattan's Hell's Kitchen, and is now President Nixon's adviser on urban affairs—seems to have wakened to the disaffection of the working poor. He says:

> The greatest number of these families are working-class or lower-middle-class people earning incomes in the $5,000-to-$8,000 range. This is the group that by and large has been left out of the recent spate of government programs; if not forgotten, it is at least ignored. We have established a Job Corps for the dropout and a Peace Corps for the college graduates, but the plain fellow with a high school diploma, and his parents, have little to show from either the New Frontier or the Great Society. This—majority—group of Americans cannot but wonder what it is getting out of all the activity, and in particular has to be asking whether the government is playing favorites, or greasing squeaky wheels, or whatever.

Some of the disparate groups who make up the bulk of the working poor are starting to make squeaky sounds themselves. The National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups, in Washington, has begun a $5-million fund-

raising campaign; Paul Deac, executive vice president, says its members "are beginning to realize that unless the ethnic groups organize themselves they will be run over by others."

The confederation claims a membership of sixty-seven groups with a total 18,600,000 individuals. Despite its size, it has only minor political influence and is weakened by the tenuous commitment of its members. In New York, the American Council of Nationalities Service, which has been helping newly arrived immigrants for fifty years, is shopping for foundation money to organize ethnic coalitions in up to ten cities. "Lower-income white ethnics have problems that must be resolved," says J. Frank Dearness, the executive director, "and if we don't resolve their problems, then all black progress will be lost because they'll turn to a Wallace or someone like that."

That is exactly the reasoning of the American Jewish Committee. Last June, it sponsored the first National Consultation on Ethnic America at Fordham University. Similar meetings are planned for Newark and Chicago this June. Levine says: "We have a black problem and we have a white reaction to it. You can't solve the one without solving the other." He calls the working poor "invisible. They have no heroes. The British began to romanticize their working class ten years ago in movies like *Look Back in Anger, Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, The Angry Silence* and *The Sporting Life*. What do we give them? *Father Knows Best*? That's not what they know or understand."

Levine feels the workers have been let down by their spokesmen, their legislators, their unions and their churches. He thinks new strategies and new institutions will have to be formed if the group is to be rescued. "We should have intermediate institutions to help these people recoup their lives. If a person doesn't go to college today, he's dropping out; he'll never make it. There ought to be a second chance for these people instead of dooming them to a life of mediocrity." Levine also feels that such accepted "purveyors of goodies" as the Social Security system could be reformed to help the working poor during the times they most need help. "We could work out a system that would give each of them, say, a bonus of $500 when he gets married. And $500 for each child. We could work out programs that would allow them to go to college. If we need more money for these programs why not bring the government in as a third partner in Social Security?"

Where the working poor have been hit hardest is in the pay check. Nick Kisburg, legal director of the Teamsters Council, says these 20 million Americans landed on a square marked Nowhere because "we're all victims of a big con job—that we live in an affluent society.

"The fact is that there are 7 million white families who earn between $5,000 and $7,000 a year—a step above welfare. Only 2.6 per cent of the wage earners in this country earn more than $25,000. Most of the money wage earners have gotten in raises in the past decade has been lost to inflation and taxes. Cheating is becoming a way of life. People who moonlight because they need the money to live get phony Social Security cards and give phony addresses. Can you blame them?"

The tremendous national resentment against taxes may yet aid the working poor who now work two and a half hours of every eight-hour day to pay federal, state and local taxes. This year the 10 per cent surtax will be felt for the first time, and state and local taxes are escalating as well. State taxes went up last year, in one form or another, in twenty-two states. There are now sales taxes in forty-four states, with thirteen of them maintaining rates of 4 per cent or more. Thirty-seven states impose income taxes and seven of them boosted that tax last year. Other state taxes that rose in 1968 include those on cigarettes, up in eight states, alcoholic beverages, up in three states, and gasoline, up in five states.

This year, the estimated tax bill will average $1,000 for every man, woman and child in the nation, according to a study by the AFL-CIO which recently went before Congress and urged tax reforms. Among the suggestions made by the union is one that would cut the tax paid by a married worker with two children by 42.1 per cent if he makes $5,000 a year and 15.9 per cent if he makes $15,000.

Tax reforms are now being studied by Congress. Rep. Wilbur Mills (D., Ark.) is conducting a two-year study for this purpose, and Sens. Harrison Williams (D., N.J.) and Fred Harris (D., Okla.) have introduced bills calling for such measures as a raise in individual exemptions from today's $600 to $900, completely deductible medical expenses, exemptions for daily transportation expenses. Says a spokesman for Williams: "We figure the individual exemption should go to $900 because the cost of living index has risen tremendously since 1948 when the $600 limit was set. He estimates that 55 per cent of all taxpayers would benefit if they could deduct all their medical expenses." Senator Williams' staff has also introduced or is planning to introduce legislation to provide a grant of $500 a semester to the children of wage earners making less than $12,000 a year, to amend the property tax laws, and to provide funds for a multibillion-dollar community college program to allow the children of working poor to gain the education needed to attain mobility.

There is also a drive in Congress to raise the minimum wage from the present $1.60 an hour to $2 an hour for manufacturing employees and to $1.60 for farm workers; Senator Ribicoff (D., Conn.) is seeking tax write-offs for parents of children in college.

The question is whether these reforms will come soon enough and be effective enough to reduce the social fever of the working poor. A minimum wage of $2 an hour amounts to an $80 pay check, which is then carved to shreds by several government agencies. Cleveland Robinson, president of the Negro American Labor Council of Chicago, claims that the U.S. labor movement is still living in the 19th century. He thinks Congress should enact a minimum wage law that would provide $7,000 a year for a father supporting a family of four.

If something is not done fast, to alleviate their condition, this long hot summer could easily become the long *white*-hot summer. In a booklet published on May 15 the Rev. Andrew Greeley, director of the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, claims that in today's mechanized society the working poor is the group that feels most vulnerable and impotent. That, he says, is what causes them to strike out at the blacks rather than attack the root causes of their own problem: "hate for that which is different apparently still lurks beneath our civilized veneer." There is little to suggest that much has been done to get at the causes of those hatreds. Not by the corporations, not by the Congress, not by the churches. The society is sick and the working poor is one more group that has come down with the ailment.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS, 165 EAST 56 STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

7/69

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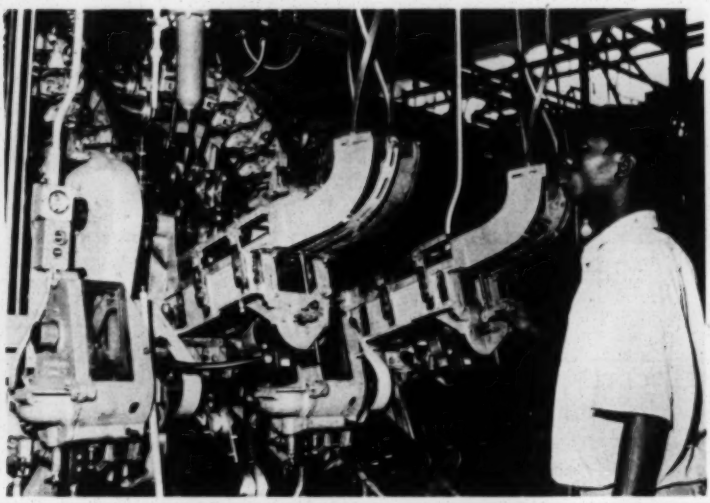
The "developing countries" are developing—



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File

PARTNERSHIP for PRODUCTIVITY INVESTMENTS/USA, Inc.
August 18, 1970

Information for individuals and institutions inquiring about the stock of PfP Investments, referred to as the Company. This is not a solicitation. There is no general solicitation nor public offering of the Company's stock. At the present time it is for sale only to a limited number of knowledgeable investors, who are interested in the social purposes to be served. It is believed that such sale does not require registration with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Partnership for Productivity Investments/USA, Inc. is an Indiana stock corporation. Shares of the common stock are available at $100 per share. The issuance of 2,500 shares is authorized, but the present objective is to raise approximately $50,000 through the sale of 500 shares. As of this date approximately 120 shares ($12,000) have been subscribed for.

The Company was organized in association with the Partnership for Productivity Foundation/USA, Inc. in 1969. The objective of the Foundation, a non-profit organization, and of the Company, is to promote economic development in an area within a developing foreign country through assistance to small business and industrial enterprises. The initial pilot project is scheduled to be begun in western Kenya in October, 1970, with Kakamega as the base of operations. The program is endorsed or sponsored by several organizations of the Religious Society of Friends, and most of the members of the Boards of Directors of both the Company and the Foundation are members of that Society. The implementation of the program, which is more fully described in additional literature, is an expression of a religious concern for the more equitable sharing of the world's resources. Nevertheless, insofar as investment in the Company is concerned, there is NO IMPLICATION WHATEVER that the stock is in any way guaranteed by any Friends' organization.

It is assumed that stock will be purchased by individuals or institutions connected with the Society of Friends or in sympathy with its efforts. As noted below, THIS IS AN INVESTMENT WHICH MUST AT THIS TIME BE CONSIDERED A HIGH RISK INVESTMENT, WITHOUT ANY PROSPECT OF HIGH RETURN WHICH IN TERMS OF ANY ORDINARY COMMERCIAL INVESTMENT WOULD JUSTIFY SUCH RISK. It should be considered only as a place in which to use a portion of an investment portfolio in pursuit of social objectives.

Funds derived from the sale of the Company's stock, together with funds from other countries and from other sources, are expected to be invested in a counterpart corporation now being chartered under Kenya law. There the capital will be used to provide a portion of the capital needed in a variety of local enterprises, through loans, equity investments, or underwriting bank loans. Such enterprises will be given managerial advice and assistance, free or at nominal cost, through a non-profit organization in Kenya. Each enterprise in which there is any investment will be

Partnership for Productivity Foundation/USA, Inc.
Chairman, Board of Directors
Stanley C. Marshall, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Partnership for Productivity Investments/USA, Inc.
Chairman, Board of Directors
Fred Reeve, Richmond, Ind.

one which has had the benefit of a careful analysis, which so far as can be predicted should be able to operate soundly and profitably while providing useful goods or services needed in Kenya, will provide needed jobs, and will help to develop the managerial and entrepreneurial skills so much needed. Continuing advice and assistance will be rendered during the early period of operation, and at least until outside investments have been retired.

In short, everything possible will be done to insure that the funds involved are accurately accounted for, productively yet prudently employed, and eventually repaid together with a reasonable return for the use of the capital. The use of capital funds in this way is an integral and essential part of the PfP concept, which involves helping directors and managers to gain actual experience in every phase of actual business activity. It is for this reason that in spite of the unknown risks involved, capital rather than contributions are needed for this phase of the program. However, no matter what safeguards may be taken, THE POSSIBILITY OF HIGH RISK MUST BE FULLY RECOGNIZED. As of now there is no experience and no statistics which can be cited. PfP will operate in an area where Africans have had very little experience with economic activity more complicated than simple farming and small shops. There is a need for greater Government investment in services and infra-structure, with no assurance that scheduled improvements can be made in accordance with plan objectives. The potential African partners in the various enterprises will have had the benefit in most cases of educational advantages above the average for the area, but differences in culture and tradition will undoubtedly create many problems in trying to help introduce new concepts of productivity, efficiency, innovativeness, and so on.

At the same time, PfP will not expect to demand, in this capital side of its program, the kind of return which makes foreign investment attractive to major commercial and industrial corporations. Since the ultimate objective is to develop enterprises which are wholly owned, controlled and operated by Kenyans, there will be in each case provisions for the local partners to buy out the overseas interest. Details of such agreements remain to be worked out, but they will almost certainly preclude high speculative gains for the foreign investor. Though this objective of the eventual return of capital will be kept in mind, there can be no assurance of the liquidity of investment in this Company. Therefore funds should not be invested which may be required by a specific date.

At such time as the PfP project has gained a reasonable degree of experience, it is expected to register the Company's stock with the Securities and Exchange Commission. A major ultimate goal is to find ways whereby Americans of moderate means can have a channel for investing directly in the developing nations, in businesses which are selected primarily for their ability to fill local needs while at the same time operating soundly.

At this time, it is hoped that for economy's sake a single investment will be for not less than 10 shares ($1,000). If desired, a subscription may be accompanied by payment for 25% of the amount subscribed, the balance to be paid in quarterly, or as may be arranged. It is also possible for one or more people to make a direct contribution to their Meeting or other church body, that body in turn subscribing to the Company's stock.

The Company wishes to be sure that any investor is fully aware of the risks and terms involved, and welcomes additional queries. As a final reminder, it should be clear that the associated Foundation needs and welcomes contributions for the ongoing operations. The first member of the Management Advisory Team is expected to take up his duties in Kakamega in October, 1970.

PARTNERSHIP for PRODUCTIVITY

David H. Scull, President
(703) 256-3444
(703) 941-4339

P.O. Box 170, Annandale, Virginia 22003

PROGRESS REPORT TWO : AUGUST, 1970

PfP PILOT PROJECT SCHEDULED TO BEGIN OPERATIONS IN OCTOBER

Arrangements are virtually completed for a man with unique qualifications for the job, George P. Butler (shown at right with wife Ruth), to become the first member of PfP's permanent Management Advisory Team in Kakamega. If all goes according to plan, the action should get under way in western Kenya in October. A concerned British Friend, Allen Crosby, will join Butler and David Scull for a month to make this the truly international project we have all been planning for.

Butler, 51, has had an extensive background in engineering, production and management consulting. After a period in which he concentrated on training bank branch managers in commercial loan operations, he went to Nigeria on a Ford Foundation - U.S.AID project, helping Africans to develop small industries. He has been called by one associate the best man anywhere in this field, able to identify with and communicate with people who have had little or no economic background. After 5 years, the civil warfare put a halt to the Nigerian program, and following a year in Ethiopia the Butlers returned to the USA. Now they are ready to return to what they see as their most significant contribution. Ruth, incidentally, has had considerable background in the field of handicraft development. (More details on the Butlers available on request).

NEW YORK-LONDON-NAIROBI-KAIMOSI-KAKAMEGA : THE WHEELS START TO TURN

The PfP Planning Committee in Kenya has been asked to approve George Butler's employment and to arrange for the necessary work permit from the Government. The PfP Boards in the US will meet September 12 to review the plans. George Butler and David Scull will follow up on a number of contacts, especially in Washington and New York, and as now planned will leave September 27 for London.

Allen Crosby, a businessman (insurance) in Yorkshire, took part in early discussions of PfP at Guilford in 1967, and later paid a visit to Kenya with his wife Margaret. He has agreed to go again at his own expense to take part in the initial discussions. After a couple of days in London, introducing Butler (an Episcopalian, incidentally) to British Friends and others interested in PfP, the three will go on to Nairobi. It is expected that 2 or 3 African Friends in the Planning Committee will join in a number of interviews there in the capital; then all will go on to Kaimosi (headquarters of East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends), and on about October 5 will be at Kakamega ready to plunge into the serious business of working with the Kenyan Board of Directors on the many poli-

Partnership for Productivity Foundation/USA, Inc.
Chairman, Board of Directors
Stanley C. Marshall, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Partnership for Productivity Investments/USA, Inc.
Chairman, Board of Directors
Fred Reeve, Richmond, Ind.

cies and procedures necessary to the actual start of the work. Arrangements for transportation, personal housing, and office space will need to be made and African staff associates provided for. If all goes well, Scull and Crosby will return home after a two or three week period, while Butler will carry on, being joined by his wife and the two children (of high school age) who will accompany them.

FINANCIAL SHOESTRING or ACT OF FAITH ?

George Butler's engagement has been made possible by the generous grant from the Chace Fund of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. However this $12,000 needs to be matched by nearly an equal amount, and such funds are slow in coming in. But a new idea can be promoted just so long on the basis of theoretical possibilities: everyone felt that the time had come to get some actual African enterprises under way so that PfP can be described in real terms. When it was found that Butler wanted to come with us, but would probably accept a UN assignment if we were not able to move ahead, it was decided that we should plunge ahead - on faith. This is not to be taken as an example of the kind of conservative advice we expect to give our potential African partners!

AND ON THE INVESTMENT SIDE ---

PfP Investments now has $12,000 committed, from just 4 Friends. We should have at least $20,000 or $25,000 which we can count on from U.S. Quaker sources by the time we are ready to start - see separate sheet for questions and answers on this aspect of the program. We hope in the first few weeks to be able to identify perhaps a half-dozen proposals which have real economic and human development potential and to concentrate on these in the early months. Though as we have said from the outset our management counsel will probably be the most important element, there is no doubt that our ability to provide some supplemental capital input will be crucial.

QUAKER CONFRONTATION IN SWEDEN - FWCC TRIENNIAL SESSIONS

At the Friends World Committee sessions at Sigtuna in early August, among those present with a special interest in PfP were Thomas Lung'aho of Kaimosi and Titus Mugavana of Kakamega from Kenya, and Lorton Heusel and David Scull from the USA. There continues to be some criticism of PfP by some of the Swedish Friends, but being able to talk directly to African Friends helped dispell some of the misunderstandings. Following a special interest group on PfP, a Friend from East Germany said she had started out pretty much in sympathy with the Swedish criticisms, but having heard how much importance the African Friends attached to this avenue of development she felt we should not be the prisoners of any one economic system and she was now able to approve of going ahead! In any case, all agreed that once we could discuss this and other projects on the basis of actual and not theoretical operations we would all be much better off.

WORLD RESOURCES GROUP (WRG) SET UP BY FWCC

An internationally representative World Resources Group (15 members at the moment) was set up to review projects commended for support under the 1% More Fund. The US members who have accepted so far are Gilbert White, Stacey Widdicombe, and David Scull, with the latter as Convener for the Western Hemisphere members. As a member of this WRG, Scull hopes to visit 1 or 2 other development projects in Africa in connection with his October visit to Kenya - possibly Hlekweni in Rhodesia and the AFSC's self-help housing work in Zambia.

PfP,P.O.Box 170,Annandale,Va.22003

SOME PERTINENT QUOTATIONS. PARTNERSHIP for PRODUCTIVITY. JULY, 1970

From "Development Planning" by Jan Tinbergen (Nobel Prize Winner,Economics) World University Library, 1967. Excerpts pages 26 & 28.

"....among the qualities that are required of quite a high proportion of the population of a developed society are an interest in material well-being, an interest in techniques and in innovation, an ability to look ahead and a willingness to take risks, perseverance, and an ability to collaborate with other people and to observe certain rules. .... development will only be achieved within a society when those human qualities which are diametrically opposed to those mentioned above are overcome. These may be listed as follows: an indifference towards the betterment of one's material condition, an aversion to complicated techniques and an inclination to routine habits, short-sightedness and a fear of uncertainty, lack of energy, and individualism." .... The important questions are, of course, can the human qualities necessary for the development of a society be acquired and can this learning process be fostered by the environment?"

From "The African Predicament" by Stanislav Andreski (Head,Dept.of Sociology, University of Reading,England) Atherton Press,1968. Pp.31-32, & 36.

"The greater and more general the poverty, the more important are the stakes of political contests. In an opulent country a man who is thrown out of office can usually find decent employment elsewhere but in a poor country a loss of office usually means ruin for anybody who has no private wealth..... in consequence, the fight for office becomes a matter of life and death for all the minor figures who cannotplace large funds in foreign banks, and assumes the form of s truggle for existence fought with every available means and without regard for law or convention. ..... as far as democracy is concerned, it can be stated as a general rule, to which no exception has as yet been found, that it can function firstly only in a society which is fairly prosperous, and,secondly, only where privileges obtained through political influence are not indispensable for making a decent living.

"A large part of the economic difficultiesof Africa stems from the tendency to jump the stages; to concentrate on grandiose schemes and to neglect more prosaic but more immediately useful investments; to make plans for heavy industry while neglecting the manufacture of spades and hammers and wheelbarrows. .... One of the greatest obstacles to economic progress in Africa is the scarcity of competent and solid businessmen. ..... "

From "Who owns the Environment" by Peter Schrag. Saturday Review,7/4/70.

"We are in the early stages of a revolt against 'affluence', 'growth', and traditional notions of efficiency, but we have not yet decided who the enemy is and who should pay the price. It is,for obvious reasons, the affluent who are most concerned about 'growth',not the poor;their problem is food and housing,not clean beaches; 'the environment' is still a class issue. ..... The issue of 'environment' brings together those who already consume,not those who aspire to it. When Ecology Action buried a new car in California recently,black militants demanded that it be turned over to them for the movement;why should anyone destroy $2,000 worth of stuff - however important the symbol - when you can convert it into breakfast for 5,000 hungry kids? The environment,in other words,can become not only a consumer good,but the ultimate item in conspicuous consumption for people who are so classy or affluent that they can bury or otherwise destroy cars that the lower classes are killing themselves to ride." (DHScull note:Schrag's article is based on the domestic confrontation,but one can readily translate it into the confrontation betweenthe have and have-not nations. I pointed this out in an letter to the editor published in the July 25 SR.)

TELEPHONES
AREA CODE 703
OFFICE: 256-3444
HOME: 560-5938

DAVID H. SCULL
P. O. BOX 170, ANNANDALE, VIRGINIA 22003

December 4, 1970

Emory Via, SRC
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Emory:

I enclose some of the currently available material on Partnership for Productivity. I haven't yet had a chance to do a progress report based on my most recent 6 weeks, in which we got the project actually under way, but as I think I told you we see needs and opportunities galore for just what we are trying to offer : managerial guidance plus some loan capital assistance. I'll hope to have a chance to fill you in more later on.

Last evening a friend and long-time neighbor of ours came over, and in the course of the conversation raised an interesting point which -if at all based on fact,-could be a most important topic for SRC research, or SRC-encouraged research. It has two bases. One has to do with the role of white lawyers in the South with respect to Negro-owned land. Based on personal experience in trying to help his own colored secretary from Warsaw, Virginia with a title problem, he is convinced that as a matter of course titles are often left cloudy or deficient, and things are not tidied up as any good lawyer would do for a white client. Then whenever a situation occurs which they can take advantage of, there is either the chance for profitable litigation, or the chance to pick up land for much less than it would be worth otherwise.

The second point is more factual, or subject to more factual check. How are the large tree-farms in the South - Georgia-Pacific, Boise-Cascade, Union-Camp, etc - in fact being assembled? My friend thinks a great deal of Negro-owned land is being acquired through the connivance of local lawyers, and families forced off the land just as surely as those who are tenant farmers and with whose plight we have become more familiar. I'm told that the Dept of Agriculture is familiar with this whole situation. If it is at all conceivable that such a situation exists, it might be possible to take just one or two counties in Alabama or Georgia, where there are extensive tree farm properties, andsee how and from whom the land was acquired.

I ought to say that my friend is often imaginative, but at the same time is often right, and has had a good deal of experience with real estate development himself so I do not brush off his story by any means; on the other hand he may have made deductions from very limited experience. Is this at all worth looking into?

Yours

Dave

January 15, 1969

Mr. Brian Isaacson
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Isaacson:

Enclosed is our invoice for the minimum wage materials sent to you on the 14th.

In my letter to you of the 14th, please note that in the second paragraph wherever "job" appears it should read "popular." Sorry.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Progsam

EFV/km

Enclosure

We need to bill for these!

KM

Check sp.??

Briane Isacson

Bryan ~~Eddelman~~

Min Wage Campaign

Kit

3rd Class (?) how soon will it get there

Penn Community Services
Fragmar, S.C.

As many Kits as possible

10 Kits

23 ~~40~~ packets of matches

50
11.50

11.50
10.00
$21.50

January 14, 1969

Mr. Brian Isaacson
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Isaacson:

Under separate cover I am sending you ten complete Minimum Wage Kits and 23 packets that have most of the materials in them. I am also enclosing a copy of a pamphlet on minimum wages prepared by the Commerce Clearing House, Inc.

The pamphlet for job distribution, "More Money For You," needs to be updated with a mimeographed insert. I am enclosing with this letter a suggestion in that regard. If you would like to have a bulk supply of this job pamphlet I could let you have them for 5¢ each. I would strongly urge in any piece of material which you distribute to those who have wage problems that you include the name and address of an organization which they can contact for assistance or include the name and address of the closest Wage-Hour office.

You may be interested to know that earlier the South Carolina Council on Human Relations

undertook to distribute some of these materials and the North Carolina Voter Education Project is now considering a distribution.

Hope all of this helps. Let me know if there is anything else we can do.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
(Dictated but signed in his absence)

EFV/km

Enclosure

Read this page for changes in the minimum wage since the booklet "More Money For You" was printed.

NEW WAGE INCREASES

I. If your job was covered by the Minimum Wage Law for the first time in 1967 (See pages 8, 11 for examples) then you probably should now (after February 1, 1969) be earning $1.30 an hour.

Below are changes in the Minimum Wage for 1969, 1970, 1971.

You Should Earn	Starting On	Overtime Wage ($1\frac{1}{2}$ x Reg. Wage)	For Each Hr. You Work Over
$1.30 an hr.	February 1, 1969	$1.95 an hr.	40 hours
$1.45 an hr.	February 1, 1970	$2.17 an hr.	40 hours
$1.60 an hr.	February 1, 1971	$2.40 an hr.	40 hours

II. If your job was covered by the Minimum Wage Law before 1967 (most factory jobs and see page 14 for other examples). You should now (after February 1, 1968) be earning $1.60 an hour for straight time and $2.40 an hour for overtime.

If you want more information contact:

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, S. C.

February 21, 1969

file →

Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina 29920

Gentlemen:

Apparently I am shown on your mailing list in two different ways. Please remove my old address: Mr. Emory Via, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin and continue to send my mail to the following address:

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

March 14, 1969

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

It was good to get your letter and to see that you were moving ahead so quickly on Clemson. I would only add that along with an interest in white collar and executive positions that you also pay some attention to skilled occupations in the plant.

Any affirmative action which will improve these areas would be most welcome. However, if such affirmative action is not forthcoming then good solid complaints would help. As you gathered from Sunday's meeting, Jean is working on a tight time table and things are not more relaxed since our meeting in Washington Wednesday. That meeting went quite well but nothing special to report.

I liked your publication on Penn Community Services. Quite handsome.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure

PA, JK

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Thought you would be interested. At annual meeting on 19th. I'll know more how long/whether I'll be here

CS

COURTNEY SICELOFF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
FROGMORE, S. C.

March 25, 1969

James M. Dabbs, Chairman
Board of Trustees
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear James Dabbs:

This letter is to inform you, and other trustees, that I am hereby submitting my resignation as agency director.

You will recall that at the called meeting of the Executive Committee on February 2 and 3, I indicated that my resignation as director was available. The issue around which the meeting was called concerned black direction of the training program; one staff member had stated that a black person should have the final word regarding that program. I pointed out to members of the Committee that obviously, with a white agency director, a black person would not have final authority, even if he were head of the training program. In order that the Committee could deal completely with this issue, I made my resignation available. I believe Board members are aware that the Executive Committee created the positions of co-directors, with Joe McDomick and Bill Engelhardt filling those jobs; although my resignation was discussed, no action was taken.

I feel now that I should take the initiative in regard to my resignation, for several reasons. First, the program at Penn has changed in recent years. It is a program no longer restricted to the immediate area. The people-trainees, staff and community contacts-come from across the South with a larger variety of background and experiences. Our focus is on the black community of the South; the emphasis for achieving change is through black people coming together to determine their destiny-as far as is possible. I support and advocate this direction.

As the Penn staff has increased, the composition has changed. Apart from conscientious objectors, the two white members of a staff of 10 full-time and five regular part-time persons, serve in the top administrative positions. Bill Engelhardt has announced his plans to leave at the end of the funding period in October to continue his graduate studies; I believe it would be indefensible for the sole white staff person to be agency director, given the program direction and staff composition.

I am submitting my resignation as agency director in view of the forthcoming annual Board meeting, as well as the termination of the funding

period of the training program. The resignation shall be effective at a time most convenient with the Board. However, the director should be appointed soon, for I feel that he should take responsibility for determining the format of the new program, for which planning is already underway.

I should point out that I am open to continuing at Penn, but not in an administrative capacity. When the new program is formulated, there may be a phase dealing primarily with the WHITE community and/or a conscious decision of the Board to maintain a bi-racial staff. If such a development occurs, then I and Penn might consider whether it would be advisable for me to apply for a position.

There are many reasons which I would find staying at Penn desirable. Our roots are here; Elizabeth and I came shortly after our marriage and this has been the only home for our children. The staff and other members of the community have provided an atmosphere for working and living which we deeply appreciate. The problems and issues of the area and region are clear cut, providing many opportunities for creative programs. Penn, with the interaction and support of outstanding individuals as trustees, has provided a framework that is responsive to new needs while encouraging staff to implement programs within the broad limits of the Board policy.

However, I am aware of the difficulties that arise when former directors remain in the area or on the board after a new person is installed; the new person's effort to direct a program in his own style is often hindered by such a situation. Obviously, I would not want to continue at Penn in any case unless the new person felt he was director in fact as well as title.

Through 107 years of operation, Penn has had four administrators-none has been black. During this period, the program, the times, even the name has changed. Penn will now have an opportunity to prove its resiliency once again.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff
CS/fm

April 9, 1969

Mr. Courney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

It was good to get your report on Clemson. I trust it will continue to develop and prove fruitful. Is there anything we could do from here that would help?

I do not know what to make of your letter to Mr. Dabbs proposing your resignation. I am sure it would take a long conversation to sort things out in my mind. I do know that there are a lot of us who would miss greatly the kind of role you have been able to play both in your community and elsewhere. I hope you will keep us informed of developments.

Give our best regards to Elizabeth.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

P.S.: In the meantime, if you could take such appropriate executive action as to cause correspondence from you and others at Penn Community Services to come to me in Atlanta rather than to Wisconsin it would be appreciated.

P.A.
JW
J.L
W.R

PRESS RELEASE

For Further Information Contact
Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S. C. 29920
Phone: (803) 524-4337
524-4339

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The trustees of Penn Community Services, Incorporated accepted with reluctance the resignation of their director at the Board's annual meeting on April 19, 1969.

Courtney P. Siceloff, director for 18 years, urged that the organization's top staff positions be filled by black professionals. The Board agreed with Mr. Siceloff's recommendation and indicated that his resignation would become effective as soon as a replacement could be found.

Chairman James M. Dabbs expressed regret at Mr. Siceloff's decision to leave the Beaufort County training center, and the Board unanimously voted a resolution of appreciation. The resolution in part declared that "We recognize in Courtney Siceloff a person of unusual integrity, ability and commitment with whom one could disagree, even radically, without losing his friendship."

Siceloff told the Board in his letter of resignation that "for a program directed primarily at the black community, I could no longer, as a white person, remain as agency director."

He urged the trustees to take immediate steps to hire a black director of the agency, as well as a black director of the Center's Community Development Training Program in order to maintain credability

with black members of the community agency and trainees, and to avoid an appearance of white paternalism in the operation of Penn.

It was felt that such a change in staff personnel would result in "creative, innovative leadership" and help the Center maintain its "relevance and effectiveness in all programs, goals and commitments."

Siceloff emphasized that greater black involvement in an executive role at Penn would meet a demand for a greater self-determination in the Beaufort County Community.

Both Siceloff and Dabbs denied that anticipated staff changes reflected a shift in emphasis at Penn as a unified, racially inclusive community.

"We shall continue to have an inclusive staff, programs and society," the Board of trustees said in a policy statement adopted today. "It is for us at Penn, black and white together, to bring to the surface of our happier lives the images of unity and inclusiveness by which we live."

The trustees appointed a five-member Search Committee to recommend a new Executive Director.

Mr. Siceloff came to Penn in 1950. During his tenure the organization shifted its emphasis from an institution serving the Negro residents of St. Helena Island to one of community development of regional significance. It also developed the only bi-racial conference center in South Carolina.

In the last year, Penn has also served as a training center for community development and Peace Corps trainees. Since 1950 Penn has greatly strengthened its financial position and increased its physical plant and capital investment, as well as its human resources programs.

July 25, 1969

Mr. Herman Pierre
Community Development Program
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Herman:

Enclosed is my expense statement for the trip on July 24 to be with your group. I enjoyed the opportunity to be with them.

You will note on the expense blank that I have indicated my willingness to share half the cost of this trip. If it causes any difficulty to make the check payable to SRC then it can be made out to me and I will simply endorse it over.

I trust that the rest of the training goes well. Best personal wishes in your own plans for the future.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enc.

DA
Ret EV

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

(803) 524-4337

August 5, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street - N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Your letter arrived the day after I left for Atlanta. As you recall our entire staff was to meet with former trainees in Atlanta for a refresher session beginning on the 28th of July. I didn't receive your letter until this morning, thus my delay in answering. Thanks again for coming up at such short notice. The feedback from that session has been quite favorable.

We at Penn felt fortunate to have you here with us, and could not therefore justify your paying half the cost. If there is anything I personally, or we as a staff can do to help you or SRC in the future, please don't hesitate to call on us. Thanks again, and say hello to Thad and Marvin for me.

Sincerely,

Pierre

Herman Pierre, Jr.
HR/nfd
encl:

70 12
8-6-69
KM

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

Mr. M
Direc
South
5 For
Atlan

PENN NEWS

Penn Community Services, Inc.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

FEBRUARY, 1970

NEW DIRECTOR

John W. Gadson, Sr. was installed November 1 as the new executive director of Penn. Courtney Siceloff, who had held the post since 1950, has taken a position as associate director of the Peace Corps in Afghanistan.

Gadson, who had served previously as secretary of the Penn Board of Trustees and a member of the executive committee, was selected for the post after a special search committee examined 25 applicants from across the country.

Gadson, 34, was director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program in Beaufort and Jasper Counties from 1966-69. Prior to that he taught chemistry and physics at Robert Smalls High School in Beaufort. A native of Orangeburg County, S. C., Gadson received his B. S. degree from South Carolina State College and did graduate work at Wisconsin State College and Fisk University where he received an M. S. in science education. He is married to the former Henrietta Cash of Eutawville, S. C. and they have two children, Linda and John, Jr.

Gadson is the fifth director in Penn's 108-year history, and is the first black man to hold the post. Penn Board Chairman James McBride Dabbs, in announcing the appointment, said "Mr. Gadson's extensive administrative experience, his involvement with Penn, and his record of leadership in community activit-

(continued on page 3)

LOCAL PROGRAM LAUNCHED

PENN has historically been involved in local activities. As the agency has grown and its work has come to include several other Southern states, concern has been expressed that we not lose our local focus.

Consequently, a program has been established to deal solely with Beaufort and neighboring Jasper Counties. One Penn staff member will work full-time on this project in a catalytic role encouraging action and providing services to a variety of local groups. The first project being worked on is an attempt to establish a vegetable marketing co-op for farmers on Saint Helena Island. Other specific programs will be designated by an advisory committee composed of local residents and the director of Penn.

After partial funding was received from the Taconic Foundation, the program was begun on January 1 of this year. The Penn executive committee appointed Joseph McDomick, Jr. to fill the position.

In appointing McDomick, the committee emphasized the importance they attach to the program, for he is one of our most experienced staff members. A native of Louisiana and graduate of Southern University in Baton Rouge, McDomick served two years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Brazil before joining the Penn staff in 1964 as a field supervisor. He worked with the Community Development Training Program, and in

(continued on page 3)

ABOUT PENN CENTER

(This article originally appeared in the local OEO newsletter. Bill Engelhardt, who wrote it, was co-director of Penn's Community Development Training Program from 1967-69.)

"What is Penn anyway?" This is the ceaseless question asked of Penn staff members. Usually there is an added comment, "I've heard some strange things about Penn...mostly bad." Others add the opposite comment, "Ive heard nothing but wonderful things about Penn..."

Penn is an organization comprised of people. In the long history of the agency these people have accomplished some very worthwhile things; they have also made errors. So let us start by clarifying what Penn is not. She is not all powerful; she is not pure evil; she is not perfect good.

"What is Penn?" First, Penn is history. Her heritage goes back more than a century to the early days of the Civil War. The founders of Penn started in a tiny three-room school house, providing basic education for freedmen, those who were legally freed from slavery during the Civil War. For forty years Penn continued to provide basic education; for forty more years, Penn was an industrial school, teaching carpentry, cobbling, basket weaving, etc. Then Penn became a community center, providing local people with a place to meet and work out problems. Soon the facilities began to be used for conferences of groups from all over the South, there being very few other places that black and white people could meet. Finally, a few years ago, staff members started working throughout Beaufort County with community groups. More recently, Penn has been going beyond Beaufort County, to the rest of the state, to other states, even becoming involved with other countries through Peace Corps programs.

Penn is also a pioneer. She was among the first to offer educational opportunity to freedmen a century ago. She was among the first to attempt a new approach to bring change to the rural South, through the Community Development Training Program which completed its final training session in October, 1969. This program rested on the conviction that Southern rural leaders, low-income people, have been working hard, voluntarily, to improve conditions; they continue to be one of the greatest hopes of the South. The program, funded largely by the Ford Foundation, located these leaders; brought them to Penn to learn for fifteen weeks, in field communities and in the classroom, obtaining direct, practical experience in working with community organizations. They have gone back home to different states where change is taking place. Their work is still voluntary but they have new skills, new insights, new abilities.

Penn continues to be a pioneer. Today she is exploring the frontiers of change in the South to identify the most relevant role for the future. Conversations are taking place with other agencies in an effort to increase coordination, re-evaluate the needs of the South, and work out joint programs. What Penn's role will be a year from now, no one can say. There will be about six months of exploration of the new frontiers before this old pioneer assumes her new responsibilities for the 1970's.

What is Penn? Penn is people, people working with other people. Penn has facilities to provide room and board to groups having conferences, workshops, retreats, etc; facilities are also available for local communities. Penn has programs, the training program mentioned above, occasional Peace Corps training programs, others. But most of all, Penn is people.

(GADSON: continued)
ies ably suit him for the job."

Gadson has been active locally through the NAACP, the Beaufort County Voters League, and the Beaufort Education Committee, of which he is chairman.

BLACK STUDIES

PENN is examining the possibility of establishing a black cultural resource center on its campus.

Ideas that have been suggested include a museum, drawing on the many materials from Penn's past, and the development of an institute to train both students and teachers in the field.

We hope that this center, when established, will form an integral part of our program and that its facilities will be used by conference groups and visitors as well as speicalists in the area. A search for possible sources of funding has begun.

(McDOMICK: continued)
January, 1969 was named to the post of co-director.

He has been active in community affairs, serving as vice-chairman and chairman of the steering committee of the Beaufort County Voters League. He is now serving his second term as Penn's representative on the Beaufort-Jasper OEO board, where he serves on the personnel committee.

McDomick, his wife Nersene, and their three children, live in Jasmine cottage on the Penn campus.

MEETING

Is your church or organization looking for a quiet place to hold a conference? Penn has facilities to accommodate groups of up to 100 people overnight, with meeting rooms and meals served in our cafeteria. Rates are quite reasonable. For information and reservations, contact Dave Roberts, Conference Coordinator, Penn Center, Frogmore, South Carolina 29920.

NEWS NOTES IN BRIEF

Georgia State Representative Julian Bond came to Beaufort in December to speak at a rally of the County Voters League.....Leroy Browne, Superintendent of buildings and grounds, has nearly completed work on the addition being made to the Penn Nursery.....175 students from around the South attended a Christmas conference of Liberal Religious Youth at Penn... .....Penn director John Gadson and executive secretary Frieda Mitchell have been elected to the board of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.....Gadson attended the recent White House Conference on Hunger and Malnutrition.....Newsmen have been coming back to Beaufort recently to see what progress has been made in eradicating conditions of poverty and hunger in the past year. Their conclusion: not much. This points out the inadequacy of current programs and the need for a more comprehensive attack on the problems.....January 15 was the 41st birthday of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Penn declared a holiday and prepared a special half-hour program of King's speeches for broadcast on the local radio station. King was a frequent visitor at Penn, with his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. A group of congressmen is seeking to make his birthday a national holiday.....A storm in the fall and a three-day cold spell in January caused some damage to Penn buildings. The repair work on them has now been completed.....A very informative newsletter on education in South Carolina, entitled "Your Schools" is available from the American Friends Service Committee, 401 Columbia Building, Columbia, South Carolina 29203.....The new address for Courtney and Elizabeth Siceloff is Peace Corps, c/o American Embassy, Kabul, Afghanistan.

A German chemical firm, BASF, has announced plans to build a plant in Beaufort County that promises to provide several hundred jobs. Penn staff members are working to try and insure that fair hiring practices will be used.....Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was designed to provide special assistance to school systems with high concentrations of low-income children. A report on this program, entitled Is It Helping Poor Children? has been prepared by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the Washington Research Project, 1823 Jefferson Place N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.....Penn executive secretary Frieda Mitchell, who serves on the Beaufort County School board, was one of the field participants in the Title I Task Force Conference sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education in December.....Further information on Title I programs is available from the Division of Compensatory Education, U. S. Office of Education, 400 Maryland Avenue S.W., Washington, D. C. 20202.....There are a number of books currently available in paperback which deal with important aspects of the history of the local area. Willie Lee Rose's Rehearsal for Reconstruction tells the story of the Federal "experiment" conducted here during the Civil War. Dorothy Sterling's Captain of The Planter is a biography of Robert Smalls, war hero and Reconstruction congressman from Beaufort. Thomas Wentworth Higginson's Army Life in a Black Regiment is the classic story by the commander of the black regiment which fought here during the Civil War. The book has just been reissued with a new introduction by Howard Meyer, author of Higginson's biography.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
Frogmore, South Carolina 29920

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Non-Profit Org.
POSTAGE PAID
Frogmore, S. C.
Permit No. 1

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

C.W. Look this over
I will respond, but
would like for
you to be in on it.
Emory
CW

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
BOX A
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

JOHN W. GADSON, SR.
DIRECTOR

(803) 838-2432
ADMINISTRATION: ~~(803) 524-4037~~
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: ~~(803) 524-5555~~

August 31, 1970

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum that I have presented to our staff members and I am now submitting to persons like yourself who are involved in economic matters and also knows Penn Community Services. I would like very much to have your reactions to this approach and your ideas for implementation. Please let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

John

John W. Gadson, Sr.

JWG/sb
Enclosure

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: John W. Gadson, Sr.

TO: Executive-Finance Committee and
Program Review Committee

SUBJECT: New Program Thrust

DATE: August 21, 1970

Attached is a brief outline of a paper I presented to our staff on Tuesday, August 18, 1970. I am proposing this as our main program thrust for the next several years. Those staff members responded relatively positively and agreed that economic development is probably a timely focal point for Penn. I am mailing this to you to asked that you take a few minutes out and react to this brief outline as a focal point for Penn's New Thrust. I will appreciate your reaction as early as possible since it will help determine our next step.

Your comments are eagerly solicited.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES

New Program Approach

John W. Gadson, Sr.

I have given considerable thought to the kind of programs that should be undertaken in the rural black community, and more importantly, how Penn Community Services, Inc., with its long history of significant contributions can continue to be a force under my directorship with the guidance of our present Board of Trustees and Committees.

Based upon feelings, indications, apparent needs of the rural community and present needs and moods of the black community, I am proposing our major program thrust for the next several years be in the area of Economic Development. I propose that we proceed from a position in which we can actually accomplish some short ranged goals to the point of recommending and helping to accomplish some major economic projects in rural communities. There are many possibilities in this regard. I am proposing one possible approach.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS DEFINED IN THIS PROPOSAL:

Economic Development as defined in this proposal has three main points:

1. The improvement of the number of blacks employed in existing industries and governmental sub-divisions in the rural areas. This includes increasing the number of blacks in non-traditional jobs in these existing industries. It also means the employment of blacks who are aware and sensitive to the needs and the mood of the black community. State and County sub-divisions will be a prime target.

2. Economic Development also means working with individual owners of small businesses to improve their businesses, as well as working with individuals to start new businesses. It includes working with groups to build group enterprises and form cooperatives, and working with large corporations to get them to construct divisions in local areas for local production and employment.

3. The third point in the definition of Economic Development is working towards building communities through community organization, improvement in education, an understanding of the use and forces of politics and other community actions necessary to meet our goals.

DATA PROGRAM:

This phase is concerned basically with staff preparation for work in Economic Development. We will gather and concentrate on information from various sources of economic development and learn

about the possibilities, what is feasible, what has been done by others, and who are the people doing economic projects. There may also be on sight visitations to other projects. Short and long range goal setting may take place at this time.

EXISTING INDUSTRY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM: (Steps towards our goals)

1. Compile a list of all industries in the target area that employ five or more persons.

2. Find out how many people they employ, how many are black and how many are white.

3. Develop graphic materisls to show the fairness or unfairness of their employment practices.

4. Prepare information on hwo blacks relate to such agencies, firms or organizations. Service agencies as well as production and sales organizations will be studied. Examples would include: Federal installations, County Government, City Government, Stores, Utility Companies, Banks, manufacturing outlets, etc.

5. After gathering the information, a planned systematic distribution of the information will be mounted. Working with the community and its organizations, objectives will be set. Negotiation and collaboration will be the initial methods used to reach our goals. However, in situations where these methods do not work, other methods will be used. Among these methods are: group pressure, selective buying campaigns, political pressure through community action, and educational programs.

6. There might also be the organization of people like hospital workers, domestic workers, hotel workers, and common laborers.

NEW ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS:

1. The staff will work with individuals who own samll businesses or have the potential to develop new samll businesses. Examples: stores service relates businesses, boat services, fishing and tackle, clothing, small manufacturing, etc.

2. New methods for the use of land such as fish raising cooperatives, farmers vegetable cooperatives, etc.

3. Work with groups to help form community corporations.

4. Work to attract new industries by contracting with corporations to build in the area or contract for goods from the area.

EDUCATION PROGRAM:

Along with our other efforts there will be an educational program aimed at young people and adults. The first educational effort may take the form of a systematic distribution of printed materials on economics, politics, education, government, etc. In addition to the mailing of information there may be meetings with small gourps in communities on items of interest to that particular

community. We will progress from this type of informal meeting to conducting classes in a varitey of subjects that may help us reach our goals. Classes may be conducted in such areas as: citizenship, political systems, economic systems, cooperatives, land use, power bases, methods of community change, building a community, and black unity and culture.

Maximum use of the news media and other resources to educate the community will be employed.

TARGET:

Our program will aim at improvement in the economic status of the black community through a better employment ratio in existing industries, increases ownership of businesses, better education and more effective use of existing economic assets.

EXISTING ACTIVITIES:

I see no conflict with our present concern for education, civil rights, black awareness and other activities. I see the economic thrust as giving our activities a focal point.

If as a staff and Board we feel that we are able to proceed under these guidelings we will immediately set for ourselves deadlines, goals and target dates.

PLEASE USE THE ATTACHED SHEET FOR YOUR IMMEDIATE REACTIONS

Job Plan for Blacks Set for Lowcountry

Penn — Community Series

By WILLIAM H. WHITTEN
Georgia-Carolina Editor

FROGMORE, S.C.—A major program aimed toward economic development and the finding of jobs for more black citizens in the Beaufort-Jasper county, S.C. area termed "a major program thrust for the next several years" has been announced by John Gadson, director of the Penn Community Center here.

The details of the program came following a conference on economic development held at the PCC sponsored by the National Urban Coalition. The NUC is made up of businessmen, labor workers, mayors and governors, and representatives of minority groups.

Included among areas of study are:

—Development of an economic information center to compile a list of area businesses employing five or more persons to determine how many, if any, are black.

—The expansion of the Penn Community Center facilities into a major conference center.

—Re-establishment of a marketing cooperative for vegetables on St. Helena Island.

—Consideration of the use of modular or pre-fabricated housing units to aid rural housing.

—Legal assistance, especially in clearing titles to land.

—Improving public transportation facilities; and

—Improving marketing methods for small farmers.

"We need to work towards building better communities throughout Beaufort and Jasper counties through community organization and through an understanding of the use and forces of politics and other community actions," Gadson said.

Eleven specialists in rural economic development from five southern states met with some 25 Beaufort and Jasper County community leaders at Penn for the conference. Co-chairman with Gadson was Carl Holman, vice president for policy and program development of the UNC in Washington.

"Based upon the apparent needs of the rural community and the present needs and moods of the black community, I am proposing that our major program thrust for the next several years to be in the area of economic development," Gadson said.

He called the program for finding more jobs for blacks "interwoven with a program for improving existing small businesses run by blacks, and helping to start new businesses including cooperatives, as program for education in economic development."

Holman told the meeting, "We in The National Urban Coalition are convinced that there is a basic interrelationship between urban and rural problems, and between the needs of our citizens in the north and those in the south."

"We have heard about the local frustration over jobs, and even before inflation began to take its heavy toll, job creation was seen by the coalition as the major priority for the poor and the near poor throughout the nation," he said.

Palmetto Edition

Savannah Morning News
Sunday, September 27, 1970
SAVANNAH EVENING PRESS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
BOX A
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

JOHN W. GADSON
DIRECTOR

Dear Friend:

I have been the director of Penn for a year now, and I would like to take this opportunity to share with you some of my thoughts on where we have been and where we are going.

For more than a century Penn has been committed to improving the condition of black people. It began in 1862 as the first school for freed slaves in the South, and over the next 86 years provided an education for several generations of students who otherwise would have been denied schooling.

When a public school was finally built here in 1948, Penn sought new ways to be of service to the community. Opening its facilities to conference groups, Penn was for many years the only place in South Carolina where interracial groups could meet. Our staff was responsible for bringing federal programs like Operation Headstart into the area.

Those years were well spent, and helped to establish a climate where others could pick up on the programs Penn had pioneered. But it is not enough to rest on our laurels. The question always remains of how to move forward, how to step out and lead others in new directions.

The enclosed clipping will give you some idea of the field we have chosen. In an area which has gained national notoriety for poverty, hunger, and malnutrition, we feel that the most important contribution we can make is to organize a meaningful program of economic development. You may have noticed the quote in our recent newsletter: "The best way out of poverty is a good job with decent wages." This will be our guiding philosophy, and we intend to approach this task with all the dedication that people have come to expect of Penn over the years.

This has been a good year, in which we have all been heartened by the generous support of our friends. But it has also been a difficult year. Inflation and recession have cut into our traditional sources of income. We suffered a great loss with the death of our Board Chairman, James McBride Dabbs. But it is not Penn's way to give up.

So we come to you again to ask for your support. We feel that we are moving in a creative direction with this new program, and hope that you will agree.

Sincerely,

John W. Gadson

John W. Gadson

P.S. *Contributions to Penn are tax exempt. We are enclosing a return envelope for your convenience.*

PENN NEWS

File

Penn Community Services, Inc.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

NOVEMBER, 1970

GATCH HONORED

Dr. Donald Gatch, the local physician who helped to focus national attention on conditions of poverty and hunger in South Carolina, was honored by a testimonial in Beaufort on October 10. Over a hundred people attended.

The testimonial honored Gatch for his work, and was also designed to express public support of him in his campaign to retain his license to practice medicine. His friends presented him with a plaque and a purse of contributions received from supporters all across the country.

Gatch's publicity about local conditions made him a controversial figure here and he was subjected to much harassment. Last November the Beaufort County Grand Jury indicted him on 4 counts of violating the state drug laws. Three of these charges were dropped, and Gatch pleaded guilty to the minor charge of failing to keep adequate records as prescribed by South Carolina law. He was given the maximum fine of $500 for this violation, and the judge ordered that a transcript of the trial be sent to the State Board of Medical Examiners in Columbia to decide whether or not there were grounds for suspending or revoking his license. The Board has postponed hearing the case, and no definite date has yet been set.

In the meantime, Gatch has been (continued on page 2)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Penn was the co-sponsor with the National Urban Coalition of a conference on economic development held here in September.

The conference brought together people from several states who are working actively to promote black economic development in rural southern communities. Among the projects discussed were: cooperatives, credit unions, day care centers, catfish farms and low-income housing. Community leaders from Beaufort and Jasper counties attended.

Carl Holman from the National Urban Coalition pointed out the interconnections between rural and urban problems, and said: "We came to Penn in search of useful ideas and working models for economic development in the southern region."

Penn director John Gadson outlined for the conference his ideas for a new Penn program in the area of economic development which will both work towards equal employment opportunity in existing jobs and the creation of new jobs.

After the conference, Gadson took a trip to Mississippi to see some of the projects that are being tried and may be relevant to the work we hope to do in South Carolina.

There is no question of the great need. As one man said: "The best way out of poverty is a good job with decent wages."

(GATCH: continued from page 1)

hired as a physician with the new Beaufort and Jasper Comprehensive Health Services--a program which was instituted recently in response to the national publicity given to poverty in the area. Thomas Barnwell, Jr. of Hilton Head, S.C., a member of the Penn Board of Trustees, is currently interim director of the program.

The fact that the comprehensive health program has been instituted here is demonstrative of the fact that the Beaufort-Jasper area has a great shortage of doctors. South Carolina ranks 49th among the 50 states in the number of physicians per thousand residents. Taking away the license of one of the most conscientious local doctors would hardly seem to be a rational response to this situation.

Petitions in support of Dr. Gatch are being circulated in the community, and his supporters all across the country are making their views known to public officials and the news media.

BEQUESTS

Penn has often had reason to be thankful to its supporters who remembered us in their wills. The gifts thus received have buoyed us up in times of financial crisis and enabled us to make many improvements on the campus. Our recreation center, a combination shuffleboard-tennis-basketball court is one of many examples that could be cited.

Our friends occasionally ask how they can make bequests to Penn in their wills. Our attorneys advise that the following is probably the best way to word your bequest:

"I hereby give and bequeath $_____ to Penn Community Services, Inc., Frogmore, S.C. 29920."

LIBRARY

Penn in recent months has received complimentary copies of over 250 books from various publishing firms. Mostly paperbacks, they include fiction and nonfiction by and about black people and the conditions they face at home and abroad. It is a very wide selection, representing the full range of the black experience from ancient Africa to the latest works of the new black writers. Scholarly works in the fields of history, sociology, and linguistics are included as well as novels, plays, and poetry.

We look forward to making this library an integral part of our projected black cultural center, which will draw on the rich history of the Sea Islands.

AFRICAN KINGDOM DAY

Penn was the site of an African Kingdom Day Celebration in August. 75 people braved the rainy weather to participate, and they were captivated by the explanation and demonstration given of African ceremonies and the meaning of African customs.

Chief Ademola Adeyemi of the Yoruba Cultural Restoration Movement said that Beaufort County was the ideal site for the celebration because it is "the most African of any place in America."

The program featured a welcome dance, singing, and tribal procession. Workshops were held on African arts, music, language, customs, and theology. There were demonstrations of such traditional ceremonies as ancestor worship rites and salutations to the gods.

Penn hopes to make the kind of intercultural awareness fostered by this ceremony a continuing program in the area, according to director John W. Gadson.

ANNUAL BEAUFORT WATER FESTIVAL CRITICIZED

For the past 15 years, Beaufort has had a Water Festival in the summer. This year's festival was part of the South Carolina Tricentennial celebration and received additional publicity because of this fact.

This year also, for the first time, leaders of the black community protested the fact that the Water Festival had traditionally been an all white affair.

"The Tricentennial Water Festival celebration was conceived as a reflection of the total community," said Penn director John W. Gadson, "and Beaufort County has been predominantly black almost ever since it was settled. Yet there is nothing in the celebration that recognizes the black heritage or many contributions of blacks to this community."

He also protested that "By scheduling activities at Fripp Island, Lady's Island Country Club and the Hilton Head resort area, the planners have revealed their intent to exclude a certain element of the community from full participation."

NOTED IN PASSING.....

Penn director John Gadson has been named to the Beaufort County Planning Commission.....South Carolina Educational Television has prepared a series of three programs dealing with St. Helena Island and the history of Penn School. The series is based on a volume of photographs *The Face of an Island* collected from our historical materials by Mrs. James McBride Dabbs, widow of the late Penn board chairman. The book is scheduled for publication shortly by the R.L. Bryan Company of Columbia, S.C.....Penn Trustee James Felder, a Columbia attorney, has become one of the first three black men elected to the South Carolina legislature in this century. The others are Herbert U. Fielding of Charleston and I. S. Leevy Johnson of Columbia. Felder's law pertner, Thomas Broadwater, was the first black man to seek the South Carolina governorship, as the candidate of the newly-formed United Citizens Party.....Miss Sadie Brown, who worked in the Penn office for the past two years under the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, has completed her service and is now enrolled at the Area Trade School in Beaufort.....Miss Arthur Mae Cohen and Miss Prestine Holmes, two high school students from Frogmore, are now working part-time in the office under the NYC program.....Penn's Beaufort-Jasper Community Development Project has had its staff increased by the addition of Mrs. Frieda Mitchell as a field worker. Mrs. Mitchell has worked in the Penn office for several years and has been involved in an impressive array of community activities. She is an elected member of the Beaufort County School Board and a trustee of the Sheldon Day Care Center in her home community. She was recently named to the South Carolina Advisory Committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.....Beacon Press has published *The Trial Record of Denmark Vesey* with an informative historical introduction by John O. Killens that places in context the famous slave rebellion that shook South Carolina in 1822. The standard work on the general subject, Herbert Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts*, first published in 1943, is available in a new paperback edition from International Publishers.....The Penn Community Club has reinstituted the old tradition of the community sing. On the third Sunday of each month from October thru May, people will gather at Frissell Hall to sing the spirituals for which the island is so famous..... .....A new paper that covers the other side of the news is the *Carolina Plain Dealer*. Sample copies are available for 25¢ each from P. O. Box

11399,Columbia, S.C. 29211.....Penn could use a 16 mm. movie camera and a good tape recorder. If any of our supporters would like to donate either one, they would be gratefully received. Also, we are always happy to receive additional names of interested people to be placed on our mailing list.....A report entitled *Majority-Black School Districts in the 11 Southern States* is available for $2.00 a copy from the Race Relations Information Center, Box 6156, Nashville, Tenn. 37212. It includes a lengthy descriptive account of conditions in three South Carolina school districts: Allendale, Fairfield and Williamsburg.....Informative monthly coverage of the civil rights movement is provided by the *Southern Patriot.* Subscriptions are $3.00 a year, sample copies 30¢ each from SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky 40211.....World Publishing Company has just brought out a new book by newsmen Jack Nelson and Jack Bass entitled *The Orangeburg Massacre*. It is the story of the events leading up to the killing of three students and the wounding of 27 others on the campus of South Carolina State College by highway patrolmen in 1968. It is important reading for anyone concerned with South Carolina.

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

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FROGMORE, S.C. 29920

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S.R.C.- 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

JUN 21 1971

PENN NEWS

Penn Community Services, Inc.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

June 15, 1971

EDUCATION BEAUFORT COUNTY STYLE

Beaufort County voters recently voted a resounding "NO"! to the referendum proposal on a 5.8 million dollar bond issue for a central senior high school. At the same time the school board and administration and H.E.W. continue their "peek-a-boo numbers game" over federal funds.

This would all be rather funny if students were getting some kind of education in the County. But hundreds of students were summarily and illegally suspended last year, thus cutting them off from even sips of learning possible under the Double Sessions Disaster.

Education Beaufort County Style is not a comedy, it is a tragedy.

THE SEA ISLAND FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

The Sea Island Federal Credit Union is in business to help the people of the island. During its history it has loaned to its members more than $36,000.00 and it now has more than 300 members.

More important, however, is the future of the Union. In the past two years, Credit Union assets have gained by $3,000.00 and now exceed $10.000.00.

The Union this year paid a dividend of 4 1/2%. This base makes the future of the Union bright if:

(Continued on Page 2)

NEW PEOPLE ON THE STAFF

Penn Center's new programs have brought new members with a wealth of experience and talent. They include:

George Smith, a 1964 graduate of Clark College, has joined our economic development project. He has completed work for his Masters in Business Administration at Atlanta University. A native of Macon, Georgia, he is married to the former Miss Joyce Bowder of Atlanta, and they have two children. George has held positions at Mobile Oil and IBM. He comes to Frogmore from the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn, New York.

Oginga Odinga, formerly Oliver Pope, hails most recently from Denmark, South Carolina. He has completed three years of his college education and has extensive experience in teaching Black history to community groups in Philadelphia, Augusta, Georgia, and South Carolina. Oginga is Conference Coordinator and will work also with the Cultural Program now underway.

Mrs. Jane Sapp, now heads the Cultural Program. She is from Augusta, Georgia and holds a degree in music. In addition, Mrs. Sapp has done considerable work in music, the formation of professional singing groups, and instruction in Black Studies

(Continued on Page 2)

THE SEA ISLAND FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

1. *YOU BECOME A MEMBER.*

2. *YOU, AS A MEMBER, INCREASE YOUR SHARES*

3. *YOU, AS A MEMBER, BUY YOUR NEXT T.V. SET, REFRIGERATOR, WASHING MACHINE, SET OF TIRES, LAWN MOWER, WITH A CREDIT UNION LOAN.*

The Board of Directors
Sea Island Federal
Credit Union

CONFERENCES AT PENN

(April, 1971)
Student Organization for Black Unity
100 people- 5 days

Federation of Southern Cooperatives
20 people- 3 days

Comprehensive Health Service
46 people- 3 days

Economic Development Conference
40 people- 3 days

Comprehensive Health-second conference
40 people- 3 days

Berkely County Students
25 people- 2 days

Sea Island Citizens Council
15 people- 2 days

(June, 1971)
Student Organization for Black Unity
85 people- 12 sdays

Urban League-Columbia, SC
20 people- 1 day

NEW PEOPLE ON STAFF

Programs at Miles College, and has completed a year's study of Black Heritage through the Southern Education Foundation's Intern Program.

These staff members are welcomed additions to the community. Other staff members aboard at the Center are:

John W. Gadson, Sr.-Exe. Director
Joseph McDomick - Coordinator of the Beaufort-Jasper Project
Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell- Supervisor of the Beaufort-Jasper Project
Leroy Browne- Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds
Mrs. Jessiemae Warren-Bookkeeper
Mrs. Jeanette White- Exe. Secretary
Miss Sadie Brown- Part-time Office Assistant
Miss Annie Bell Daise- NYC
Miss Barbara Jackson-NYC
Miss Cassie Brisbane-NYC
Miss Constance Coaxum-NYC
Attorney Charles Washington-Legal
George Paris- Farmers Coop
Ray Carpenter- Farmers Coop
Ezekiel Green-Operation Mainstream
Miss Felecia Glover-Sec'ty, Coop

ON PASSING TWO NEGROES ON A DARK COUNTRY ROAD SOMEWHERE IN GEORGIA

This road is like a tomb
Carrying souls to stranger realms.
A broken face, patched pants, moonlight, Late dinner and sleep in a Crowded room.
Let us hope that our gods dance
And eat cornbread from a wooden spoon
When night enters
With a cool breeze
To sooth an aching back.

Conrad Kent Rivers
From New Negro Poets: USA

EDITORIAL

For the past year, Penn has been moving in significant directions. This movement has not been highly visible to the causual Penn-watcher because it has been mental brainstorming. Staff, Board members, consultants, friends, and associates of Penn Center have been busily engaged in mapping out, putting together, formulating and laying foundations for what promises to be the most comprehensive program of Community Service in the 107-year history of Penn.

As this program unfolds, Penn will be touching base with more and more institutions, agencies, and people in Beaufort, Jasper, and neighboring counties of Hampton, Colleton, and Charleston. We will need and will ask for support in many ways and in many places.

This, then, is our way of predicting that in the months and years ahead, readers of Penn News will witness highly visible efforts of Penn Center.

POINTS OF LAND LAW

This is the first in a series of shat notes on Land Law being published by Black Land Services, Inc.

In order to make a valid Will, the law requires certain technical things. You should have a lawyer handle this for you. The fee is usually $15-$25 and you save many times more if you died without one.

If you are old enough to buy life insurance, you are old enough to make a will.

A Will can be changed any time, or as many times as you want to, because it does not become final until death. (Then, of course, you can't change it)

Continued

(Continued)

POINTS OF LAND LAW

A Will does not need to be recorded, and even the witnesses do not need to know what it contains. If you think your Will may be stolen, lost or destroyed, you can put it in the Probate Court Office for safekeeping.

BLACK LAND SERVICES

Now in operation, Project Black Land is an idea born at Penn as a part of Black Economic Development. The program is designed to prevent further loss of Black land ownership by tax sales, foreclosure, and partition sales and develop land as a vast asset of the community. It will mobilize technical and professional assistance to achieve these goals and initially operate in Beaufort, Jasper, Hampton, Colleton, and portions of Charleston Counties. In its first phases, a non-profit corporation sponsored by Penn will conduct an inventory of tax sales in the counties for the past ten years, notify owners of the status of their property and provide assistance in critical situations threatening loss of land.

The governing Board of Directors consists of residents of the counties affected and some Penn Trustees.

The project is a pioneer effort and already is receiving national attention and favorable comment from those persons and organizations who recognize the situation as being urgently in need of action on a massive scale.

Readers of Penn News can give their contribution to "Project Black Land" in many ways.

(Continued on Page 4)

BLACK LAND SERVICES CON'T

You can --

1. *Find out more about it by writing Penn News for more details.*

2. *You can tell other people that if they have a land problem, to contact Penn Center; or tell Black Land Services about your land problem.*

3. *You can make your contribution. (Tax Deductible) to Black Land Services, Inc., now.*

The next issue of Penn News will carry announcements of a series of educational programs by Black Land Services Inc.

DAY CARE CENTERS IN BEAUFORT AND JASPER COUNTIES

It is evident that the interest in child day care centers exists in Beaufort and Jasper Counties, as well as throughout the state. The five centers that are now operating in the two counties are providing a much needed service to families who work and need a place where they know that their children are receiving proper care. The programs at the centers may vary slightly, depending on the availability of assistance they are receiving, but basically, they have the same goals: To provide well-balanced diet, to provide a healthy and wholesome atmosphere where preschool children can play, rest, and learn how to get along with their peers.

One common problem that faces all of the centers is the lack of funds to operate as efficiently as they would like to. Most of these centers are not really funded but raise funds on a week-to-week basis for operational costs. Some have been able to get small grants from the United Fund and other private sources, but for the most part, these centers are supported by the communities where they are located.

DAY CARE CENTERS IN BEAUFORT AND JASPER COUNTIES CON'T

The Special Food Services Program for Children under the U. S. Department of Agriculture has been of tremendous assistance to the day care centers. Under this program, some centers are subsidized up to 80 percent of the cost of food. All of the centers in the two counties are participating in this program. The surplus commodities handled through the school lunch program are also available to day care centers. The problem is getting funds to pay a staff rather than to buy food.

There are funds available for day care centers under Title IV of the Social Cecurity Act, but the state of South Carolina has not appropriated money in its overall budget for day care centers, therefore, we are not eligible for federal funds under this Act. An effort is being made to organize around the matter of day care service to low-income working families.

THE SEA ISLAND FARMERS COOPERATIVE

Some 50 small farmers have organized and incorporated the Sea Island Farmers Cooperative and on June 9th began operating the Packing House on Penn's campus. They hope to handle more than 65,000 bushels of tomatoes during the season. With the assistance of Penn Center, the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, and the Eastman Fund, the cooperative purchased over 220 tons of fertilizer at a savings to members of over $15 per ton.

The Cooperative is still selling shares in its capitol stock and its expected to have a marked effect on the local economy to the benefit of its members. In its planned operation the cooperative has the assistance of Mr. George Paris, Marketing Specialist, and Mr. Ray Carpenter, Accountant, from the Federation of Southern Coopertaives.

(CONTINUED)

THE SEA ISLAND FARMERS COOPERATIVE"

Officers of the Corporation include:

Mr. Arthur Smalls, President
Mr. Jack Johnson, Vice President
Mr. Nathaniel Johnson, Secretary
Mr. James Chaplin, Treasurer

CAUCUS OF BLACK SCHOOL
BOARD MEMBERS

A state caucus of black school board members has been formed which has a membership of approximately 50 black school board members from across the state. It was felt that in order to deal with some of the many problems that face blacks throughout the state in the transition from segregated school systems to a unitary one, black school board members need to come together regularly and address themselves to these problems and posible solutions.

A week-end training conference was held at Penn Conference Center on March 19-21 for members of the Caucus. The onference was well attended by representatives from 32 counties. The agenda included a panel discussion which used as its theme "The Black school Board Members Looks at His Role." Participants included Mr. Robert Brown, School Supertintendent from Green County, Alabama, as well as the five members of his all black school board.

SEDFRE provided technical assistance to the group, and Mrs. Shirley Lacy, Director of Training was most helpful to the group. Mr. Preston Wilcox, Director of AFRAM associates in New York City also participated as a resource person, as well as other state and local persons. The Voter Education Project in Atlanta, GA provided financial aid to the group,

CAUCUS OF BLACK SCHOOL
BOARD MEMBERS

and Mr. Thad Olive from that office participated.

The conference, according to participants' evaluation was quite beneficial and gave strength and inspiration to those who participated.

NOTES IN PASSING....

Charles E. Washington, Jr. has been elected Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Beaufort-Jasper Economic Opportunity Commission, Inc. (EOC).... The book, Face of an Island by Mrs. Edith M. Dabbs is available at Penn Center. The book is a collection of photographs from Penn's historical materials by Viking Press. ... At its annual meeting in April the Penn Board of Trustees elected William Clement, Jr., Atlanta, Chairman: George Trask, Beaufort and Atlanta, Vice Chairman; Jacob Richardson, Beaufort, Secretary: Herbert A. DeCosta, Charleston, Treasurer. New members elected are Mrs. Shirley Lacy, Director of Technical Assistance SEDFRE, New York: James E. Clyburn, Special Assistant to the Governor of South Carolina; Robert S. Browne, Fairleigh Dickerson College, Director of the Black Economic Research Center, New York; Paul Matthias, Executive Director, S. C. Council on Human Relations; William Jefferies, Attorney, Washington, DC: David Franklin, Attorney, Washinton, DC. Penn's Board now numbers 33 members.... Penn needs photograph equipment, an offset press, a small switchboard. If any of our friends know a business or organization with any of these, please let us know... All donations to Penn are tax deductible.... The Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health

NOTES IN PASSING

Program, under the direction of Mr. Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr., a graduate of Penn and new Trustee of the center has recruited three new Medical doctors to the area of Beaufort and Jasper Counties. The program is still looking for a dentist, and a pharmacist. For information write Mr. Barnwell at 916 Bay Street, Beaufort, South Carolina 29902...There are three centers now in operation in Beaufort and Jasper Counties. One is scheduled for St. Helena in the fall.... U. S. Department of Labor statictics show that the unemployment rate for Black workers was 10.5% for the month of May. The average for all workers was 6.2%.... The unemployment rate for Black females was 10.6%, for white females it was 5.7%, the highest rate of unemployment for white females since September, 1971... Courtney Siceloff, former director of Penn, visited Penn the last weekend in May. He was in the country from his assignment in Kabul, Afghanistan.....

BLACK LIBERATION READING LIST

1. *Carter G. Woodson, The Miseducation of the Negro**
2. *Stokely Carmicheal, Black Power*
3. *W.E.B. DuBois, The World land Africa**
4. *Earl Anthony, Picking up the Gun**
5. *H. Rap Brown, Die, Nigger, Die*
6. *Ralph Gensburg, One Hundred Years of Lynching*
7. *Kwame Nhwmak, Africa Must Unite*

"Read to Understand, Understand to Know What to Do"

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE

ON

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE

COASTAL PLAINS AREA OF SOUTH CAROLINA
July 31, 1971

Penn Center, Frogmore, South Carolina

A group of twenty persons assembled at Penn Center, Frogmore, South Carolina on July 31, 1971 as a follow-up to the conference on Economic Development held April 21, 22, 23, 1971. The twenty persons present represented organizations in the Coastal Plains engaged in economic and health ventures in the region. The purpose of the conference was to receive the report of the Ad Hoc Committee set up at the April meeting.

Rodney Albert of the S. C. Council on Human Relations reviewed the April meeting. The main purpose of that meeting was "to explore the possibilities of developing a comprehensive coordinated strategy for economic development in the coastal plains area of South Carolina." He reviewed the main points evolved from that discussion as:

--The need in the area for a comprehensive approach to development

--The situation is one of urgency. Bureaucratic procedures are too slow. Self-help coops are the key

--An alternative to the coop is the community development corporation

--Legal services are an essential component of development

--CAP Agencies should write legal aid into their budgets

--A community land trust might be a possibility

--Land is important, but it is not enough for people to own it; they must be in position to use it profitably

Rodney also emphasized that we must avail ourselves to the long ranged planning that has been done by the Coastal Plains Commission.

The conference appointed an Ad Hoc Committe to do the following:

1. To undertake a "study" to determine the areas in which there would be advantages for a coalition of efforts

2. The committee recommends that the geographical area for this coalition be defined as the coastal plains of South Carolina

3. The committee isto develop a short statement of objectives based on the discussions of the conference

4. The committee is to call a conference of South Carolina coastal plains representatives to accept or reject the findings of the Ad Hoc Committee

5. All of these steps are to take place within the next 90 days (amended to 60 days)

AD HOC COMMITTEE REPORT:

John Gadson, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee reported the findings of the committee.

The committee listed the organizations involved in economic ventures into two catagories as follows:

COMMODITY ORGANIZATIONS

Hilton Head Fishing Cooperative
Bluffton Oyster Cooperative
John's Island Crab Cooperative
Statewide Homes
Colleton County Garmet Factory
Greeleyville Sewing Operation
St. Helena Cooperative
The Santee Cooperative
John's Island Cucumber Cooperative
Sea Island Marketing Cooperative
Jasper County Farmers Cooperative

SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

South Carolina Commission for Farm Workers
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health Services, Inc.
Orangeburg County Consumer Health Program
Charleston County Comprehensive Health Program
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Rural Missions, Inc.
OEO Programs

The list will be improved as other organizations become known to the committee.

A list of common needs of most of the community-based organizations was developed as follows:

1. Capital Needs
2. Credit Needs
3. Technical Assistance
4. Training
5. Legal Assistance
6. Management Training

The recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee are as follows:

1. That we work towards the establishment of a research center in the state to:
   a. gather, publish and disseminate data to community-based organizations
   b. to identify state, federal, local, church, and foundation resources
   c. conduct a study of cooperatives as a means of economic improvement for larger numbers of people in the coastal plains region
   d. to make contact for the funding of a research center as soon as possible

2. Establish lines of communication between/among community-based organizations
   a. establish county or area-wide clearing houses.

3. Develop a list of needs in the coastal plains region and develop these on a priority basis. Some suggestions were:

a. A rural transportation system
b. A broad-based health care program
c. Management training
d. Capital
e. Credit
f. Land
g. Technical Assistance
h. Vocational and Technical Education facilities
i. Housing
j. Legal Services

4. Extend the life of the Ad Hoc Committee to continue some follow-through.

The conference voted on each of the recommendations of the committee. Recommendation 1(c) was changed to read"conduct a study of means of economic improvement for larger numbers of people in the coastal plains region."

After a period of discussion on the recommendations, the conference voted to make the following three needs our priorities:

1. Capital and Credit

2. Management training and Technical Assistance

3. Land retention and use

LUNCH

After lunch, the conference devoted the afternoon to discussing ways of initiating action toward carrying out the recommendations of the committee. After considerable discussion on potential resources, assistance, and alternatives, the conference voted to work toward the formation of a new organization called the "COASTAL PLAINS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL."

Purpose: 1. To conduct needed research

2. To dissiminate information throughout the region

3. To develop projects affecting the region

4. To locate resources

Board of Directors:

The Board of Directors would come mainly from organizations involved in economic development in the coastal plains region, and from state and national organizations interested in assisting the Council.

Staff:

The staff of the Economic Development Council should be kept very small and geared toward assisting existing organizations and the expansion of services in areas of needs.

Membership:

Membership will be made up of organizations in the Coastal Plains. Its services will be made available to those local old and new organizations that choose to become a part of the Council.

1. The Ad Hoc Committee should begin working toward the formation of this organization within thirty days from the date of the conference.

2. The Ad Hoc Committee is to further define the functions of the Council and begin working on the legal aspects of the organization.

3. The Ad Hoc Committee should proceed to work with organizations interested in development of the area and to begin to seek assistance for carrying out the recommendations of the conference.

4. The committee should invite Dr. Shirley Greene of the National Board of Missions of the Methodist Church to work with the committee in writing up a proposal for the Coastal Plains Economic Development Council.

5. The Ad Hoc Committee should call a meeting near the end of September to report on the development of the Council.

The meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

PERSONS PRESENT

NAME	ADDRESS	ORGANIZATION
John W. Gadson, Sr.	Box A, Frogmore, SC	Penn Community Services, Inc.
Philip T. Seabrook	Box 25, Frogmore, SC	St, Helena Coop, Inc.
Eunice M. Rush	P. O. Box 2015 Orangeburg, SC	Orangeburg County Consumer Health Commission
Rodney Albert	1203 Gervais Columbia, SC	S. C. Council on Human Relations
Georgia Good	P. O. Box 2015	Orangeburg County Consumer Health
Al Fields	1008 Lango Ave. Charleston, SC	S. C. Commission for Farm Workers 285 Meeting Street Charleston, SC
George Smith	Box A, Frogmore, SC	Penn Community Services
Rev. Edward Francis	Rt. 1, Box 290	NAACP Moncks Corner, SC
Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr.	P. O. Box 870	Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health Services
Emory S. Campbell	P. O. Box 870	Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health Services
Eva Howard	General Delivery Bluffton, SC	
Maxine Graham	Box 95	Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health Services
Mildred Dorsey	P. O. Box 122	Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health Services
Steven Bates	P. O. Box 671, Conway	Horry-Georgetown EOC
Levern Stevenson	P. O. Box 538	Jasper County Farmers Coop
A. R. McAlister	Rt. 2, Box 127-A	Jasper Co. VEP Organization
Theresa Bright	P. O. Box 56 Ridgeland, SC	Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health Services
Rosa Lawton	Rt. 1, Box 16 Pineland, SC	Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health Services

PENN NEWS

Penn Community Services, Inc.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

OCTOBER 1971

LATHERS TO BE USED AS CLINIC

The Lathers Memorial House, one of eight residential houses on Penn's campus, will be utilized by the Beaufort-Jasper Comprehensive Health Program as an out-reach clinic. This center will make the fourth satellite center established in Beaufort and Jasper Counties.

Since the establishment of the program approximately one year ago, under the direction of Mr. Thomas C. Barnwell, Jr., (a Penn Trustee), Mr. Barnwell has recruited three medical doctors to the area (two are Black and from South Carolina).

The clinic in Lathers is scheduled to open soon.

BUSINESS SEMINARS PRESENTED

The Economic Development Program presented several seminars in Business Management in August to increase the knowledge of Black entreprenuers and managers in Beaufort and Jasper Counties, in three important areas of business operations.

Returns from questionnaires sent to 110 entreprenuers in the bi-county area in July indicated taxes, the law, and recordkeeping are the areas of most concern to the Black business community.

(continue on page 2)

POINTS OF LAND LAW

Published by Black Land Services

When Husband (A) dies without a will leaving his Widow (W), and three children C, D, and E:

W gets a 1/3 interest in A's property and C, D and E shares the remaining 2/3 interest equally.

When A dies without a Will, leaving his Widow (W) and no children:

W gets only 1/2 interest in A's property, and the other 1/2 interest goes to A's nearest relative(s).

Many people believe that W gets all of A's property where there are no children. But even where the deed to the property is to A and W, W does not own the land outright. In this case W would get only 1/2 interest. Thus when A dies W will own a 3/4 interest in the land, and A's nearest relative (s) would own the other 1/4.

This last case calls for A to make a Will in order to protect W.

Under South Carolina law, wife has the right of dower in all lands owned by the husband during their marriage. This includes land that the husband owned before the marriage.

(continued on page 2)

BUSINESS (Cont'd from page 1)
Speakers for the seminars, which were held on Wednesday nights Aug. 4th, 11th and 18th at Penn, were selected from the local community. A representative from the Internal Revenue Service made the presentation on taxes, a local CPA conducted the seminar on recordkeeping, while Mr. Charles Washington, a local attorney, made the presentation on legal requirements.

The seminars in business management represented the beginning of our efforts to bring to Black enterprenuers in the area, the kinds of programs for which they have expressed a desire.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION FORMED

A group of parents, educators and concerned persons from several counties, mostly in the low-country who are providing some type of child care service, has been meeting on an informal basis for the past three months. The group has brought in consultants from state, federal and private agencies to explain pending Bills before Congress dealing with child development, state and federal funding, and technical assistance, available through private organizations.

On Wednesday, August 18, 1971, fifty one (51) persons from Beaufort, Berkeley, Charleston, Williamsburg, Dorchester, Colleton, Bambert, Jasper, and Barnwell counties met in Charleston, South Carolina to to form the United Communities for Child Development. The organization is seeking a charter from the Secretary of State to become a private non-profit organization that will work in the area of comprehensive child development. The organization will actively seek funds from state, national and other sources to finance and improve the
(continue on page 3)

LAND LAW (Cont't from page 1)
During the life of the husband, this right of dower exists inchoate. This is why the wife must sign away her right, whenever the husband wants to sell or give away his land during his life.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE

A group of approximately fifty persons attended the economic development conference held at PENN CENTER, in April, 1971 to explore the possibilities of developing a comprehensive coordinated strategy for grass root economic development in the Coastal Plains Region of South Carolina.

Those attending the meeting represented organizations working on economic development and health in the region. The region consists of twenty-nine counties, from the coast to the central part of the state. These counties represent the greatest concentration of Blacks in the state and is marked by considerable efforts on the part of the local people for self development.

An AD HOC Committee, chaired by John Gadson, Sr., Director of Penn Center listed some basic needs for further economic development by organizations and local people as: capital, credit, technical assistance, and management training

The priorities were set as: capital, credit, management and technical,assistance, and land retention and use. To begin working toward a more systematic solution of some of these problems, the conference voted to establish the "Coastal Plains Hunan Development Council": to conduct needed research, dissimate information through out the region, develop projects affecting the region, and to locate resources for the region.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT (cont'd)

existing child care centers, as well as establishing additional centers as the need arises.

Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell of Beaufort County was elected as the Chairman of the organization with the following officers: Vice Chairman, Mrs. Willie C. Nimmons, Bamberg County; Secretary, Mrs. Ruby Mazyck of Berkeley County; Treasurer Mrs. Rosa Nesbitt, Charleston County and Chaplin Rev. Levern Stevenson of Jasper County. The officers, as well as other members of the organization are citizens who have been instrumental in setting up child care centers in their areas, and are involved in the operation of the centers.

Groups and organizations from other counties in the state are encouraged to become members of the organization.

LEGISLATION: OEO AND CHILD CARE

A bill was passed recently in the Senate S-2007, that will among other things:

Establish a two-year program of child development, authorizing $500 million for Head-start in fiscal year 1972 and an additional $100 million for planning and training in connection with the new program that would set up comprehensive child development centers; for fiscal year 1973, it authorizes $2 billion for the combined Head-start child development programs; it would include both the children of the poor (families of four with an annual income of $6900) who would participate free, and children from middle-income families who would pay fees on a sliding scale.

CULTURAL PROGRAM

Our Cultural Program is now fully staffed and has moved into its office in the Butler Classroom Building.

The program has been divided into three phases:

1. Collection of historical information.
2. Community workshops (young and adults).
3. Teacher skill workshops

A dramatics workshop is being formed and our musical group has scheduled its first performance.

Mrs. Edith Dabbs, wife of the late Dr. James M. Dabbs, former Chairman of Penn's Board of Trustees, has been the custodian of Penn's historical material and is returning the valuable arts and historical collections for display here at Penn.

We have started interviews with some of the older people in the area and have started recording some of the church services in the area.

As our collection grows, we will develop an appropriate facility for the unique collection.

FORMER TEACHER REVISITS PENN

Thirty years ago, Mrs. Jessie Moore Birtha graduated from Hampton Institute and came to Penn as an English teacher.

Mrs. Birtha (Miss Moore) revisited Penn and the area this past summer. Mrs. Birtha remembers very fondly, the days around Penn when it served as a Normal school for the area .

We were glad to have you back, Mrs. Birtha.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED

For more than 100 years, Penn not only served, but fought for better education, for desegregation, for better job opportunities, for community change. Penn is still working for community development, for better economic breaks, and better opportunity to share the responsibility of running our community. Penn needs your assistance. Penn is a non--profit tax exempted organization with a long history of service. More contributions, bequests-leaving us in your will - or your special purpose gift will assure Penn's future. Stocks and bonds are especially welcome to add to our present small endowment.

For further information on gifts to Penn, write:

John W. Gadson, Sr.
Executive Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S. C. 29920

It is truly said that;
"Knowledge is Power."

HOW POWERFUL ARE YOU RIGHT NOW?
Read your newspaper or anything else that you can get your hand on that will inform you of what is happening around you. LISTEN to your radios and TV sets, (There is more on TV than, "The Secret Storm"). WHAT do you listen to on the radio and watch on TV? Have you ever wondered, why some people are considered to be "Know-It-Alls?"

ATTEND that meeting in your community when it is held, IT IS TIME TO "GET IT TOGETHER".

E D I T O R I A L

It is hoped that the significant impact and challenge of the recent community conference reported elsewhere in this newsletter, will not be taken lightly by the participants. Even more so, it is hoped that the larger community understands what was done in the course of the meeting.

Against a background of what may be described as disorganization in the Black Communities of Beaufort and Jasper Counties, a free- wheeling, "no-holds barred" gathering came to grips with its problems and set positive goals and priorities. This is convincing evidence of the strength of the Black Community and those persons in the larger community would do well to take note.

Politicians who hold and seek public office should know that they must now seek new approaches to meet the needs and aspirations of the Black citizens.
(continued on page 5)

And those in control of "money" must recognize that over the long haul, they cannot profit from attempts to dictate the image of our two counties. Dictation of that image will, should and must come from the people.

Beaufort - Jasper Blacks Set Goals At Work Session

BEAUFORT—A meeting of black leaders from Beaufort and Jasper Counties was held recently in a weekend work session at Penn Conference Center in Beaufort.

The fifty-six participants included public officials, elected and appointed, educators, agency staff, ministers, social workers, and other local community leaders. The theme for the session was "Leadership Development and Coalition Building."

The structure and details were planned by the Scholarship, Education, and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, the largest civil rights organization in the country, which specializes in training and technical assistance to local leaders to deal effectively with local problems.

Three staff members, headed by Mrs. Shirley Lacy, set up the meeting, developed a comprehensive schedule, and came to Frogmore to give their assistance to the group.

"Black people in the two counties have made some gains in the areas of politics and school desegregation, but as gains are made in some areas, new problems are created. The purpose of this meeting was to allow people an opportunity to come together to discuss these problems and to set some goals for the black community," said John W. Gadson, Director of Penn Community Services.

According to the director, Penn Community Services will make its resources available to local people and devote its efforts toward working on problems that are priority with black people.

Out of the meeting, three high priority goals were set: (1) An increase in black political activities, including voter registration and education, election of more blacks to public offices and making public officials more accountable to their constituents.

(2) The creation of a better educational climate for black students, including a curriculum better suited to meet their needs, as well as other problems of students and teachers as a result of the unified school system.

(3) Work toward economic development of the black community, including equal employment in existing jobs and obtaining more jobs for blacks.

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Center for Resources Development
S.R.C.- 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

BW please return

NOV 22 1971

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

Box 126

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

JOHN W. GADSON, SR.
DIRECTOR

ADMINISTRATION: (803) 838-2432
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: (803) 838-2071 838-2934

October, 1971

Dear Friend:

"The world is my country, all men are my brethren, and to do good is my religion."

- Thomas Paine -

It is fair to assume that the founding mothers of Penn Center had the similar convictions as Thomas Paine. It is fairer to assume that neither Thomas Paine nor the founding mothers of Penn Center (Ellen Murray and Laura Towne) had the slightest idea that as the American Society becomes more mercenary, it would become more difficult to do good. Penn Center was conceived in an era when the white society had compassion and concern for the Black society; equally true that life during that period was governed by the Christian principles more so than today, and man's happiness was inwardly measured by himself in terms of what he contributed to the happiness of others. To this end, Ellen Murray, Laura Towne, and many others made unbelievable sacrifices in establishing an institution in the predominantly Black community of Beaufort, south Carolina, designed to fight all the social ills of their time. The social ills of that time were probably illiteracy, malaria, small pox, starvation, accompanied by a lack of social services. All the available evidence seems to indicate that the team of workers in those early years did all that was humanly possible to help, and by any method which could have been used to measure their success, one must conclude that they did, in fact, succeed.

Penn today stands like an oasis of reason, understanding and far-sightedness in a desert of southern conservatism. Its glorious history has not been tarnished; its past and present objectives are noble and honorable in any democratic society. Its future, now in the hands of a new generation, must be guarded by the experience of those who have seen the institution making its transitions from a parochial school to an agency of national significance.

New laws have been inacted, attitudes have changed, each impacting Penn as it redefines its role.

The enclosed leaflet gives a brief summary of Penn as it attempts to combine the best of her tradition with inherent needs of today. Now, institutions must be formed to provide the vehicle through which individual needs might be brought into effective relationships with the political, legal, economic, cultural, and educational structures, now beginning to be available to Blacks as well as whites. At the grassroot level, Penn is informing, and building institutional forms in the heart of the south.

By your support, you have helped to make Penn the first school built to offer a formal education to freedmen (1862), one of the first to help fight segregation, and among the first in community development.

There are opportunities open to us that must be grasped. We covet your partnership in making Penn an increasingly powerful influence for good in a region of conservatism that is still reluctant to "let a people go".

The community is looking to Penn. Our programs have regional affect. Penn is suffering a financial crisis unmatched in her history. Will you help in a personal way? Your gift counts for so much!

Sincerely,

William A. Clement

William A. Clement, Jr.,
Chairman Board of Trustees

John W. Gadson

John W. Gadson, Sr.,
Executive Director

P. S.

Contributions to Penn are tax deductible. All forms of gifts are appreciated (cash, land, bequests and securities - 'to add to our small endowment')

PENN NEWS

File

Penn Community Services, Inc.

St. Helena Island Frogmore, South Carolina

July 22, 1972

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Reconstruction in South Carolina

They used to say South Carolina depended on three rivers: Ashley, Cooper, and Mendel. Mendel Rivers, former czar of the House Armed Services Committee, has gone, and one of the most economically underdeveloped parts of the country is forced to look for income to sources other than new military installations. For rural Beaufort and Jasper counties, new hope comes from an old institution: Penn Community Services.

Unique among community development organizations, Penn was founded on St. Helena Island in 1862 as a school and community center to educate and care for freed slaves. Its first teachers, Laura Towne and Ellen Murray, were Vassar graduates from Philadelphia. Though the Civil War was raging, the US Treasury was prepared to invest in the training of Negroes to plant, harvest, and sell the cotton on plantations vacated by their former owners. Northern entrepreneurs (not all of them carpetbaggers), teachers and missionaries came to St. Helena.

In 1900, the school was formally incorporated under South Carolina law and its direction assigned to a board of trustees. In addition to a school for black children, Penn furnished health services and later training in farming, carpentry, basketry, wheelwrighting and other skills. A number of its graduates have become doctors, ministers, teachers, businessmen.

By 1948, the state had assumed increased responsibility for Negro education, and Penn turned to human relations problems, sponsoring planning sessions on integration of schools and public facilities and voter registration drives. It was there that the late Martin Luther King mapped out his March on Washington.

continued on page 2

NOVEMBER, 1972

Penn Center Launches Children's Aid Project

Savannah Morning News

Friday, August 11, 1972

Beaufort Bureau

BEAUFORT, S.C. — An $80,000 child development program that will be in operation for two years has been launched by Penn Community Services for the Carolina Lowcountry.

Some $45,000 of the $80,000 for the program has already been raised, said John Gadson, director of the Penn Center, a community development agency aimed particularly at helping Lowcountry blacks.

Gadson said the New World Foundation and the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children have donated most of the funds.

CONT. FROM PAGE 1

When the Economic Opportunity Act was passed in 1964, Penn's director, Courtney Siceloff, promptly set up new community programs for which federal funds were available. He and his staff wrote up a Headstart program, got it approved, and persuaded the state school system to accept and administer it. They put together a Neighborhood Youth Corps program and then worked to establish an OEO-funded Beaufort Community Action Agency to run it. In 1967, the Ford Foundation gave them money to train and educate blacks on the workings of local government: it was training Peace Corps volunteers for work in Africa.

The watershed in Penn's history came in October, 1969, with the appointment of its first black director, John Gadson. Mr. Gadson is 36 years old and committed to economic improvement to rural blacks through guided self-help. With a staff of 12 and slender funding from foundations and individual contributors, he is trying out a variety of new projects to achieve this result. For example, Beaufort's black farmers, fishermen, and business entrepreneurs have long suffered from their inability to work together. The tomato farmer may get 75 cents a bushel for tomatoes which are later sold for $8 to $12 a bushel. Last year Penn helped a group of 75 tomato farmers organize a cooperative. They borrowed $34,000 from a local bank, marketed their tomatoes through a professional salesman at $3 per bushel, grossed $80,000, and returned a profit of $14,000. Similar cooperatives have been organized among oyster and shrimp fishermen.

Because the operations of black building contractors in Beaufort are small and individualized, none has ever received a major building job. The Penn staff has helped them to meet deadlines and assist one another on jobs. In addition, Gadson is setting up a black-owned building supply company and a joint-venture construction company, which will permit a number of individual builders to pool resources and bid on big jobs. Within the last several weeks, Penn received a verbal commitment from Opportunity Funding Corporation in Washington to bond the combined venture.

Penn's most ambitious current project is a local community development corporation (LDC) which has just been set up to assist black entrepreneurs get into business. It is a nonstock, nonprofit corporation with a majority of the board of directors from the local community. A secondary nonvoting "advisory board" includes members of Beaufort's business and financial community. Utilizing private and federal funding including Small Business Administration Section 502 loans, LDC will provide financing to black businessmen who cannot otherwise get credit from local banks. The SBA business development loans are important: the interest rates are low, the term can be up to 25 years, and they can account for up to 90 percent of the

CONT. ON PAGE 3

CONT. FROM PAGE 1

Gadson said his agency is working to find the remaining amount to support the project, aimed at helping child development programs in the state in two ways.

The first aim will be technical support and advice for nonprofit, community-based and community-operated child care centers in Beaufort and Jasper counties and help for community groups and organizations hoping to set up new child care centers in the area.

Staff and board of directors training, curriculum development, selection of classroom materials, record keeping, and help in meeting state and federal licensing requirements will be included in the assistance given these groups by Penn Center, Gadson said.

Second Aim

A second aim, Gadson said, will be to assist a federation of community non-profit child care centers organized last year, known as the United Communities for Child Development Inc.

The Penn Center director said initially child care support will be offered to the 16 UCCD centers located in eight South Carolina counties.

"Our long-range plan is to extend our efforts throughout the 28 counties in the Coastal Plains region of the state," Gadson said.

He added that program organizers hope to reach "a large number of parents" to involve them "in a more meaningful way" in the organizing, training and operating of the centers. Child-rearing and child-parent relationships will get emphasis in training programs, Gadson said.

Mrs. Freida Mitchell, a member of the Beaufort County Board of Education and a Penn Center staffer for eight years, is also chairman of the UCCD which will be aided by the new child development program. Mrs. Mitchell will direct the new child development program for penn Center.

A recent Benediut College graduate, Miss Matilda Duncan of Seabrook, will serve as "area field supervisor" for the child development project, Gadson said.

PENN'S PROGRAM

SUMMARY

NOVEMBER 1972

HOUSING PROGRAM

We have constructed several homes in the local area in an attempt to learn the problems that are faced in attempting to deliver homes to low-income people. To this date we have constructed five homes and several others are in the planning stages. Of these five homes, two persons were elderly and unable to meet any guidelines for assistance. We are presently working with several organizations to start a more massive program in helping to deliver homes for a social value, as well as in conjunction with our economic development project.

CONT. FROM PAGE 2

total funding of a venture. The LDC will also furnish technical and managerial assistance well beyond the scope of advice on farming techniques that Penn has traditionally offered. One planned project is a chain of black-owned and operated grocery stores to replace scattered and inefficient "mom and pop" stores. Once owners learn the economics of large-volume purchasing and combined advertising and marketing techniques, their businesses should become more profitable and their prices more competitive with those in the white-owned supermarkets, which now get most of the area's business.

Penn has been instrumental in establishing Black Land Services to halt the loss of land through tax sales and other devices which black owners frequently don't understand. To the rural black, land is his only source of power. The affluent resort areas of Hilton Head and Fripp Island were once almost entirely black-owned. These and other valuable lands have been bought up by unscrupulous developers, with little or no payment or equity returned to the original owners. This has been made possible to a large extent through poor records, inequitable laws, and the failure of black owners to record their titles as they inherit family land. Under South Carolina law if taxes remain unpaid for three years, the property can be sold to pay them and many speculators have thereby acquired large holdings. Black Land Services is assisting in sorting out and recording titles, educating landowners on how to avoid legal traps which could lose them their property, and developing a mechanism whereby the corporation can participate in land sales as a buyer and hold the land in trust for its occupant until he is able to pay off an outstanding lien or obligation.

Recognizing that pride in their cultural heritage is a potent inspirational and unifying force among blacks, Penn has established a small museum devoted to local history. Here are artifacts, writings, and pictures of the early sea-island community, as well as material on African culture and history. Penn's hope is that exposure to this cultural heritage at all educational levels, from elementary school programs to graduate research projects, will produce a self-confidence which can be translated into economic achievement.

Penn has been wise not to get into manufacturing, with its long and unproductive training periods and competitive disadvantage with bigger, established firms. Northern inner cities are littered with the bones of minority-owned manufacturing businesses which were unable to survive despite financial assistance.

Like many of the urban community development corporations, Penn Community Services has had its problems. Yet its emphasis on self-help and group action, with minimal resort to confrontation, is showing success. For rural blacks it could lead to a second Reconstruction, on a more realistic basis than the first one.

Ridgway M. Hall, Jr.

MR. HALL *has studied community economic development for Senator Muskie.*

Face Of An Island, the historical book by Mrs. Edith Dabbs, depicting the history of St. Helena Island, through pictures can be purchased nationally through Viking Press or in South Carolina by the R.L. Bryan Company. Copies can also be obtained through Penn.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Penn is providing assistance to sixteen locally controlled child development centers throughout the Coastal Area of South Carolina. These sixteen centers have a combined pupil enrollment of approximately 800. We provide help in getting assistance through the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the preparation of budgets and written materials for fund raising purposes. Constantly in communication with State Agencies whose responsibilities are to assist early childhood development, we provide staff training, assist in developing a curriculum that will assure a meaningful experience for the children in the centers.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Our Economic Development Program consists of two major phases. The development of a local development company for the purposes of making loans to black businessmen who are already in business and would like to improve their businesses, and to assist persons who plan to go into business. It is the objective of the local development company to raise approximately $250,000 to become the "front money" for potential minority entrepreneurs in Beaufort and Jasper Counties and its environs. The other phase consists of the technical assistance component called Local Business Development Organization, in which a team of several skilled persons will assist minorities in the development of their businesses including the putting together of loan packages conducting workshops for minority, bringing in technical assistance from other resources, and working with the larger communities in the promotion of business development.

Penn has conducted workshops in the areas of bookkeeping, taxes, and business law. We have researched the types of black businesses that exist in the Beaufort and Jasper counties and compared these to the surrounding area. We have also provided assistance to local cooperatives as well as individuals who are aspiring to enter business.

COASTAL PLAINS HUMAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATING COUNCIL

The Coastal Plains Human Development Coordinating Council has been organized and a temporary staff has been hired. As coordinator, Mr. Brad Fowler has been hired to assist all self help groups operating in the lower part of South Carolina.

CULTURAL PROGRAM

Through the Cultural Program we have interviewed and recorded approximately 50 older citizens ranging in ages up to 100 years. As a part of developing an oral history of the island. We have begun to collect art pieces and folklore from the area. We have a collection of books about the black experience and we are conducting workshops with students from local high schools, as well as colleges from out of the area. Among the schools who have visited and used our facilities are: Easthill Farm School of Vermont, Clark College, Atlanta University, University of South Carolina, Cooper College, and high schools from surrounding counties.

LAND RETENTION PROGRAM

This project provides legal assistance to people who are losing their land due to illegal and quasi-legal means, to "land grabbers" and other developers. We have provided assistance to persons with land totalling approximately 1000 acres, at a value of approximately $1,000,000. Our main method of preventing the further loss of land is to assist in the prevention of foreclosure, tax sales and partition sales, along with an education program on ways to understand the value of their property and how to prevent illegal dispossession of the land.

The second phase of our program is to foster the ownership of land and the development of their land into ways that it becomes an economic asset to the owner. This program now reaches six counties in South Carolina,including Beaufort, Jasper, Colleton, Hampton, Dorchester, and Charleston counties.

OPPORTUNITY INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER

The Philadelphia Office of Opportunity Industrialization Centers recently approved a Grant of $40,000 to start the nation's first Rural OIC Program in Beaufort and Jasper Counties. John Gadson, Executive Director of Penn Community Services, is serving as Chairman of this Board of Directors. Mr. Ronald Campbell has been named Executive Director of the new OIC.

STUDENTS AT PENN

Two students from the University of California, Mr. Sabra Slaughter and Mr. Rod Tanaka, have been assisting Penn throughout the summer in Housing and with the Cultural Program.

We are pleased to announce the relationship between Howard University and Penn Community Services, where some of Howard students will receive credit for working with Penn staff on such projects as: the Cultural Program, Child Development, Land Project, and Economic Development. Four Howard students spent the entire summer at Penn.

HELP PENN HELP YOU

A contribution to Penn is tax exempt under the Internal Revenue Laws. To make contributions or receive information please write:

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
POST OFFICE BOX 126
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

NOTES IN PASSING

New film released on the Port Royal Experiment. The American Learning Corporation has recently released a film "The Promise of Reconstruction" depicting the Port Royal experiment from 1861 thru 1865. The film pictured many local people recreating pre-Civil War conditions through the formation of the Freedman Bureau.

Penn applauds the South Carolina Council on Human Relations for its new efforts on Prison reform in South Carolina.

Penn welcomes the New Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop D. Ward Nichols.

Nearly 500 ministers and their wives attended a special conference called by the Bishop at Penn Center in early September.

CORE held its annual meeting at Penn Center on August 31st, approximately 75 of CORE staff members from around the country attended.

NEW STAFF MEMBERS

Penn Center has added several new staff members, they are: John L. Patrick, formerly Assistant Business Manager with Claflin College now employed as a Financial Analyst with the Economic Development Program, Macauley J. Washburn, formerly Adult Education Instructor with the Columbus (Ohio) Board of Education now employed as a Financial Analyst with the Economic Development Program. Mrs. Leila Salomon, Secretary to Economic Development, Mr. Hugh Davis, recent graduate of Howard University Law School, now with the Black Land Project. Also, Miss Rosalyn Thompson, Executive Secretary, Miss Betty G. Singleton, Secretary to the Child Development Program. Sandra R. Bynum, formerly of the New Rochelle Board of Education now employed as Area Field Supervisor with the Child Development Program.

Mr. Esau Jenkins

"TOGETHER LET US GO..."

"Together let us go- sisters, brothers, blacks, whites, yellows, whatnot. We are all God's people, so we got to go together. And Friends, I think all over the world today, people who love freedom are saying this morning "Out of Egypt I'm going to call my sons."

These the words of the late Mr. Esau Jenkins. Just as his words of brotherhood hold an eternal essence, so too will his legacy of accomplishments in the name of his fellowman.

Civil Rights leader, activist, organizer, Esau Jenkins indeed inspired and nurtured a movement of equality, for all people.

Esau fought for the people, but more significant, he belonged to the people; a facet which endeared him to the hearts of many; to his beloved John's Island, to the South, to the Nation...

In the words of Penn Director John Gadson: "The fruits of his labor will immortalize Esau Jenkins' living testimony that progress can be made possible if we but only have a mind to do it."

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

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Center for Resources Development
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

"A VALUABLE PERSON is one who is knowledgeable about himself, his community, his people, and the political, social, economic, cultural, and spiritual forces that control his life. He can also become a POWERFUL person if he is able to translate his knowledge into something meaningful for his community."

PENN'S INFORMATIONAL LEAFLET

PENN

DAY CARE - CHILD DEVELOPMENT

-Assists child development centers in obtaining reimbursement for food served to pre-school children under Special Food Service Program-USDA. (A total of approximately $100,000 annually).
-Assists in setting up proper recordkeeping systems.
-Communicates with governmental agencies in behalf of child development programs.
-Makes contacts with foundations for grants to child care programs.
-Has assisted in organizing a state-wide federation of child development centers.
-Assists in curriculum building and staff training.

WORK WITH SMALL FARMERS

-Helped organize small tomato growers in Beaufort County (75 farmers.)
-Helped farmers purchase 220 tons of fertilizer cooperatively at a savings of $15 - $20 per ton.
-Worked with farmers in setting timetable before operation.
-Help farmers raise funds to purchase a $3,000 tomato grading machine.
-Provided a packing house for operation.
-Assisted in setting up contacts with Federation of Southern Cooperatives for assistance. (Federation provided an accountant, sales person and made a loan to the Coop of $20,000 for operating funds.
-Coop grossed $84,000 in sales and netted $13,000 in "middle man" profit.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

SMALL FARMERS (cont'd)

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

-Conducted workshops for community leaders, including workshops for Public Officials, Religious Leaders, Educators, Business Leaders and Students.
-More than 50 people have participated.
-Help in training staff of community organizations.
-Held follow-up workshops with Public Officials.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

-Has conducted workshops for approximately 40 small businessmen.
-Has sought the assistance of local white businessmen in some joint venture such as seminars , as steps in building alliance in the community.
-Has conducted surveys to determine the kinds and scope of small business in the area.
-Has provided assistance to individuals seeking help in obtaining loans or advice.
-Has begun the process of organizing a Small Business Alliance.

PROGRAM

LAND RETENTION PROGRAM

-Has organized Black Land Services, Inc.
-Has a local attorney working on land preservation.
-Is conducting surveys on Black land holdings.
-Conducted seminars for personnel working with other organizations on how to assist people with land problems.
-Is seeking legal help from other agencies.
-Has prevented foreclosure on several parcels of land.
-Has notified heirs of property that was about to be sold on tax sale.

CONFERENCE CENTER

-Hosted approximately 20 conferences in the past year (most low budget students, religious and Civil Rights groups.)
-Provided assistance to groups holding conferences.
-Penn called several conferences on school problems, Economic Development, Child Development and held meetings with Public Officials.
-Is seeking resources to improve our conference facilities.

ULTURAL PROGRAM

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nd drama that focus on the
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rite: John W. Gadson, Sr.,
Executive Director
Penn Community Services
Post Office Box 126
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JOHN W. GADSON, SR.
DIRECTOR

ADMINISTRATION: (803) 524-4337
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: (803) 524-6555

CONDENSATION OF SIX-MONTH PROPOSAL

Penn Community Services, Inc., has requested a grant from the Ford Foundation (not yet approved) to conduct a four to six month program of planning and coordination with other agencies working for social change in the South.

The program is designed to establish working relationships with a number of other agencies and organizations and to foster a consciousness of the need for a long-range strategy for change in the South. It should result in the planning and establishment of a program which will be part of a team-thrust, designed to increase effectiveness by coordinating efforts, eliminating over-lapping and making the most efficient use of the resources available.

There will be three phases in the six-month program: contact, agency coordination, and program building.

During the first phase, contact will be made with a number of other agencies and organizations. Examples of the organizations include:

American Civil Liberties Union
Denominational Social Action Programs
Federation of Southern Cooperatives
Multi-Purpose Training Center
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Sharecroppers Fund
National Welfare Rights Organization
Office of Economic Opportunity (through regional office)
Rural Housing Alliance
Rural Income Development Program
South Carolina Community Relations Program
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Regional Council
State Councils on Human Relations
Scholarship Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality (SEDFRE)
Student Organizations in Colleges and Universities
Teachers' Organizations
United Negro Women's Organization
United States Research and Development Program
Voter Education Projects
Unions

After initial contact has been established, several weeks will be spent visiting these agencies to try and gain an in-depth understanding of their program goals and to examine options for viable linking.

By the end of the "contact phase" we should have a clear idea as to which agencies and organizations will continue to participate in the planning process.

During the second phase, initial emphasis will be placed upon integration of the insight gleaned during the previous phase. Penn staff members along with other organizations will put together a tentative statement charting the alternative relationships among agencies. This will be presented to all agencies involved as a starting point for inter-agency meetings.

There will be a large meeting of all related agencies with the goal of moving from the more general, tentative statement to a more specific and mutually accepted statement of relationship.

This will be followed by an extended period of small, intensive conferences involving Penn and other agencies. These conferences will be designed to plan curricula to meet the training needs of the agencies involved. The curriculum outline should include details of recruitment, the content of training, placement after training, the time and place of training, follow-up, and specific agency responsibilities, including financing.

During the final period, Penn, with consultation, will work out alternative avenues that could be followed to combine individual curricula into cohesive training sessions. The advantages of combined sessions are numerous, reflected in the quality of training, economy, agency coordination, professional growth of staff, and a built-in system of checks and balances. Finally a proposal will be presented to foundations for review and approval.

Then will come the task of "gearing-up", Staff will have to be located, interviewed, hired, and oriented to the program; materials have to be identified and ordered. Some equipment should be purchased; some agencies will begin recruitment; agency staff members with a role in the early training process should participate in joint sensitivity training, clarify final details, and prepare specific contributions.

COPE *Campaign Supplement* November 7, 1960

HOW TO GET THE VOTE OUT ON ELECTION DAY, NOVEMBER 8

All your efforts between elections and during the campaign stand or fall on your ability to get the vote out on Election Day. It's the payoff.

Look at recent election returns anywhere in the country and you will find: A big vote is a good vote. So, get set to flush out the biggest vote ever seen in your community.

Here is an Election Day plan which has worked successfully in many precincts. It's not perfect and this may be the time for you and your COPE committee to sit down and improve on this plan, add new ideas.

HEADQUARTERS

1. Open an Election Day headquarters in every precinct—if you can possibly swing it. Ideally it should be near the polling place. Often the headquarters is the home of the precinct leader. If the budget prohibits this, try at least to have an Election Day headquarters in every ward. In either case you'll need several telephones and sufficient space to accommodate your telephone committee, some drivers, and several other Election Day workers.

VOLUNTEERS

2. Enlist as many Election Day volunteers as you can. Recruit them from among your members, the wives and teen-age children of members, retired members, college students and others within the precinct who have shown an active interest in seeing your candidate win.

Divide your volunteers according to the following Election Day assignments:

Checkers who will check the names of those who vote so you will know who has not voted yet and turn their names over to the telephone committee.

Telephoners who will call those who have not voted according to the reports of the checkers.

Messengers who will take the list of those who have not voted every hour or so from the "checkers" at the polling place to your telephone committee at your election headquarters. They will also call on people who have not voted but have no telephone. In addition their duties include providing all your campaign workers with coffee and sandwiches.

Drivers who will drive those without transportation to the polls.

Baby sitters who will take care of the youngsters while mother goes to vote.

Poll watchers who help see that everything is fair and square at the polling place and who help supervise counting of the ballots.

People to *distribute your literature* in front of the polling place.

Crews for your sound truck.

The size of your precinct and your estimate of each precinct's needs will determine how many volunteers you need. Twenty—give or take a few—is about the minimum needed to do a fair job in each precinct.

COPE workers might be identified by wearing a badge which shows that they are members of the COPE Committee. It will help them in their work by saving time in long explanations and arguments.

There is no need to have all your workers congregate at your election headquarters all the time. Drivers and baby sitters, for instance, might stand by a home if the telephone committee has the number of each to call them when needed. If you list them according to the block or area in which they live, you can call the one who lives nearest to the address where he or she is needed. This will save time.

It is important, of course, that every driver and baby sitter calls in as soon as his or her chore is completed so that the telephone committee knows he or she is again available.

LAST CANVASS

3. Before the election call in all your volunteers and once more get out and ring the doorbell of every voter registered in the party of your choice and every independent voter.

The purpose of this last-minute canvass is:

(a) To find out, if possible, how the voter will vote.

(b) To remind him or her to vote early. Instruct your canvassers to tell each voter exactly where his polling place is, at what time it is open, and what the local rules are regarding time off from work to vote.

(c) To find out if the voter needs any help such as transportation or baby sitting.

All this information, together with the name, address and telephone number of every voter, should be entered on a file card. Make out 3" x 5" cards if you have not previously done so.

FILE OF VOTERS

4. The day before the election (November 7) *at the latest* call all your canvassers together and compile your entire file of voters in the precinct. Put the cards in alphabetical order so you can locate them quickly and easily.

Also, from these cards, make a list of the people who have asked for transportation and/or baby sitters together with the time they would like these services.

Hand these lists to the chairman of both your baby sitting and your transportation committee.

ASSIGNMENTS

5. On Election Day morning every driver and baby sitter should have his list of assignments and proceed to carry them out. As soon as he or she is through with the assignment he or she will call the telephone committee to report for further assignments which develop in the course of the day.

MAN THE POLLS

6. As soon as the polls open have a full shift of "checkers" at the polling place. In most precincts the voters report to three or four different tables—arranged from A to L, M to P, etc.—to be checked off the poll list before they can vote. Have two checkers for each table, so they can take turns and each table is covered for the entire time the polls are open.

Each checker will have his card file. As each voter comes in to get his name checked off the poll list by the election official, your "checker"' will pull his card.

Or, you may be able to supply your poll workers with an official street list on which they can check off those persons who have voted. This is, of course, easier than making up your own list.

At regular intervals—say every hour or so after 11 a.m.—one of your messengers will take the names and phone numbers of those who have not voted and get them to the telephone committee.

In some states the election officials will permit your checkers to set up a table with their card files right in the election place.

Where they won't allow you to work inside the polling place, the job of checking off the voters is just a little more difficult. If the weather permits, you can, of course, set up your checker with his or her card file just outside the polling place. Or, you may have to do the tedious job of writing down the name of each voter, have someone pick up this list every half hour or so, take it to your election headquarters and do the job of card pulling there.

PHONE CALLS

7. The names of those who haven't yet voted are turned over via messenger to your telephone committee at your election headquarters. The telephone committee calls these people and reminds them to vote.

ASSISTANCE

8. If the telephone committee locates someone who may need a driver or baby sitter it will dispatch one at a time convenient to the voter.

This effort gets particularly hectic in the last two or three hours before the polls close. Many housewives insist on waiting until their husbands return from work, so that they may vote together. If they have small children or if it happens to rain, they often decide not to bother. That's where your baby sitters and your drivers can often be decisive in bringing out the necessary margin for winning a precinct.

LITERATURE

9. All day long see that your literature is distributed in front of the election place. Ideally (and if the weather permits), you should set up a table with all your literature as close to the entrance of the polling place as your local law permits. Some precincts put a big sign over this table with the inscription "Voters' Information." Sample ballots are probably the most valuable kind of literature you can hand out on Election Day. In some states the law permits the voter to take the sample ballot right into the election booth. The information table is staffed with one or two people who not only pass out the literature and sample ballots but who are also equipped to furnish information about the candidates, election laws, and other pertinent information.

POLL WATCHERS

The literature staff should, of course, be on the job from the time the polls open until they close. This means that you will probably provide for two shifts. Caution your people to be alert and hand your literature to everyone entering the polling place without being obtrusive or making a nuisance of themselves. Overly eager and obnoxious campaigners can lose you votes. Your workers should be polite. Under no circumstance should they ever argue or get themselves provoked into an argument.

10. Poll watchers and challengers are the legal representatives of the political parties and other interested civic organizations. Your union should take an interest in this important civic activity and furnish people for the job.

The business of the poll watchers is to check on each other, on individual voters, on fraud, and on illegal activities on the part of the election judges and other election officials and outsiders. They are especially concerned with the right of individuals to vote and they frequently serve a very useful purpose uncovering individuals who have no legal right to cast their ballot in a given precinct or at a certain polling place.

All states have fairly explicit laws on how polling places are to be set up, on procedures to be followed in setting up ballot boxes, arranging voting booths or machines, handling the ballots, and processing the votes.

In most states the law also prescribes the time and manner of closing the polls and the counting (usually referred to as "tallying") and reporting procedures. The same officials who administer the voting normally also do the counting. There are fairly stiff penalties for failure to conform to the legal regulations.

The most crucial thing for any poll watcher is to know the law. His or her ignorance as a poll watcher can cost your side the election and, if it is mistaken for intent to defraud, may get you in serious trouble.

So, if you don't want the opposition to steal the election you'd better have good watchers and give them careful instructions. If the political party doesn't issue a good, plain poll watcher's manual, it may be well worth while for your COPE to get one out. It is also a good idea to set up a training school for your watchers and challengers. Such schools have been organized in many places—notably New York and Chicago—by unions and civic organizations of various kinds.

Usually election workers and poll watchers have to be on the job from the time the polls open until they close. Often they are tired and hungry at the most crucial time—when the counting begins. Dishonest judges may call the votes improperly as they read them to the clerks. Or dishonest clerks may tally properly counted votes for other candidates. If your watchers and challengers don't watch out, or leave the job before it's done, you've had it. Recounts after election day are tremendously expensive and involve more legal complications than most candidates are willing to face.

So be sure you do all you can to keep your watchers on the ball. See that they get coffee and sandwiches—that relief is on hand to take their places if that is permissible.

And be sure your watchers stay to the very end. They should supervise the counting, compare vote totals, see that every one of the judges and clerks signs the statements of votes.

This done, the watchers should accompany the judges and clerks to the office of the Board of Election Commissioners to make sure that no change is made before all the votes are handed in.

And then they still have one vital function: Have them call your election headquarters with the results. You'll be anxious to know how your side made out in each precinct and the official announcement may take hours if not days.

Your election headquarters, in turn, should inform the candidates and the press. Both are anxious to know and entitled to the information as soon as it is in from each precinct and ward.

REMINDERS

11. It is always a good idea to run a sound truck through the streets on Election Day reminding people to vote. Remind them, too, to vote early. You'll do them a favor if you caution voters to avoid standing in line and wasting much time waiting for their turn at the ballot box or voting machine.

If you can't get a sound truck, rent a mike and loudspeaker which work on a car battery and install the equipment in any ordinary car. Play some cheerful music in between your announcements.

* * *

These, of course, are only suggestions. No doubt you and your COPE will have many additional ideas on how to get the vote out on Election Day.

It sounds like a lot of work—and it is. But *it's the most important job your COPE can do.* It calls for a real effort.

Election Day is the time when all your previous work—building a precinct organization, a successful registration drive, a good campaign effort, and a thorough job of education and community activity—will really tell. Make it all pay, bring it all into play, by flushing out the vote.

EVERY VOTE COUNTS. IT CAN COUNT HEAVILY IN BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA.

#2

HOW TO REFER A "PRECINCT" PROBLEM

1. Determine the area of the problem. Does it affect only your precinct? (Street light out, unsafe building?) Or does it affect a broader area? (Need for one-way streets, school problem.)

2. If it is a problem strictly within your precinct:

   ...Call the proper city office, listed below, report the problem and request action. Follow up.

   ...If it is a problem not handled by the offices listed below, call the Cook County CIO Council, RAndolph 6-7022, leave your name and phone number, state the problem, and request the proper referral.

   ...If you do not get satisfactory service from the city office concerned, notify CCIUC immediately, with full and accurate details.

3. If it is a problem covering a broader area:

   ...Bring it to the attention of your Congressional District Committee for consideration and action.

SOME IMPORTANT CITY OFFICES

ALLEYS -- For dirty alleys call the Ward Yard Office.

ANIMALS - DEAD ANIMALS ON STREET -- Dead Animal Department, Bureau of Sanitation, FRanklin 2-8650, or RAndolph 6-8000.

LOST DOGS -- Dog Pound, BIshop 7-6812.

BUILDING VIOLATIONS -- Housing Inspection Bureau, City Hall, RAndolph 6-8000 (Also Electrical and Plumbing Inspection Bureaus)

CHANGE OF ADDRESS -- Get a card to notify the post office from the local post or postman.

Get a card to notify the Board of Elections from your Congressional District Headquarters or Board of Elections, Room 308, City Hall.

ELECTION COMMISSIONERS -- DEarborn 2-3050.

FIRE HYDRANTS -- To turn off or on, RAndolph 6-8000, ext. 2146.

FIRE HAZARDS -- Complaints to Fire Commissioner, City Hall, RAndolph 6-8000.

GARBAGE COLLECTION -- Call the Ward Yard Office.

HEALTH AND FOOD REGULATIONS -- Chicago Health Department, 54 West Hubbard, RAndolph 6-8000.

HEAT COMPLAINTS IN APARTMENTS -- Building Inspection Office, RAndolph 6-8000.

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION -- WHitehall 4-4483.

RATS -- Building Inspection, RAndolph 6-8000.

SEWERS -- Sewer Department, RAndolph 6-8000.

SIDEWALKS AND CURBS -- To report breaks, Department of Streets, RAndolph 6-8000.

STREET LIGHTS OUT -- Department of Electricity, SUperior 7-0655.

STREET REPAIRS -- Report holes to Commissioner of Streets, RAndolph 6-8000.

TREES -- For removal of broken or fallen trees, RAndolph 6-8000, ext 2172, Bureau of Parks and Playgrounds.

WATER DEPARTMENT -- RAndolph 6-8000.

ZONING VIOLATIONS -- Building Commissioner's Office -- RAndolph 6-8000, ext. 708.

SMOKE ABATEMENT -- RAndolph 6-8000, ext. 596 - 598.

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a manual for

Precinct Workers

"We are now explicitly agreed . . . that there is a natural aristocracy among men, the grounds of which are virtue and talents. . . . Pick up the first hundred men you meet, and make a republic. Every man will have an equal vote. But when deliberations and discussions are opened, it will be found that twenty-five, by their talents, virtues being equal, will be able to carry fifty votes. Every one of these twenty-five is an aristocrat in my sense of the word; . . ."

JOHN ADAMS in a letter to THOMAS JEFFERSON

November 15, 1813

LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION
ROOSEVELT COLLEGE

430 S. MICHIGAN AVE.
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

118

Distributed By

LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

ROOSEVELT COLLEGE

Based upon a manual written by Robert Knapp, Chicago, Illinois, and published by Independent Voters of Illinois

Drawing By Cissy Liebshutz

SO YOU'RE WILLING TO WORK A PRECINCT

This job you're undertaking is the most important one in American politics. Without Precinct Work, political action is like an automobile without a motor. Speeches, billboards, broadcasts and newspaper ads are a good imitation of the body, the wheels and the windshield of an automobile. But Precinct Work is the ENGINE that makes political action GO.

Since Jefferson's day professional politicians have known the importance of Precinct Work. It has been no secret. Nearly every American citizen has been visited by a Republican or Democratic precinct captain. Yet, somehow, we "liberals" and "independents" have never realized how significant these gentlemen are. We've taken them rather for granted. Only recently has it begun to dawn on us that we need to investigate them more closely. We need to learn the answer to several questions:

1. Exactly *what* does a precinct captain do?
2. What are the techniques—the "tricks" of his trade?
3. Why is he so important?
4. What has a professional got that YOU haven't got?
5. What have YOU got that the professional doesn't have?

EXACTLY *WHAT* DOES A PRECINCT CAPTAIN DO?

The work of a precinct captain can be reduced to two simple principles—and one qualification.

You locate your votes

THE PRINCIPLES: (1) you *locate* your votes
(2) You *get 'em to the polls.*

THE QUALIFICATION: You do it SYSTEMATICALLY.

Like all summaries, that one is over-simplified. There are many complexities in the background which you need to know about—which you'll learn very shortly. But, they'll all distill to these two main principles. A precinct captain *locates votes,* and *gets*

them to the polls. He does it *systematically.* When you multiply one precinct captain by several thousand, you have *THE factor* that wins elections.

Our two principles are also the second and third in order among the four steps of ACTION which go to make up the complete pattern of work for a captain.

(From here on, let's drop this anonymous "captain" we're talking about. Instead, let's talk in terms of "YOU". Picture YOURSELF as the person carrying out the techniques in the rest of this pamphlet.)

STEP-BY-STEP PATTERN OF PRECINCT WORK:

1. *YOU CHECK REGISTRATION.* Check the PEOPLE in your precinct against the Precinct Registration List, which has been given to you by your local chairman. You get newcomers to register. You remove from the list those names which are ineligible.

you check registration

2. YOU LOCATE YOUR VOTES. After registration, you start canvassing your precinct, door to door, apartment to apartment, even room to room. You *learn the attitudes* of the voters. You *keep a record* of what you learn. The record indicates which voters are inclined to vote for your candidates.

3. YOU GET YOUR VOTES TO THE POLLS. On election day, you make sure that every vote on your side *gets to* the polls and actually *gets voted.*

You get your votes to the polls.

4. YOU WATCH THE COUNT. On election night, you watch the clerks and judges count the ballots in your polling place so that you

make sure that your candidates *get all the votes* that were cast for them.

Those four steps are simple enough. You'll find that your whole campaign can be done moderately well with a total of about ten evenings work. An "evening" is seldom more than 2½ hours—7:00 P.M. to 9:30 P.M.

You watch the count

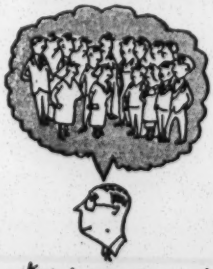
Now, let's examine the exact procedures you go through:

WHAT ARE THE TECHNIQUES—THE "TRICKS" OF THE TRADE?

To newcomers, there are two tricks which are intangible, but which will be the most valuable assets you'll have. As quickly as possible, you should learn to *use your head*, as well as your emotions. Keep in mind that your goal is to turn up a *good final vote* for ALL your precinct. A great victory in a personal argument may make you feel good—but you probably could have LOCATED twenty votes in the time you spent in that one argument. The second trick is to keep in mind that you're working PERCENTAGES. To a newcomer, 20 votes may not seem like much. But 20 votes, if they are *switched* votes, can make a difference of 40 votes in the winning majority. Forty votes is close to 15% of the average precinct. In many areas, candidates are frequently separated by only 2% or 3%, so if you make a 15% difference, you're wielding tremendous weight.

A great victory in a personal argument may make...

When you work a precinct, be as *cool* and *systematic* as if you were running a business or managing a home. *Keep your head. Keep the total picture in mind* all the time. And, remember, you're not to be discouraged if you seem to have little effect. *It only takes a few* votes to make a BIG SHIFT in the balance between candidates.



Keep the total picture in mind

NOW, LET'S GET DOWN TO BUSINESS

You're starting to check registration. Dressed neatly, and in a friendly frame of mind, you take your Precinct Registration list in hand and go out your front door. You pick a building to start with and you go to that building's front door. You look on your list to see who the voters are. You ring the bell of the first apartment.

You say something like this: "I'm John Doe with the Independent Voters of Illinois. I live just over on Elm Street. We're interested in seeing that everyone who is eligible is registered. Are you folks all registered?"

The lady says, perhaps, "Oh, yes. We're registered."

You say, "There are three of you, aren't there? John and Edna Smith, and William Smith?"

The ladys says, "Oh, no. William is my son. He's married now and has moved out of town. But, wait a minute, Charlene —that's my girl—she's twenty-one. She can vote now, can't she?"

"She certainly can. Does she know where to register?"

"You have to go downtown, don't you?"

Now you can give some service—and begin to win votes. You go ahead and give explicit information. If precinct registration day is some time away, you suggest the girl go down to the City Hall to register. If Registration Day is only a few days away, suggest she register right there in the precinct on that day. If you gather that the family is favorable to I.V.I. principles, be sure to call and REMIND her on the night before Registration Day AND on the day.

Remember, too, William Smith no longer lives in the precinct and therefore is not eligible. Turn in his name to your local chairman as one to be scratched from the list.

So it goes until you've covered your entire precinct. In some cases you can check on people simply by comparing the names on the name-plate with the names on your list. This is uncertain, however, because sometimes roomers, youngsters or newcomers don't show on the name-plate by the bells. Strange as it seems, some people move in and don't change the name-plates. So, if you have time, it pays to talk to every household in your precinct.

Remember: (1) You make sure all NEW voters register. (2) You turn in the names of voters who have moved away or died.

You've done three things: (1) You've had an introduction to a lot of people who therefore will be more receptive when you call again. (2) You've helped a lot of people get registered. They'll appreciate it, and they'll be easier to talk to when you're electioneering. (3) You've had a first introduction to the makeup of your precinct. (Incidentally, in talking

to people, you may get good indications of their political attitudes. This will be helpful later on.)

It may be that by the time you have decided to take a crack at precinct work you'll find that Registration Day has already come and gone. That doesn't mean the show is over. You've missed the first act but you've still got a month to get out the vote for YOUR candidates.

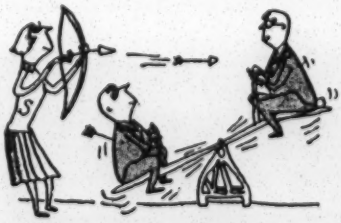
THE MOST IMPORTANT STEP—LOCATING VOTES

This will take intelligence, ingenuity and flexibility.

Before You Start Canvassing—get a fair idea of the essential advantages of your candidates. Get the principal and popular issues in mind. Don't weight yourself down, however. You don't have to be a walking encyclopedia. You'll have fact sheets and information sheets with you, and you can quite openly refer to them when you're in doubt. If you should run into questions you can't answer, just say frankly that you don't know the answer, but that you'll find out. Ask your Political Action Chairman for the information, and the next night, take the information to the people who asked.

Also, before you start, see if you can't construct for yourself a HARD CARD. A Hard Card is simply a precinct list, pasted on cardboard backing for permanence, on which the names are marked—red for Democrats—blue for Republicans—indicating how the people voted in the most recent primary elections. A friendly talk with the Democratic precinct captain—or with the Republican precinct captain—will often give you the privilege of copying the markings on their hard cards.

Perhaps your Political Action Chairman has been able to arrange this for an entire area. But the Hard Card, although helpful, isn't essential. Its main function is to give you a line on the voters so that you won't waste your time on the standpatters, either those for you or against you. Your prime target is the shifting vote and any way you can get access to that group is OK. If you can't get a line on the "independents" before canvassing you soon will after you start. The straight-ticket voters are strangely proud of their status.



Your prime target is the shifting vote

So, moderately well informed, and with a pencil, a precinct

list or Hard Card, and with an abundance of literature, you start on your rounds.

When You Canvass—remember your first objective is simply to LOCATE YOUR VOTES. Therefore, conduct the conversation so that the voter will be compelled to give some indication of his feelings. For example: after you first introduce yourself as working for the Independent Voters of Illinois, there may be a pause in which the voter may say something like "Glad to hear it"—or "that's a good organization". The voter, just by facial expression, may give an indication of his attitude.

That's a good start, right there. Work all the time so as to get the voter to talk. You proceed, with something like, "We're an independent group of citizens, you know, and we check the candidates and make recommendations for those who best meet our high standards. We're especially anxious to get support for candidate X and candidate Y. (Use only your top one or two names.) Again you PAUSE. The person will usually react in SOME way. A smile of agreement, a comment like, "I've heard of them, they're pretty good men." Anything of this sort is practically all you need. You then proceed to discuss candidates so as to determine the voters stand . . . You leave literature with them. Tell them you'll drop by to remind them on election eve. You take your leave as quickly as you courteously can.

As SOON AS YOU LEAVE EACH HOUSE—*MARK YOUR PRECINCT LIST*. Practical experience has shown it is best to use only THREE MARKS—(+), (—), (0).

A plus sign (+)—means the voter is favorable.
A minus sign (—)—means the voter is unfavorable.
A zero (0)—means you couldn't find out.

Unless something indicates differences, you're usually safe to mark the whole family with the same sign, even though you've only talked to one member. If the family differs, you'll most always be told about it.

As soon as you leave each house...

BUT *GENERALLY*, WHEN YOUR PRECINCT LIST IS ALL MARKED WITH PLUSSES, MINUSES, ZEROS — YOU'LL FIND A THIRD ARE ZEROS, UNKNOWNS. MOST LIKELY THESE VOTES WILL TURN OUT TO BE AGAINST YOU. BEWARE THE TEMPTATION TO CREDIT YOURSELF WITH A HALF OR A THIRD OF THE UNKNOWNS. PLAY SAFE AND CREDIT THESE TO THE OPPOSITION.

House by house, apartment by apartment, you go down the streets of your precinct, talking to at least one voter in each place. If they're not home or if they're busy, call back the next night. Keep going until you've had some contact with all the homes in your precinct.

A WEEK BEFORE THE ELECTION, YOU SHOULD HAVE COMPLETED THE FIRST ROUND OF ALL YOUR PRECINCT. That leaves you a week for re-checking and for winning over doubtfuls.

Up to now, you've simply inquired, felt people out, tried to determine their basic attitudes. NOW, if you have time, you can go back to those doubtfuls who seemed intelligently open to persuasion. You may have secondary contacts, mutual friends, or business acquaintances, who can influence these people. You may find reasons why some of the straight Republican voters may jump over on the top spot of the ballot. Check over your list and its marks—and see if you can convert any of the minus signs, or win over any of the zeros. Maybe some of your plus marks need to be solidified. Remember, there are OTHER forces at work, too.

REMEMBER THIS: Although every precinct is different, and although your PARTICULAR precinct may run heavily Democratic or heavily Republican, and although you may have a small precinct or a big precinct—*ON THE AVERAGE*, ONE-THIRD OF THE PEOPLE WILL NOT GIVE YOU ANY IDEA OF HOW THEY FEEL ABOUT YOUR CANDIDATES. SOME WILL SLAM THE DOOR IN YOUR FACE. SOME WILL BE POLITE AND SAY NOTHING. SOME WILL SCOLD YOU.

Don't let it worry you—except for this: People who don't talk will usually vote against you. If people tend to agree with you, they'll usually say so. Some will tell you they disagree with you. A very few may agree with you, but not reveal it.

NOW—TO GET YOUR VOTERS TO THE POLLS

The night before election, make your final check. Add up your total plusses, minusses, and zeros. Then FORGET ABOUT THE MINUSSES. Forget about the zeros unless you have a real and honest reason why you think they might be

with us. From now on, CONCENTRATE ON GETTING YOUR PLUSSES TO THE POLLS.

So, the night before election, go 'round real fast, just long enough to ring the bell and remind every plus household that the election is tomorrow. AGAIN, put in a plug for our men.

The next morning—as the polls open, if possible, and no later than seven A.M., be out on the street or near the polls. Try to catch your men before they leave for work. When you KNOW the time that people get up or leave for work—ring their bell again and remind them again to vote. AGAIN give them IVI's recommended list. Urge them to take it with them to follow when they mark their ballots.

Meanwhile, you will have been provided with a watcher's certificate which lets you go in and out of the polls. If you can, get a helper to keep a record of which voters have come in to vote. You may be able to arrange to get markings from one of the precinct captains from time to time. They will have their own paid watchers on duty, marking *their lists.*

Around nine or ten o'clock, start going after your voters who haven't been in. Keep it up all day long—until you have EVERY POSSIBLE ONE OF YOUR PLUS MARKS IN. You may increase your total by 10 to 30 voters, by going after them. Sit with their babies, walk over with them, get a car to drive them to the polls, do ANYTHING you have to—but GET THOSE MARKS IN TO VOTE. IF THEY'RE NOT IN BY FIVE O'CLOCK IT WILL BE TOO LATE. A VOTE NOT CAST IS A VOTE FOR THE OPPOSITION.

Sit with their children....

THE LAST JOB—WATCHING THE COUNT

At 5 P.M. the polls close and the count starts. To watch the count you usually have to be there before closing—and you have to stay. You can't leave and come back again. As a watcher, you can't touch any ballots, but you can SEE them—and you can watch the clerks who tally. If you can, get a helper—so one watches the tally—and the other watches the ballots.

Will they actually STEAL votes? It's possible—but not likely. But, you can lose as many as fifteen votes through errors and disputes. For example, the "X" on a ballot is supposed to cross inside the square. Some cases are doubtful. They're "liners". A strong voice there will bring a ruling in your favor.

After some time—the count will be completed.

Then comes YOUR BIGGEST REWARD. You'll see the results you got. You'll be able to tell by the splits, the exceptions, the margins for IVI endorsed candidates over non-endorsed candidates, just where your work has counted. YOUR WORK *WILL* COUNT—AND COUNT TREMENDOUSLY.

You will swing, at the VERY LEAST, 20 or 25 votes in your precinct. That MAY make a difference of 40 or 50 in the majority. You MAY swing up to 50 or 100 votes. If so, you're ahead of the professionals themselves. Suppose you did swing 50 votes in a precinct of 400 registered voters.

400 persons registered and eligible to vote.
300 or less, seldom more than 300, will actually vote, in spite of the combined efforts of you, and the Democratic and Republican captains. Of those 300, let's say:

150 —would have been for YOUR MAN.
150 —would have been for his opponent.
BUT, IF YOU SWING FIFTY—THAT MEANS—
200 will be for YOUR MAN.
100 will be for his opponent.

YOU'VE SWITCHED IT FROM A TIE TO A 2-TO-1 MAJORITY

AND IT CAN BE DONE!

The greatest feeling in the world is after you've done the work, talked to the people, reminded them to vote, pursued them to get them to the polls, and watched them through the tedious count—THEN TO SEE HOW MUCH GOOD YOU ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE THINGS YOU BELIEVE IN. IT FEELS SWELL!

Remember you'll be adding your effort to those of other people.

Even if you were the only IVI worker in existence, it would be well worth while. But, remember, you'll be adding your efforts to those of other people in your ward, and in other wards. There are helpers, too, in other cities—ADA co-workers in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, Minneapolis, New York, Washington, Memphis and elsewhere. It will all add up to a very sizeable and weighty influence in the American political scene—and as precinct leader, you're a basic and integral part of it.

WHAT'S THE PROFESSIONAL PRECINCT CAPTAIN GOT THAT YOU HAVEN'T?

The Republican and Democratic captains do have certain advantages. They give full time to canvassing. They have more experience (though they had a first time, too). They have money to spend and jobs to give. They maintain a continuing relation with the voters.

WHAT HAVE YOU GOT THAT THE PRO'S DON'T HAVE?

You have convictions about what you're presenting. You have a more acceptable story to tell. Many people who reject (or eject) the professionals will be perfectly receptive to you, bcause you're "independent". In many homes you'll find that the IVI name is known and carries considerable weight. In others where it is not known, you'll find respect and hospitality (new members, too, sometimes) when you explain how IVI works for better government and liberal ideals. Finally, you have a special advantage. The Republican and Democratic parties are like two men on a scale—about equally balanced. By throwing your weight to one side or the other you exert force. By aiding one or the other of two contending forces, you hold a *strategic balance of power.*

Are like two men on a scale...

CHECK LIST FOR IVI PRECINCT LEADERS REGISTRATION—30 DAYS BEFORE ELECTION

1. Canvass house to house. Learn who the new voters are. Learn who has moved away.
2. Urge new voters to register. Tell them when, where, how. Turn in removals to your local chairman.
3. The night before registration, and on registration day, remind voters to register. You CAN'T remind them too often.

Check list

CANVASSING—THREE WEEKS TO ONE DAY BEFORE THE ELECTION

1. Canvass house to house. Talk to at least one member of every family. Remember your first objective is to LOCATE VOTES. In every case:

   a. Learn their attitude.
   b. Give them any information they want, or get it to them later.
   c. Give them literature.
   d. Mark your list with a plus, minus or zero.

2. After the full round of your precinct, go back to those doubtfuls and unknowns you think you have a chance of converting.

BRINGING IN THE VOTE

1. The night before election, remind all your voters marked with plus.
2. Election Day, get out early; get men to vote before they leave for work; check all day to keep your plus marks coming to vote. Use every possible means to get your voters in. After the polls close it will be too late.

WATCHING THE COUNT

1. Be in the polls before they close. Stay for the count.
2. Watch the ballots. Watch the tally.

AT ALL TIMES—Stay busy and alert. Don't wait to be invited to work. Keep in touch with your Political Action chairman. His job is to furnish you with literature, the Precinct List, a poll watcher's certificate, and if possible, the hard card information. He should help you with information, guidance, counsel. He wants your ideas and suggestions.

TIPS, QUESTIONS, CAUTIONS

TIP: *Don't be discouraged because* your precinct list looks so long. In a 400-voter precinct, there won't be more than 200 households—probably less. Some households will have 6

voters. Some will have only one. Some calls may take an hour. A few will take a half-hour. Most take 5 to 15 minutes. Some won't take 30 seconds because they won't talk or don't answer.

TIP: *Gauge your personal time* so you put in most work nearest to the election, because opinions nearest election day will be the one that people most likely will vote.

TIP: *Sunday afternoon is a good time* for canvassing, particularly in bad weather. Bad weather is always especially good because people admire you for going out in it.

TIP: *Beware the Democratic and Republican precinct captains.* Accept the help they give—*but check it.* They sometimes may be deceiving.

CAUTION: *System is everything.* Don't depend just on talking to your friends. It's easier, yes—but shadow boxing is easier than fighting, too. Your friends will usually vote right anyway. It's the people you DON'T know who vote against you, mainly. You MUST get out and MEET THE PEOPLE in your precinct.

CAUTION: *Don't rely on ANY voter* to carry out any promise. With the best intentions in the world, one-third of your voters will FORGET to vote.

CAUTION: Always, always, do your level best to talk to the voter on election day, preferably just before he enters the polling place. He'll be impressed with your sincerity and enthusiasm and any lingering doubts will go.

WHAT ABOUT PEOPLE WHO REFUSE TO TALK? Sometimes as many as 60% of the voters in the precinct will refuse to talk at all. Some will not even open the door to you. Use your own ingenuity and charm to get to those people in whatever way you can. Even if ¾ of the voters in your precinct refuse to talk to you, you would still have 100 voters with whom to work. Remember that as few as 20 to 40 voters can make a tremendous percentage difference.

CAUTION: *Your time is valuable. Don't get tied up in long arguments.* Your first task is to get a complete picture of your precinct. After you have a reaction of *all* voters in the precinct, *then* go back for difficult cases.

TIP: *Don't be concerned if you don't get invited* into the living room. Frequently you can learn as much in two minutes, standing at the door, as you could learn inside in two hours.

TIP: *When you don't know the answer* to a question, don't try to fake an answer or to stall. Simply say "I don't know, but I'll find out and drop in tomorrow evening to tell you the answer."

TIP: *Don't worry too much about trying to have an encyclopedic knowledge* of the facts and issues. Right now you know more than 95% of the voters. If you know the basic issues and main facts about the candidates, you will have enough to go on.

CAUTION: *Don't get mad at anybody.* When people are rude or non-committal, be friendly and respectful anyway. Leave literature for them to look over later. In impossible situations simply leave quickly and politely.

EFV

How to Get Out The VOTE

ELECTION DAY IS THE PAYOFF!

Check off these points as to how to prepare for Election Day activities to get out the labor vote:

- A COPE headquarters in every precinct . . .
- Plenty of telephones, tables, chairs, stationery . . .
- Recruit a volunteer force NOW, not the last minute . . . Members, wives and husbands, teen-age children, everybody . . .

  Enroll them all in Labor's fighting force for citizenship! . . . Give them all their special jobs—

  Checkers, to keep track of who votes . . .

  Telephoners, to call those who haven't voted . . .

  Messengers, to carry lists and messages, bring sandwiches and coffee, visit people who have no phones . . .

  Drivers and cars to take people to vote . . .

  Baby-sitters—say no more! . . .

  Poll-watchers—who know the law! . . .

  Leaflet passers—underline courtesy! . . .

  Sound-truck crews, and a truck . . .

It may take 20 workers to a precinct . . . be sure you have plenty.

* * * * *

A week before the election, call in *all* your volunteers and set *everyone* to work visiting homes and reminding folks to vote.

That is the time to make a last check to see what help every voter needs.

Compile the information in a card file.

The weekend before the election get your workers together again, and—

Put your card file in order . . .

Make lists of voters who need drivers, sitters . . .

Let everybody know his or her assignment . . .

* * * * *

On Election Day

- Every worker in his place: Checkers, telephoners, messengers, drivers, baby sitters, poll-watchers, leaflet-passers, sound-truck crews . . . and headquarters force.
- Regularly, like clock-work, during the day, the checkers pass the names of those who have voted to the messengers who take them to headquarters where the telephone force takes over.
- Meanwhile, the baby-sitters leave headquarters on telephone call, do their job and come back.
- Cars and drivers follow down the list of voters and take people to vote and come back for more.
- This can get hectic. Plan it well!

* * * * *

Keep your publications table filled and your sample ballots moving out.

Keep your poll watchers on the job to prevent a steal.

Have your watchers stay to the very end, and go along to the Election Board with the clerks and judges of election.

Be sure all your people know the election laws.

Don't forget to keep your sound truck busy, and make sure you have your permit in advance.

Where workers can have time off to vote, make sure they know about it ahead of time, and that they make the necessary arrangements.

And here is one vital thing to make sure of—
Your workers will get plenty tired, so have sandwiches and coffee ready at the tough hours—particularly *after* the booths close, because that's when the *counting* begins.

* * * * *

As the results are known, call them in to headquarters, and if they are good, get publicity.

* * * * *

Election Day is when you add up the results!

All your hard work till then will be useless unless it pans out on Election Day.

That's the One Big Day!

* * * * *

Getting out the vote is the most important job your COPE can do.

Remember:
Every vote counts!

AFL—CIO Committee on Political Education
(COPE)

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
Chairman

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

Cope Publication No. 43

League of Women Voters of Illinois
225 North Michigan Ave., Chicago 1

February 1953
2¢

DO'S AND DON'TS IN WRITING YOUR LEGISLATOR

ALWAYS REMEMBER—You write letters to your representatives not to get them to do what you want, but to help them better represent you.

DO spell your legislator's name correctly and know whether he is a Senator or a Representative.

DO describe the bill by number or by its popular name. Your legislator has hundreds of bills before him during the session and cannot always take time to figure out to which one you are referring.

DO present a concise statement of the reasons for your position, particularly if you are writing about a field in which you have specialized knowledge. He has to vote on many matters with which he has had little or no first hand experience. Some of the most valuable help he gets comes from facts presented in letters from persons who really know what they are talking about.

DO make your letters short. Many letters are received by your legislator each day, and a long one may not get as prompt a reading as a brief statement.

DO time your letter to arrive while the issue is alive. If your legislator is a committee member, he will appreciate having your views while the bill is before him for study and action.

DO write letters of commendation when your legislator has done something of which you particularly approve.

DON'T write to a legislator from any other district except your own.

DON'T write letters that demand or insist he vote for or against a certain bill, or that tell him you want him to vote for, but not why.

DON'T threaten him with defeat at the next election.

DON'T write a chain letter, form letter, or postcard.

DON'T become a chronic letter writer.

DON'T write a legislator more than once on the same subject. Quality, not quantity, is what counts.

Reproduced with permission from "Lobby by Letter" issued by the
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

League of Women Voters of Illinois
225 North Michigan Ave., Chicago 1

February 1953
2¢

For your information from
LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION
ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

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League of Women Voters of Minnesota

REPORT CARD

85th Congress

PROBLEMS	PROMISES	PERFORMANCE

How Your Senators, Representatives Voted On Key Issues, 1957-58

Key Votes Spotlight Stand of Legislators

The Machinist
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS
Special Section

Faced with Sputniks in the heavens, a major recession at home, and Communist-inspired turbulence in Asia and the Middle East, the 85th Congress had more than its share of problems.

Certainly Congress worked hard, Senators and Representatives dropped 20,604 bills in the hopper during 1957 and 1958, passed 5,126 of them. They were in session a total of 547 days. The net results were varied.

The Senators and Congressmen did a creditable job of putting the nation into outer space business. They added to America's military strength, but the recession was another matter. Here's how George Meany, AFL-CIO president, put it just after Congress adjourned:

"The major failure of the 85th Congress was in the area of counteracting the effects of the economic recession. The fact is that we have had—and continue to have—a serious economic decline, with more than 5,000,000 still totally unemployed. The cost of this decline has been borne by millions of American families whose savings have been exhausted, whose homes have been threatened, whose futures are still bleak.

"America failed in its responsibilities to these families and to the health of the entire economy. Congress must share the responsibility with the President."

The purpose of this special section of THE MACHINIST is to give union members the facts on the performance of their Senators and Congressmen so that they can decide for whom to vote when they go to the polls Nov. 4.

The tables on the following pages show the votes of Representatives and Senators on key issues of particular importance to the majority of citizens. To simplify the tables, each vote of the legislators is recorded as "R" for Right or "W" for Wrong, in terms of the position which organized labor advocated on the issue.

By careful study of the votes of his own Congressman and Senators, any union member can find out how well these members of the 85th Congress represented him and whether they deserve to be re-elected next November.

Are You Registered To Vote?

ONLY IF YOU are registered to vote will the voting records of your Senators and Congressmen in this special section of THE MACHINIST be of any practical value to you. You can't vote Nov. 4 if you are not registered. The list of dates below shows the final day for registration in each of the 38 states where registration is still in progress (some have closed their books). Of course, in the two poll tax states where registration is still going on—Alabama and Virginia—you must have paid your poll tax months before. Here is the list of final dates:

ALABAMA*		Oct. 25
ARIZONA		Sept. 29
COLORADO		Oct. 20
CONNECTICUT		Oct. 18
DELAWARE		Oct. 18
IDAHO		Nov. 1
ILLINOIS		Oct. 6
INDIANA		Oct. 6
IOWA		Oct. 25
KANSAS	Kansas City, Topeka	
	Wichita	Oct. 14
	Others	Oct. 24
LOUISIANA		Oct. 4
MARYLAND	Baltimore City and counties with permanent reg.	Sept. 23
	Others	Sept. 16
MASSACHUSETTS		Oct. 3
MICHIGAN		Oct. 6
MINNESOTA		Oct. 15
MISSOURI	Kansas City	Oct. 8
	St. Louis	Oct. 11
MONTANA		Sept. 20
NEBRASKA	Lincoln, Omaha	Oct. 24
	Cities 7,000 to 40,000	Oct. 25
NEVADA		Oct. 4
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Cities	Oct. 25
	Towns	Nov. 1
NEW JERSEY		Sept. 25
NEW MEXICO		Oct. 6
NEW YORK		Oct. 11
NORTH CAROLINA		Oct. 15
NORTH DAKOTA	No statewide registration	
OHIO		Sept. 24
OKLAHOMA		Oct. 25
OREGON		Oct. 4
SOUTH CAROLINA		Oct. 5
SOUTH DAKOTA		Oct. 28
TENNESSEE	Counties over 25,000	Oct. 15
	Counties over 15,000	Oct. 25
UTAH		Oct. 29
VERMONT		Nov. 1
VIRGINIA*		Oct. 4
WASHINGTON		Oct. 3
WEST VIRGINIA		Oct. 5
WISCONSIN		Oct. 22
WYOMING		Oct. 20

*Your poll tax must have been paid previously.

85th Congress: Problems & Performance

Here are brief summaries of the performance of the 85th Congress on a number of key issues during 1957 and 1958:

Recession

Congress adopted, but President Eisenhower vetoed an Act to provide $275,000,000 for loans to aid depression cities and rural areas where unemployment is a permanent problem. A broad public works program to help put Americans back to work cleared the Senate but foundered in the House of Representatives where a coalition of ultra-conservatives refused to take unemployment problems seriously. Limited, short-term help for the unemployed was provided by a measure permitting states to borrow Federal funds to extend unemployment compensation payments an extra 13 weeks. Less than half the states have taken advantage of the law. Labor tried and failed to persuade Congress to provide for a universal 16-week extension plus higher benefits.

Defense

While Communists kept stirring the pot in Asia and the Middle East, Congress voted a whopping 73 billion dollars for defense over the two years. The appropriation of nearly 40 billion dollars for defense in the present fiscal year was the largest peace-time military budget in history and almost a billion dollars more than the President requested. Included was nearly 12 billion dollars for missiles, aircraft, equipment, and research and development.

In other aspects of defense, Congress gave the President just about what he asked. This included a major military reorganization plan, incentive pay raises for the armed services, and authority to transfer data on atomic weapons to allied nations.

Outer Space

Soviet Sputniks of a size indicating missile power mightier than anything in the U. S. arsenal spurred Congress and the President to action. They created a special new space agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, supervised by a nine-member council headed by the President.

Included in the defense appropriation for this fiscal year was $520,000,000 for space flight projects.

Schools

Congress' enthusiasm for Federal aid to the nation's crowded schools—hot when the Sputniks and other revelations of Soviet technical progress first appeared—cooled off rapidly. Nothing was done this year to revive the school construction bill killed in 1957. However, the principle of Federal aid in modern times was established. Congress authorized 887 million dollars for long term, low interest loans to bright but needy college students, for graduate fellowships, for teaching foreign languages, for scientific teaching aids and laboratory equipment in high schools, for training teachers in counseling and career testing, for vocational training and for other purposes.

Pensions

Spurred by unions, Congress enacted a law increasing Social Security pensions 7 per cent and raising contributions of employers and employees to pay the cost. Unions fought hard to boost the increase to 10 per cent and win a new program to provide hospital and surgical insurance for oldsters eligible for Social Security.

Congress turned down a measure to provide similar increases for pensioners and their survivors under Railroad Retirement. The bill passed the Senate but died in the House when Congress adjourned.

Atomic & Hydro Power

For the first time, the legislators authorized the Atomic Energy Commission to construct a reactor and perform certain research projects itself, instead of farming out the work to private utilities.

In the hydroelectric power field, the utilities won out. Congress defeated the proposal for a high Federal dam in Hells Canyon on the Snake River in Idaho and Oregon. The high dam would have provided low cost electricity to the power-starved Pacific Northwest for developing new industries providing jobs.

You Can Make the 86th Better—But...

1 0 6 4 V:305

Emory - I thought this was interesting and disturbing. Of course, the questions were loaded! Burr Harrison is a down the line Byrd man.

BURR P. HARRISON
7TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEE
WAYS AND MEANS
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE
ON ADMINISTRATION OF
THE SOCIAL SECURITY LAWS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

December 28, 1959.

Dear Friend:

While I believe it is the duty of a Representative in Congress to vote in accordance with his best judgment -- the citizens having placed their trust in that judgment when they elected him -- I think it equally important that he try to keep informed as to the views of the citizens he represents.

Once again, therefore, I am asking the voting families of the Seventh Congressional District to take a few minutes to answer a questionnaire covering issues likely to come up during the session of Congress convening January 6. All answers will be kept confidential. If you give your name and address, the questionnaire you fill out will be returned to you with a tabulation of all returns received through January 31.

I have tried to send one questionnaire to each voting family. If there are differing viewpoints within the family, I will be happy to supply additional copies on request.

I should appreciate it greatly if you would give me the benefit of your views and return the form to me at the House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Faithfully yours,

Burr P. Harrison

Burr P. Harrison

(Please write "Yes" or "No" on lines provided.)

1. A bill in Congress would provide hospital, nursing home and surgical benefits for persons receiving social security payments. An immediate increase in the social security tax of 1/4% of wages and salaries on both employer and employee and 3/8% of the earnings of self-employed persons subject to social security taxes is called for by the bill; but eventual costs of the proposed new benefits have been estimated to require nearly double these increases in tax. Do you favor this bill?

Yes

2. Most States, including Virginia, have enacted "fair trade" laws intended to control "cutthroat" retail price competition, such as the selling of some popular brands of merchandise at a low price as come-ons. The "fair trade" laws permit a manufacturer to set the retail price of his product if he desires. Would you favor a federal law of this kind?

No

3. A bill recommended by a committee of the House of Representatives would allocate 4 billion 500 million dollars to the States over a four-year period to build additional public schools and raise the salaries of public school teachers. Do you favor this bill?

Yes

4. A bill recommended by a committee of the House of Representatives would authorize the Federal Government to subsidize the construction of 35,000 low-rent public housing units a year, for four years, in the cities in the United States -- this construction to be in addition to all such projects authorized under existing laws. Construction, and subsidization of the low rents over a 40-year period, is estimated to cost the federal taxpayers approximately 3 billion 700 million dollars. Do you favor this bill?

Yes

(Please turn the page.)

(Please write "Yes" or "No" on lines provided.)

5. In an effort to keep the nationwide federal superhighway construction program on schedule, we now are paying a special one-cent increase in the federal gasoline tax. (President Eisenhower had urged a 1-1/2 cent boost.) Do you believe we should concentrate on completing the Interstate system, even if doing so reduces funds which otherwise would be available for improvements on the regular primary and secondary roads?

No

6. Industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide strike calls by labor unions would be prohibited under a bill before Congress. Unions would be required to bargain with management, and make strike decisions, on a company-by-company basis. Do you favor this bill?

No

7. Do you think there should be a federal law prohibiting the advertising of alcoholic beverages in interstate commerce, which would include radio and television networks and national magazines?

Yes (very much favor!)

8. President Eisenhower has urged Congress to raise the first-class postage rate to five cents an ounce in an effort to make the postal service break even. Do you favor this?

No

9. Do you think the Soil Bank Conservation Reserve program should be continued?

?

10. Do you think the federal minimum wage, which now is $1 an hour, should be raised and coverage of the law extended to employees of service establishments and retail stores?

No

11. It is contended, on one hand, that we must be willing to buy substantial quantities of foreign goods if we expect to sell our products to other nations. On the other hand, it is argued that imports from low-labor-cost countries now are at such levels as to require higher tariffs and the use of import quotas to protect domestic industry. Do you favor such restrictions on imports?

No

12. (This question intended to be answered by women only.)

A proposed "Equal Rights" Amendment to the U. S. Constitution would prohibit discrimination against women. It has been pointed out that such an amendment would invalidate legal distinctions claimed to be for the benefit of women, such as anti-sweatshop laws regulating hours of women's employment, and laws making jury service by women voluntary, giving women a lower qualifying age for social security benefits, and placing responsibility for family support on the husband. Proponents of the Amendment contend, however, that women no longer need or want such protective legislation, but want their equality spelled out in the Constitution. Do you favor the proposed Constitutional Amendment?

No

NOTE: It is not necessary to sign this questionnaire, but, if you do, and give your address, it will be returned to you with a tabulation of replies received through January 31.

NAME Rev. + Mrs. Bernard S. Via, Jr.
(Please print.)

STREET, ROUTE OR BOX NUMBER Box 326
(Please print.)

CITY OR TOWN New Market, Virginia
(Please print.)

Thank you. Burr P. Harrison

Comment: This is a splendid stimulant to voter thinking. My wife and I went over each item carefully and concurred 100%.

Mail this questionnaire to:
CONGRESSMAN BURR P. HARRISON
HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

BURR P. HARRISON
7TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEE
WAYS AND MEANS
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE
ON ADMINISTRATION OF
THE SOCIAL SECURITY LAWS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 8, 1960

Dear Friend:

I appreciated your participating in my recent mail poll of Seventh Congressional District voting households on questions before Congress.

With 7,542 returns in, the results, as of February 1, are as shown below. Approximately 12½ percent of the citizens polled responded, which is considered a very satisfactory return for a questionnaire of this kind.

It will be a pleasure to hear from you at any time on legislative matters of particular interest to you

Faithfully yours,

Burr P. Harrison

Burr P. Harrison

1. A bill in Congress would provide hospital, nursing home and surgical benefits for persons receiving social security payments. An immediate increase in the social security tax of 1/4% of wages and salaries on both employer and employee and 3/8% of the earnings of self-employed persons subject to social security taxes is called for by the bill; but eventual costs of the proposed new benefits have been estimated to require nearly double these increases in tax. Do you favor this bill?

Yes - 2,300 No - 5,005

2. Most States, including Virginia, have enacted "fair trade" laws intended to control "cutthroat" retail price competition, such as the selling of some popular brands of merchandise at a low price as come-ons. The "fair trade" laws permit a manufacturer to set the retail price of his product if he desires. Would you favor a federal law of this kind?

Yes - 2,726 No - 4,323

3. A bill recommended by a committee of the House of Representatives would allocate 4 billion 500 million dollars to the States over a four-year period to build additional public schools and raise the salaries of public school teachers. Do you favor this bill?

Yes - 3,127 No - 4,094

4. A bill recommended by a committee of the House of Representatives would authorize the Federal Government to subsidize the construction of 35,000 low-rent public housing units a year, for four years, in the cities in the United States -- this construction to be in addition to all such projects authorized under existing laws. Construction, and subsidization of the low rents over a 40-year period, is estimated to cost the federal taxpayers approximately 3 billion 700 million dollars. Do you favor this bill?

Yes - 989 No - 6,258

5. In an effort to keep the nationwide federal superhighway construction program on schedule, we now are paying a special one-cent increase in the federal gasoline tax. (President Eisenhower had urged a 1-1/2 cent boost.) Do you believe we should concentrate on completing the Interstate system, even if doing so reduces funds which otherwise would be available for improvements on the regular primary and secondary roads?

Yes - 1,676 No - 5,529

(Please turn the page.)

6. Industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide strike calls by labor unions would be prohibited under a bill before Congress. Unions would be required to bargain with management, and make strike decisions, on a company-by-company basis. Do you favor this bill?

Yes - 6,068 No - 1,121

---

7. Do you think there should be a federal law prohibiting the advertising of alcoholic beverages in interstate commerce, which would include radio and television networks and national magazines?

Yes - 4,195 No - 3,107

---

8. President Eisenhower has urged Congress to raise the first-class postage rate to five cents an ounce in an effort to make the postal service break even. Do you favor this?

Yes - 2,909 No - 4,406

---

9. Do you think the Soil Bank Conservation Reserve program should be continued?

Yes - 2,026 ? No - 4,581

---

10. Do you think the federal minimum wage, which now is $1 an hour, should be raised and coverage of the law extended to employees of service establishments and retail stores?

Yes - 3,303 No - 3,841

---

11. It is contended, on one hand, that we must be willing to buy substantial quantities of foreign goods if we expect to sell our products to other nations. On the other hand, it is argued that imports from low-labor-cost countries now are at such levels as to require higher tariffs and the use of import quotas to protect domestic industry. Do you favor such restrictions on imports?

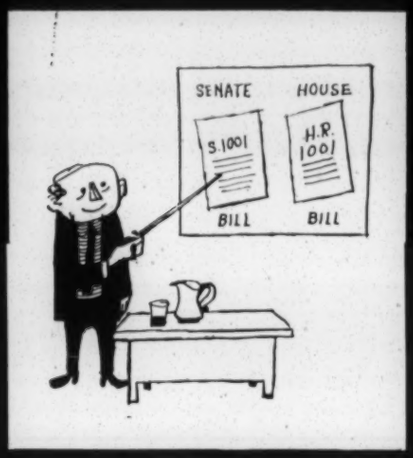
Yes - 3,796 No - 3,189

---

12. <u>(This question intended to be answered by women only.)</u>

A proposed "Equal Rights" Amendment to the U. S. Constitution would prohibit discrimination against women. It has been pointed out that such an amendment would invalidate legal distinctions claimed to be for the benefit of women, such as anti-sweatshop laws regulating hours of women's employment, and laws making jury service by women voluntary, giving women a lower qualifying age for social security benefits, and placing responsibility for family support on the husband. Proponents of the Amendment contend, however, that women no longer need or want such protective legislation, but want their equality spelled out in the Constitution. Do you favor the proposed Constitutional Amendment?

Yes - 1,345 No - 2,257



HELPING TO WRITE YOUR NATION'S LAWS

Congress is now in session. It's the 86th Congress this time. Many people in the local unions may well sit back and be proud of the job they did in helping elect liberal Senators and Congressmen on November 4.

But is now the time to take it easy? Winning elections, when one thinks about it, is not an end in itself. It's only a means to the real end—that of passing decent legislation benefiting the people of the country.

Getting good legislation passed, and damaging legislation defeated, is a constant process involving hard work and understanding by the people at the local level. A legislator sooner believes his mail bag and what he hears people getting excited about back home than what a professional lobbyist tells him is on the minds of the voters in his district.

It is because of this that local union education and legislative committees particularly have a very important job to do while Congress and state legislatures are in session.

There are two main things that education and legislative committees must do to get the continued grass roots support necessary to get legislation passed:

1) Educate on how legislation gets passed.
2) Follow bills as they go through Congress and educate on what the legislation is all about.

Learning More About Congress

Later on in this article there are suggestions on some of the things that your committee and local members can do to help get good legislation passed in Congress. But in order for people to understand why they should do these things, they must first understand how Congress works. Here are some ways to educate on how laws are passed:

1. *Use films*—There are a number of useful films, avail-

How Congress Makes Laws

1. A BILL IS INTRODUCED TO CONGRESS EITHER BY A CONGRESSMAN OR A SENATOR. This may be his own bill or he may have gotten the idea from some group or person back home or from a national group such as a labor or business organization. Or, it may be the bill of the administration or the opposition.

2. BILLS ARE REFERRED TO SPECIALIZED COMMITTEES which study them and make recommendations to the House or Senate. The committees are extremely important, as many bills are long and involved and generally the recommendations of the committee to the Senate or the House are accepted.

3. ON MOST IMPORTANT BILLS, THE COMMITTEE WHICH IS STUDYING THE BILL WILL HOLD HEARINGS where representatives of various groups or individuals who are interested, can present their views on the piece of legislation involved.

4. WHEN THE HEARINGS ARE OVER, the committee and its staff studies all the recommendations and the bill itself and presents an agreed-upon bill to the House or Senate for consideration.

5. THE BILL GOES ON THE CALENDAR IN THE SENATE before it gets on the floor for debate. IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IT IS SENT TO THE RULES COMMITTEE which acts as a traffic cop and decides when (or whether) the bill can be presented for debate.

6. WHEN THE BILL PASSES ONE OF THE HOUSES OF CONGRESS, IT IS THEN SENT TO THE OTHER HOUSE FOR APPROVAL. If the bill passes the second House without any changes, it is sent to the President for his signature.

7. IF THE PRESIDENT SIGNS THE BILL, IT BECOMES A LAW. If he vetoes it, it is sent back to the House and Senate. It takes a two-thirds vote of both Houses to pass a bill over the President's veto.

8. IF THE SENATE AND HOUSE PASS DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF A BILL, the two separate bills are sent to a joint conference committee made up of Senators and Representatives. They compromise the issues involved and then the compromise bill is sent back to the House and Senate, where it is generally passed by both Houses.

able from the AFL-CIO Education Department, which show how Congress works.

MAN ON THE HILL—(23 min. Rental $2.50) Shows the work of a Congressman, especially on committees, and the influence of legislation on our daily lives.

PRESSURE GROUPS—(20 min. Rental $2.50) Shows good and bad pressure groups in action and makes the point that lobbying can be a legitimate, constructive part of the legislative process.

THE CONGRESS—(10 min. Rental $2.00) gives an outline of the process a bill must go through to become a law.

POWERS OF CONGRESS—(13 min. Rental $2.50) A fantasy about the powers of Congress which should be accompanied by an explanation that Congress doesn't automatically work in the interest of the people.

LABOR'S WITNESS—(33 min. Rental $3.00) Good illustration of a hearing before a Congressional committee, in this case a UAW official testifying about political education activities.

Order one of the films for showing at your meeting. Also reproduce the box on page 1 and hand it out to members following the film showing. Then take a particular bill and show how it must go through the various steps before it can become law. A good example would be the Forand Bill, which will be introduced in the House and which the AFL-CIO strongly supports. It would give hospital and surgical care to those who receive social security benefits.

2. *Use an Experienced Person*—Get one of your union representatives or a member who has been to a union legislative institute or someone you have worked with in the community who has had legislative experience. Show one of the films and then ask him to comment on it from his experience. Ask him to comment on the 8 points on "How Congress Makes Laws" and what can be done by the local and its members at each step in the legislative process.

3. *Use a Simple Quiz*—Reproduce the questionnaire on this page. Ask the people to fill out the questionnaire and then discuss the answers. Refer to the box on page 1 in the discussion. Also reproduce it and distribute it.

The Important Issues

Besides understanding how Congress works, union members have to understand the issues facing Congress and the bills being considered by Congress concerning these issues. In this way members will be more prepared to take intelligent action to make their opinions felt in Congress.

This 86th Congress will be meeting for two years. Bills will be introduced, changed in committee, debated, etc. Some may be stalled in committee. Filibuster on the floor may threaten others. Some may not see a final vote till close to the end of next year's session.

Become familiar with the 12-point legislative program adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This program covers the major items which the AFL-CIO hopes will become law during the 86th Congress. There may be other bills submitted which we will oppose strongly.

What bill is the AFL-CIO supporting on, say, eliminating chronic unemployment in depressed areas and why? Who will benefit by it? Why wasn't one passed before? What's in the bill? Has it been changed by a committee or on the floor of one of the houses?

There are many sources of information for getting the background on each issue and for following what's happening to the particular bills. At least one person on your committee should be responsible for gathering this information and keeping up to date. Suggested sources are listed in this article.

Educating on the Issues

Through these sources of information your committee can get to keep up with what's going on in Congress and what the labor movement is supporting and why. Now, here are some things the committees can do in the local to create understanding of the issues.

MAKE REPORTS—At every membership meeting, have one person from the committee make a short report on the progress of the major legislation that the local and the labor movement are interested in.

USE A PANEL—A discussion panel can be more interesting than a report. For example, when the minimum wage bill is receiving a lot of publicity get two or three of the committee to discuss what changes the labor movement is asking for and what effect this will have on underpaid workers and the workers in your own industry.

USE SPEAKERS—For some pieces of legislation, an informed speaker can help get the issue across. Are your local public schools in trouble with overcrowding and losing teachers because they're overworked and underpaid? Find a member of the American Federation of Teachers or of the school board who can speak on how a federal aid to education bill will help in these problems. Try to schedule your program when the newspapers are giving a lot of publicity to a particular bill.

USE FILMS—Any of the films on national legislative issues listed here can be secured from the AFL-CIO Education Department. They can be used effectively as a background for discussion on current issues.

Afghanistan Moves Ahead—10 min. Rental $2. Shows how one isolated country is learning new ways for industry and agriculture through the UN technical aid program.

Farewell Oak Street—20 min. Rental $2.50. A forceful Canadian film for better housing.

Looking Ahead—13 min. Rental $2.50. Use this film to introduce a discussion of how Social Security benefits fall short of human needs, and then discuss the Forand Bill.

Quiz on How Congress Makes Laws

(This is not a test . . . do not sign your name.)

	Check One True	Check One False
1. A Congressman from the minority party cannot introduce a bill until his party becomes a majority.	☐	☐
2. The Senate as a whole usually ignores the recommendation of the committee which brings a bill before it.	☐	☐
3. Only members of the House or Senate can present their views on a proposed law before a Committee.	☐	☐
4. The House cannot send a bill to the President without waiting for Senate action.	☐	☐
5. If the President vetoes a bill, that's the end of it.	☐	☐
6. When the House and the Senate pass different bills covering the same thing, a compromise is possible.	☐	☐

Answers:
1. False, 2. False, 3. False, 4. True, 5. False, 6. True.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

(All listed departments are at 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.)

AFL-CIO NEWS—Contains up-to-date information on bills going through Congress. This includes a one-page "Scorecard on the 86th Congress" in January 10, 1959 issue (reasonable quantities available, free); "Fact Sheet on Congress" series (see below); from time to time a useful box giving the status of important bills; and news articles explaining what's happening on important issues. At least your education or legislative committee chairman should have a subscription to the AFL-CIO NEWS. ($2.00 a year).

* * *

LABOR LOOKS AT THE 85th CONGRESS—Contains background and votes on the major legislative issues during the last Congress. Many of the issues will come up again this session. Send to the AFL-CIO Legislative Department for this pamphlet.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION BULLETIN—Comes out at least once a month from the AFL-CIO Legislative Department. Contains the contents and status of important bills and what action is needed—and when. Write the Department to be placed on the mailing list.

* * *

LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW—Offers monthly summary of a national economic-legislative issue. Available from AFL-CIO Research Department ($2.00 per year).

* * *

The January 10, 1959 issue of "AFL-CIO News" contains a handy SCORE CARD FOR THE 86th CONGRESS. Alongside a summary statement of each of the major issues, it gives the AFL-CIO position on the issue and the action taken on it by the previous Congress. Write "AFL-CIO News" for reprints of this page. Small quantities free.

Local union committees should check their INTERNATIONAL or NATIONAL UNION for legislative information available from the national office. In some cases, regional educational education directors prepare material on legislative issues for distribution to local unions. In a few cases, state AFL-CIO bodies have legislative information on national issues.

* * *

FACT SHEET ON CONGRESS—Is a useful series, starting January 24, of special articles appearing in the AFL-CIO NEWS. Free reprints, in reasonable quantities, are available from AFL-CIO Legislative Department.

* * *

POLITICAL MEMO FROM COPE—Bi-weekly newsletter from AFL-CIO COPE contains much information about legislation and voting records on key bills. Send subscriptions to COPE, $1.00 a year; 10 copies to one address, $2.50 a year.

Our Nation's Health—13 min. Rental $2.50. Produced by the former CIO. Presents the case for national health insurance program.

Power and the Land—38 min. Rental $4. Film explains farm problems and points up the tremendous achievements of REA (Rural Electric Administration).

Prices, Paychecks and Prosperity—18 min. Rental $2.50. Leon Keyserling calls for a more vigorous anti-monopoly program, higher outlays for defense, education, health and resource development.

The River—32 min. Rental $3. Film shows the consequences of poor land use. It concludes with scenes on regional planning efforts and flood control.

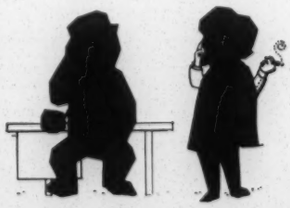
To Promote the General Welfare—13 min. Rental $2.50. Former President Truman discusses responsibiilties of government for housing, better schools, social security and other measures.

Valley of the Tennessee—30 min. Rental $3. Story of planning and reconstruction for an entire river valley. Excellent film to stimulate discussion of resource and development legislation.

WRITE ABOUT IT IN YOUR LOCAL UNION BULLETIN—If, for example, an important measure such as federal standards for unemployment compensation is at a crucial stage, explain the issue in your local union bulletin or newspaper and ask members to act on it. If you don't have a regular bulletin, or even if you do, issuing a special leaflet would point up the action you want.

Show Members How to Take Action

Understanding the legislative issues isn't enough. Show your members how then can take action on needed legislation. (If you follow your AFL-CIO *Legislative Action Bulletin* closely you will be able to know, too, what action is needed on a specific issue at a particular time.)



Here are some of the things you can DO to accomplish this:

WRITE LETTERS—Right after a good program or report on a particular bill, people are more prepared to do something about it. Be ready to pass out stationery and ask members to write their Congressman and Senators expressing their views. At the next meeting discuss the replies that were received. If they're favorable, compliment your Representative on his stand; if unfavorable, get more people to write him.

PASS RESOLUTIONS—on important bills, and, if the legislation is at a crucial stage, telegraph the resolution to your representatives in Washington. Publicize the local's action in your union newspaper and your local daily newspaper.

VISIT YOUR CONGRESSMAN—Get up a small delegation to visit your Congressman (and Senators) to tell them your views. They are usually home during Easter recess, around Christmas and on some weekends. Be informed on what you're going to talk about.

VOTING RECORDS—Keep a large voting record in the meeting hall. Mark your representatives' vote on the important bills as they are voted on. Keep it up to date and **explain the new votes** at each meeting.

* * *

AFL-CIO Pamphlet No. 89

Reprinted from January and February, 1959, *AFL-CIO Education News and Views*. For additional copies, write to AFL-CIO Education Department, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

George Meany, *President* Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*

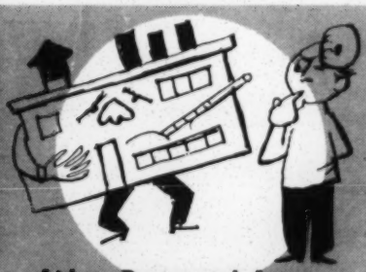
PRINTED IN U.S.A. 17 17

Guarantee Civil Rights

Support America's Schools

Health Benefits for Aged

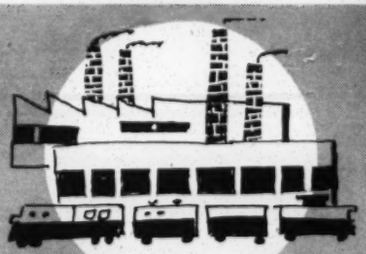
Raise and Extend Minimum Wage



Aid to Depressed Areas

Improved Unemployment Insurance

Protect Family Farmer



Promote Economic Growth

Protect Labor Standards

Overhaul Tax System

Develop Americas Resources

Decent Homes for All

REMEMBER CONGRESS ADJOURNS BEFORE JULY 4th, – START YOUR EDUCATION PROGRAM NOW!

WHAT ARE YOU AND YOUR LOCAL PLANNING TO DO ON THESE ISSUES?

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
GEORGE MEANY, President WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. AFL-CIO Poster No. 5 5c per-copy, 100 copies $3.

2

Knowles

1. Know your Bill
2. Be to the point do not ramble make a point
3. Overselling your point
4. Watch Repeating
5. Learn to anticipate what the objections may be
6. Do not be drawn into an argument - you cannot have the last word - (Leg)
7. Do not threaten or abuse (Leg)
8. Have people write letters.
9. Treat legislator on a friendly basis regardless of opinion differences
10. Limit letters to request for support or defeat of Bill (the contents of the bill is on Leg. desk.
11. No Trading of bills or (log rolling)
12. Loyalty to that not Party
13. Would not vote for weight to work as it will serve no purpose
14. Not consistant on pressure (some give in to Pressure of Leg)

Pownsville's List

HOW-to-WRITE

a LETTER to the EDITOR

Editors of most newspapers make provision for the public to be heard through letters-to-the-editor columns.

Readership surveys show that these letters are among the best read features in the newspaper. **When a letter of yours appears on the editorial page, you probably have the largest audience you will ever address.** Let's estimate its size. A small town weekly may have a circulation of 2,000. A metropolitan daily may have as many as a million or two. Multiply the circulation by 2 (this is conservative, the Hearst papers say 3) to get the number of readers. Now divide by 4, and you have the approximate size of your audience.

Your readers are a cross section of society, including all shades of opinion. A recent survey by Center for Practical Politics at Rollins College, Florida, has concluded "Letters-to-the-editor provide one of the most influential channels by which an active citizen can express ideas about timely subjects of general concern."

* * *

Here are some suggestions which can help in writing the kind of letter that is most likely to receive favorable consideration on the editorial desk:

1. If possible, *use a typewriter,* and double space the lines. Write only on one side of the paper. If you have no typewriter, write with ink, plainly and neatly. Do not crowd words or lines.

2. *Express your thought as clearly and concisely as possible.* Editors usually prefer letters of no more than 200 or 250 words, although longer letters may be accepted if they are thought to have sufficient reader interest.

3. *Deal with only one topic in a letter.* It should be timely and newsworthy. Be sure your meaning is clear. Use as simple words as possible. Short words, short sentences, short paragraphs make for easier reading.

4. *Plan carefully your first sentence.* Aim to make it short and interesting. If you begin with a reference to a news item, editorial or letter in the paper addressed, your letter at once has added interest for the editor. This, however, is not always feasible nor absolutely necessary.

5. If you write to criticize, *begin with a word of appreciation,* agreement or praise. Don't be merely critical; end your letter with some constructive suggestion.

6. *Avoid violent language.* A calm, constructive presentation of your thought is more persuasive than ranting. It is possible to be frank but friendly.

7. *Help supply the truth* that may be omitted or slanted in reporting the news or editorializing on it. You can render a valuable service to the public by presenting news and views on peace that may ordinarily be given little or no attention by the press. (The *Newsletter* and ACTION Bulletins of the Friends Committee on National Legislation are a valuable source in this connection.)

8. *Don't hesitate to use a relevant personal experience* to illustrate a point. When rightly told, it can be persuasive.

9. *Bring moral judgments to bear* upon the issues confronting the nation and the world. Appeal to the reader's sense of fair play, justice and mercy.

"An Expensive Platform is Neglected"

The letter-to-the-editor column is a "gigantic multi-billion dollar public platform, so little or so poorly used that those who make it available free to the public are frustrated," says Robert W. Brown, Associate Editor of the St. Petersburg (Fla.) *Times.*

He continues:

"I would venture that in Washington, most members of the Congress read letters published in the capital city newspapers, or have someone assigned to check them, for public expression.

"It would be a thoughtless state, county or city official who did not take a reading, through this medium, of what the public is thinking about. Those in public institutions, business houses and other places high and low surely are aware of this guage of public feeling.

"But it is discouraging . . . that too few of the thoughtful readers with something worth saying take advantage of this platform, at once so effective and so expensive . . . Where are the college faculty members, the civic leaders, the heads of business, the scientists and the philosophers? Why don't they use the platform more often?"

10. You can also make appropriate changes in your letter and *send it to editors of newspapers in other cities.* When doing so, always send first copies, never carbons. As a rule, do not send exactly the same letter to different papers in the same city. (The *New York Times* and a number of other papers have a policy against publishing letters which are also sent to other papers.)

(Continued)

11. *Always sign your name* and give your address. You can use a pen name or initials for publication, but the editor must know the source of the letter. Don't be unduly timid about signing your name. The times call for a fearless witness for peace and justice.

12. Don't give up looking for your letter too soon. It may not appear for ten days or even longer. **Don't be discouraged if your letter is not printed.** It reached the editor, and that is worth something. He has had the benefit of your thinking. He may have had too many letters on the same subject or just too many letters to print yours. Try again. If one letter in ten is accepted, you have reached an audience large enough to make your effort worth while, but your score will probably be better than that.

J. STUART INNERST.

For additional copies and others in this series write:

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
245 Second Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

AREA OFFICES

1830 Sutter Street
San Francisco 15, California

122 North Hudson Avenue
Pasadena 4, California

5132 South Woodlawn Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

COST: 2¢ *each, plus postage; quantity rates available.*

7-59-P1

IAM Education Department

DRAMATIZE THE ISSUES — to reach your members

To get your members to act on a legislative issue, you've got to dramatize it. Try some new ways to reach your members with the information that will show them why the IAM's legislative program is important to them.

USE YOUR UNION MEETING

- MAKE REPORTS on issues at your membership meetings. Concentrate on just one issue in each report. Point out what the issue means to the members and what they can do to help.

- VOTING SCOREBOARDS on several main issues are good to display at meetings. Show the names of your Congressmen and Senators and how they voted. Use + and - or R and W symbols to indicate each person's roll-call vote. Roll-call votes appear in THE MACHINIST and other papers from time to time. Also include a brief explanation of the bill and the total vote.

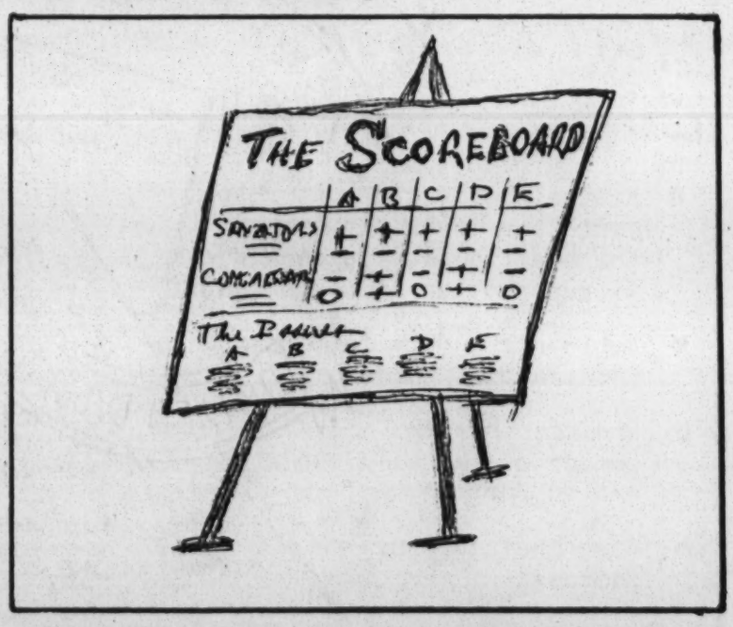
- USE SPEAKERS to highlight an issue -- either from the labor movement or outside sources. For example, on the Forand Bill have a speaker from the Social Security office explain the present law. A member of your committee can then explain the proposed improvements under the Forand Bill. A GLR, state AFL-CIO officer or business representative are other possible speakers.

- MOVIES can be used to start discussion on legislative issues. For example, the film, "It's Your Business," about "right-to-work," is available from the AFL-CIO Film Library and can be used to discuss the need to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

- VOTING RECORD REPORTS can be made to membership during the year following an important vote in Congress. Review the issue and its importance to the members and explain how the Congressmen and Senators for the area voted.

- LETTER-WRITING MEETINGS both educate and involve members in action. First explain the bill and why it is important. Pass out paper and envelopes to members who want to write a letter to their Congressmen. The committee can collect and stamp their letters at the end of the meeting.

- PASS A RESOLUTION to focus attention on an issue. Discussion of the resolution informs membership and adds interest to the meeting. Send copies of the resolution to your legislators. Extra copies are always a good idea to distribute to key people in the shop, to post, and to send to local newspapers and radio stations.



Programs at the union meeting can be handled in several ways. One is to include them as a part of the committee reports. The legislative committee and the education committee can work together on a

report for a particular bill. Another is to have the program during the "good and welfare" part of the agenda (Number 10 on the IAM Order of Business). The other is to suspend the regular order of business. This is done by a motion from the floor at the meeting or the previous meeting and a 2/3 vote of the membership present.

GOING DIRECTLY TO MEMBERSHIP

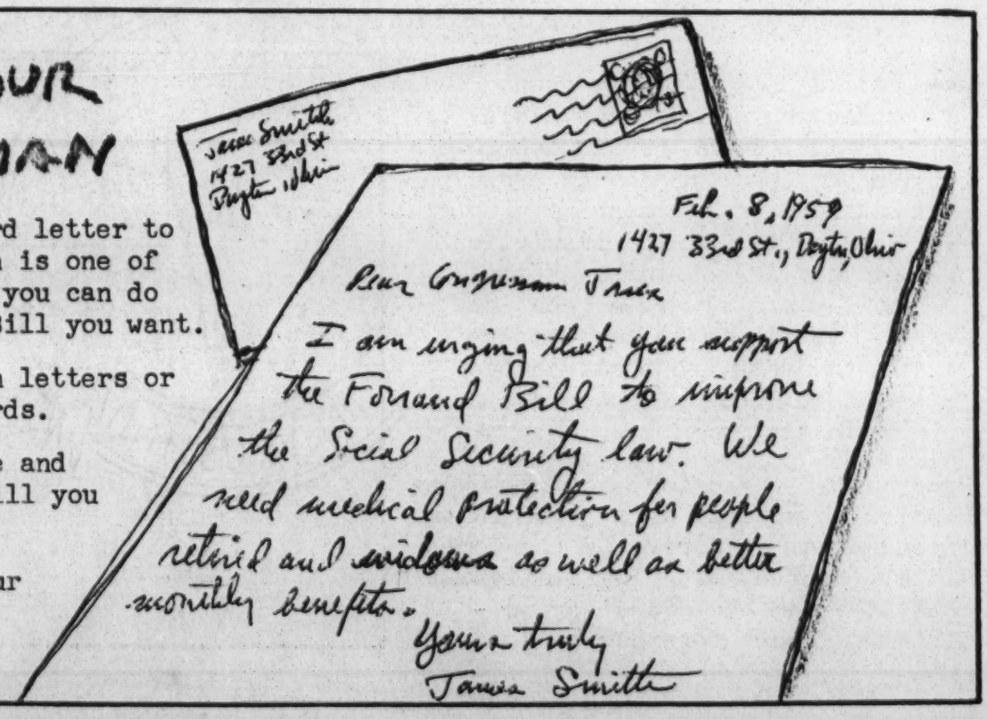
- LEAFLETS on an important bill two or three times a year help to increase interest. Make it short and punchy and hand it out at the plant gate. Always remind members to write their Congressman. Follow up the leaflet with another telling how their Congressman and Senators voted.
- LODGE NEWSPAPERS AND BULLETINS are a logical place to include legislative news. Make the article short. It's best to concentrate on only one bill in each article.
- Other Methods: POSTERS on key bills help publicize the issues. Occasional MAILINGS to membership or people in the community are also a good idea.

STEWARDS AND OFFICERS

- STEWARD MEETINGS can include reports or programs on legislative issues from time to time. The stewards are the key people in the shop that will be pushing action on legislation and MNPL. Many of the suggestions made above from union meetings can be adopted for steward meetings.
- CORRECT INFORMATION for all officers and stewards of the lodge is important. See that your lodge is receiving the IAM Legislative Bulletin and "routing" it to all officers. Other sources of information are THE MACHINIST newspaper, MNPL, state AFL-CIO publications, the AFL-CIO NEWS and other AFL-CIO publications.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN

- A straightforward letter to your Congressman is one of the best things you can do to support the Bill you want.
- Avoid using form letters or printed post cards.
- Include the name and number of the bill you are supporting.
- Also include your address.



Getting People Involved

✓ 1) Speaking & Approaching (personally

✓ 2) Showing you know what you want

3)

4)

5)

6)

Influencing Legislation

Where to influence

What to influence – getting to know issues

How

Campaigns at home

Letter writing

Public Reports

Visits

Lobbying

Do's & don't's

Providing Services

Materials

How A Bill Becomes A Law

State & National

Voting Records

Letting Repo. get to know Labor

Public Programs

Appear at Meetings

Visits

For your information from
LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION
ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

League of Women Voters of Illinois
May, 1947

2¢

THE DO'S AND DON'TS OF LOBBYING

1. Remember when you interview your representatives, that they have been chosen by the majority of the voters in your district to act for that district in the highest legislative body in the state; that these representatives are sincere and do a good deal of very hard work.

2. Make an appointment before calling at a legislator's office or residence, so that he will not feel that the visit is an intrusion. It is desirable that you take another League member along for the interview.

3. Never overstay your time. Take your cue for leaving from your representative.

4. KNOW YOUR MEASURE THOROUGHLY and be able to ANSWER OPPOSITION to it.

5. Let your representative talk and present his side fully. It is helpful to learn his point of view.

6. Do not take notes during the interview, but if you expect to make a report fill it in as soon as possible afterwards.

7. Please note and report any NEW ARGUMENTS AGAINST the measure presented during the interview.

8. Don't be afraid to admit ignorance on special points. Say, "I will look that up and let you know later," and be sure to do so.

9. Confine your conversation as far as possible to the measures you are discussing, and if measures come up which are not on the League's support program, explain that in the League we do not support measures unless they have been studied for at least a year, that we try to do a few things well rather than a lot superficially.

10. Remember that the League is strictly non-partisan and that we as members are interested in the public merits of the measure.

11. Keep a sense of proportion and realize the subject in which you are so interested may not be important to the person you are interviewing, except as you are able to make it so.

12. It will aid greatly in an interview if you know something of the legislator's record, especially if he has voted on measures in which we are interested.

13. Leave the legislator with a friendly feeling, even though he turns you down. Say you are sorry you can't agree and do not emphasize the difference of opinion.

- Labor Support
- Telephone Campaign
- Platform
- Speaker's Bureau
- Kaffee Klatsches
- Literature
- Organization

month of the campaign. We did special treatments for the weekly and labor press and other media. What's more, we tried to provide complete answers to all the questions the other candidates were trying to duck."

What devices would Davis recommend to other labor officials contemplating a race for political office? He ticked off these in order of their importance:

LABOR SUPPORT — "If you can get the enthusiastic backing of labor, as I did, you have manpower going for you. On election day, Cleveland labor turned out over 300 precinct workers in my behalf. We spotted them in the places where three and four polling places are located. They did a key job of making a last-minute contact with the voter."

TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN — "Jane Adams, the women's director of the Ohio AFL-CIO, came to town for two weeks and organized a group of COPE women and teachers who went all-out on a telephone campaign. In two weeks they made 18,000 phone calls from their homes. They not only made calls — they also won new volunteers to our cause. As a result I was button-holed dozens of times by all sorts of people who urged me to 'vote for this fellow Davis'."

PLATFORM—"Old-line politicians advised us to talk about as few issues as possible, especially the controversial ones. We did just the opposite. My platform was put in the hands of every opinion-molder in the city. We talked about issues that no one else wanted to talk about. Various blocs of voters found themselves agreeing with us on issues which were very close to their hearts."

SPEAKER'S BUREAU — "We decided early that it was ridiculous for me to try to make all meetings personally. But we also felt that we had to make every union meeting, every political gathering and every public forum. Therefore, we carefully trained a speaker's bureau made up entirely of teachers. The teacher may be underpaid but he is still one of the most respected members of the community. In many cases teachers were able to make a more effective presentation than I could have personally. Teachers are a potent force and we used them effectively."

KAFFEE KLATSCHES—"Kaffee Klatsches go on all the time, so we simply supplied them with material to talk about. Any housewife could call us and we willingly supplied coffee, campaign literature and a discussion leader — usually a teacher. We stopped counting after the first hundred Kaffee Klatsches. This is real grassroots politicking that pays tremendous dividends."

LITERATURE—"All my literature hammered hard at the fact that I was the only candidate with children in school. This fact had tremendous appeal. In addition, we didn't take the advice of the professional politicians who insisted that we keep our literature brief. Our key piece of literature dwelt at length on my personal background, including the fact that I was from labor, gave a run-down on my platform and suggested a number of direct ways in which an individual could help my campaign. In all we distributed slightly over 500,000 pieces of literature."

ORGANIZATION — "The best way to commit political suicide is to try to run a city-wide campaign all by yourself. We had a tremendous team going for our side. My friends in the labor movement supplied the leadership and the inspiration. These were the ingredients of victory."

Many AFL-CIO affiliates have stepped up their activities in working with high school and college students. Above (left) is J. William Belanger, president, Mass. AFL-CIO, Francis Lavigne, education director, Massachusetts AFL-CIO, with Stephen J. Kramer of Lynn, Mass., winner of the Massachusetts State AFL-CIO scholarship. (Right) R. J. Green and J. H. Shepherd (in center of group) of the AFL-CIO railroad unions, meet with a high school class in Sidney, Nebr., where they answer questions from the students about the labor movement.

High School Debaters Visit Wichita Falls, Texas AFL-CIO

If you think for one moment that high school students — particularly high school debaters—aren't interested in what labor unions are and how they operate, you have another think coming. Bearing testimony in that regard are six Texas labor representatives who made up a panel at a recent labor-sponsored conference of north Texas and southern Oklahoma debate teams.

The conference was organized by the Wichita Falls (Texas) Trades and Labor Council as part of the Council's program for informing high school debate students in connection with this year's debate question: "Resolved, that the Federal government should substantially increase its regulation of labor unions." Although the Texas Interscholastic League, official sponsor of the debates in Texas high schools, is conducting some joint labor-management presentations on the question, the Wichita Falls Council leaders decided they wanted to go a little farther by giving the students an extra opportunity to throw questions at union representatives.

The conference, participated in by 96 students from 13 schools in the area, was part of a detailed program worked out and adopted by the Council. Each debate team in the area had been contacted by mail or in person with an offer of assistance. Each received a "debate kit" prepared in the Texas State AFL-CIO office. Individual advisors for debate teams filled requests for help. Subscriptions to the "AFL-CIO News" and "Labor's Economic Review" have been purchased by the Council for 20 area schools.

But the materials and the individual help weren't getting the job done fast enough to suit the Wichita leaders, so they decided to undertake the area conference. Invitations went to the debate coaches of all the schools in the area to a conference in the Labor Temple. About one-fourth of the schools contacted responded favorably, but due to bad weather a few of those wanting to be represented were unable to have their debate teams on hand.

For the panel on the receiving end of the students' questions the Council obtained: W. Don Ellinger, area COPE director; Mrs. Maxine Lee, president CWA Local 6200; H. M. Watson, secretary-treasurer of the Council; E. A. Conatser, president of the Council and vice president of the Texas State AFL-CIO; Claude Ritchie, business agent of Carpenters Local 977, and Guy Woldridge, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

On the night set for the debate conference, a Texas norther had swept across the state, leaving in its wake snow and ice which made many roads almost impassable. Nevertheless, a total of 96 students from 13 schools showed up and, after preparatory statements from the panel, opened up with their questions. Typical of the questions were:

"Doesn't a strike raise the cost of goods and force prices up on a competitive market?"

"What are the unions' objections to compulsory arbitration and what effects would it have on unions?"

"Would it be possible to set a ceiling on what a union may strike for in order to prevent damages to the nation's economy?"

What are the benefits of featherbedding?"

What is the basic value of striking?"

"What do you object to in the Landrum-Griffin Bill?"

"Why do unions refuse to accept the same legal responsibilities as industry?"

"Why do unions need international officers?"

"How do you justify secondary boycotts?"

And so on and on. In all, over 80 questions were submitted to the panel in writing. Only time prevented an attempt to answer them all.

Both students and union representatives agreed that the conference was well worth the time and trouble. From the standpoint of the students, who must be prepared to answer similar questions from their debate opponents, they obtained a lot of the answers they're going to need if they're going to win their debates. From the standpoint of the union people, not only have they helped the students in their work, but they also have gained a contact with schools in the area which they hope will prove of value in the years to come.

For this active, working central body, the time and effort expended in working with the debate teams has been well-spent. As Secretary-Treasurer Watson put it: "We now have the best relations with the schools in this area we've ever had, and we intend to maintain those good relations."

A hearty "amen" was added to that by Fred Schmidt, secretary-treasurer

Union Health Center Protects Members on Drug Prices

Local union education committees will find the following article about the price of drugs at the Hotel Trades Council Health Center interesting in the light of the findings of Senator Kefauver's Anti-Trust subcommittee.

The union health center has followed a policy of informing doctors of the low-priced drugs so that the savings could be passed on to the patient. This protection came automatically to the members of the Hotel Trades Council.

Local union education committees may want to write to Senator Kefauver for a copy of the Anti-Trust subcommittee's hearing on the investigation of profits in the drug industry. The hearings can be used to show how a Senate subcommittee is helping to protect the American consumer.

Union members, well-informed on the work of the Anti-Trust subcommittee, will be more active in the coming election and more inclined to give a dollar to COPE.

Recent revelations concerning the high price of drugs—brought out at hearings of Senator Kefauver's Anti-Trust Subcommittee—spotlight all the more brightly the role played by our Health Center in dispensing drugs to patients there at rock-bottom prices.

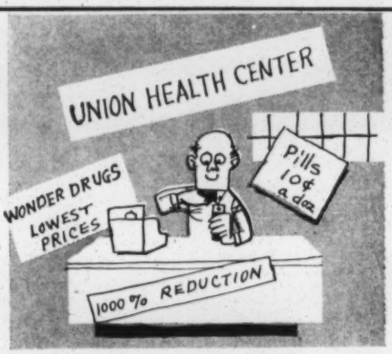
The Senate inquiry produced evidence of almost incredible mark-ups. For example, an anti-arthritis drug that cost the maker 11.7 cents for a 60-tablet bottle was sold to the druggist for $8.40 (a boost of 7,079 per cent!) and to the customer at a recommended retail price of $14. In another case a drug that cost 1.57 to make was priced at $29.83 by the time it reached the user.

In the face of such astronomical figures, it is a matter of pride that our Health Center pharmacy, during its nine-year history, has filled 255,733 prescriptions and throughout has stuck to a policy of charging no more than $2.

How has this been accomplished? By careful preparation and regular revision of the formulary—a handbook to guide the doctors—by a committee headed by Dr. Saul Solomon, and by careful purchasing. Drugs are purchased not alone by brand or trade name but primarily according to content and quality. A drug purchased by trade name may cost $1. A drug of exactly the same composition without a well-advertised trade name may cost 10 cents.

Whenever possible, provided quality is just as high, the Health Center buys the lower-priced drug and passes the saving on to the patient. Purchases are recommended by the pharmacy and supervised by Robert E. Kislik, assistant administrative director.

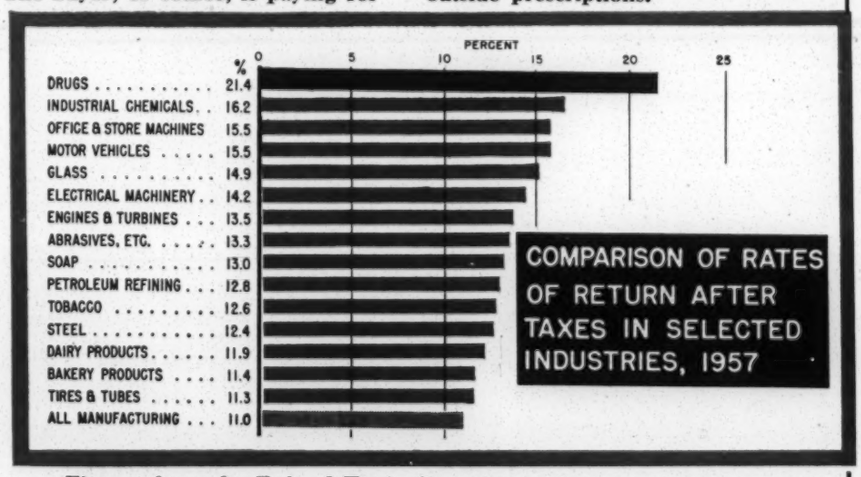
One of the things the Kefauver hearings brought out was that the big drug firms employ armies of "detail men" to call on doctors and "inform" them about new products and to persuade them to prescribe drugs by trade name rather than by basic composition. When that happens, the private druggist must fill the prescription with the brand specified even if an identical product is available at a lower price. The buyer, of course, is paying for the detail men and all the other promotional costs.



None of this happens at the Health Center. The formulary lists trade-named items only when none other is available. Explaining why some drugs were dropped in the latest issue of the formulary, the committee of doctors listed among other reasons: ". . . Because they were trade-named and, therefore, unreasonably expensive. Some of the trade-named items were replaced with formulas of identical composition at great savings.

The number of prescriptions filled at the Health Center has gone up steadily and is running now at the rate of 3,000 a month.

The pharmacy, of course, fills prescriptions written by Health Center doctors only. It does not accept outside prescriptions.



Figures from the Federal Trade Commission show, as indicated above, how the drug industry led all others in profits in 1957.

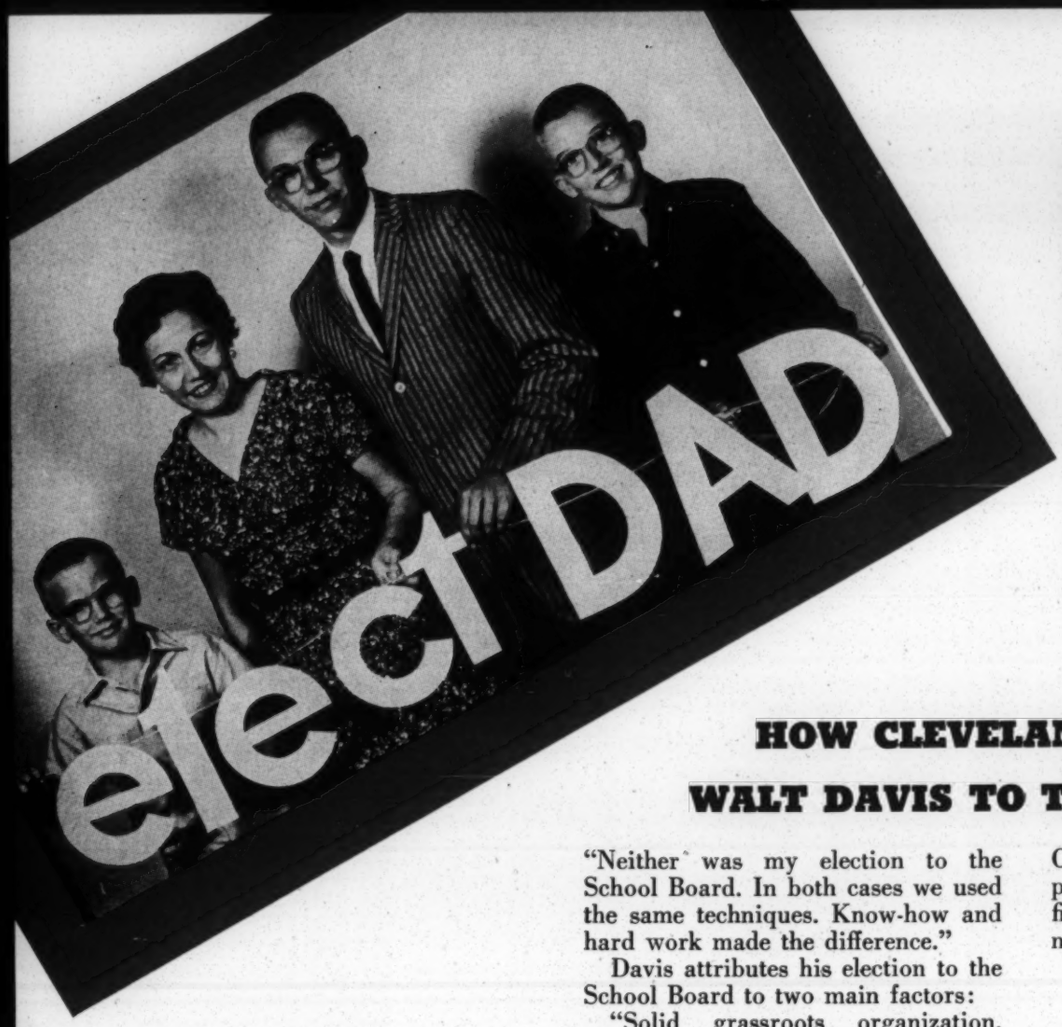
cess—about 45 to 60 minutes before the start of the afternoon sessions.

From an educational point of view, this method obviously has its drawbacks. For one thing, there is no discussion following the film showing and, for another, something is lost if the film is not seen in full and the introduction listened to. But, in the competition for the time and attention of delegates, compromises have to be made and this technique has enabled us to reach a few more delegates than would otherwise be possible.

While the distribution of free literature is no problem, an extra effort is required in connection with literature for sale. Here, we finally settled on a literature room, conveniently located, with the materials—books, pamphlets, records, UNICEF Greeting Cards, UN Flag, and Map Kits, etc.—all neatly displayed. We even kept a record player going. Previously, to sell literature, we would set up a few items on a table as the convention session was either starting or ending; and it was usually a confused mess of constant packing and unpacking several times a day. With a separate room, however, the delegates are able to look the material over in a leisurely fashion and (instead of the constant packing and unpacking, all that has to be done by the education staff, which mans the literature room, is to lock the door.

MARVIN FRIEDMAN
Assistant Research and Education Director, ICWU

PAGINATION INCORRECT



Walt Davis was elected to the Cleveland School Board recently. Left is his family.

HOW CLEVELAND LABOR ELECTED WALT DAVIS TO THE SCHOOL BOARD

"We really set this town on its ear. Who ever heard of a labor leader being elected to high public office in Cleveland?"

That's how one top union official described the upset victory scored by Walter L. Davis in the Cleveland School Board race. (The Cleveland system is one of the nation's largest—131,000 boys and girls, over 3,800 teachers and over 170 buildings.)

Political dopesters are still shaking their heads in amazement at the manner in which the virtually unknown Davis soundly whipped a solidly entrenched School Board machine.

The 42-year old victor is not new to the political wars. He was the director last year of Ohio labor's successful effort to defeat a "right-to-work" constitutional amendment. Prior to that he was for 15 years the editor of the local labor paper and is a veteran of labor radio and television programs. He is now the education director of Retail Store Employees Union, Local 880.

Does Davis see any similarity between labor's successive victories at the polls? "Our defeat of right-to-work in Ohio was no 'miracle' as some people chose to call it," he says. "Neither was my election to the School Board. In both cases we used the same techniques. Know-how and hard work made the difference."

Davis attributes his election to the School Board to two main factors:

"Solid grassroots organization. Paul Corey, the militant president of the Cleveland Teachers Union, did a magnificent job of rallying the support of the teachers. These people had little political background, but Corey trained them effectively and their active, all-out support meant the difference between victory and defeat. He also was the key figure in mustering all-out labor support. In addition Corey won and organized the support of a number of key political figures who were fed up with a 'do-nothing' School Board.

"The other factor in our favor was a carefully prepared program of public relations. We knew at the very start that my being a labor figure was going to make it tough to get space in the papers. Therefore, we concentrated on coming up with bright, information-packed releases that couldn't be denied. We avoided the 'publicity-puff' type stuff that every city editor recognizes as phony. We covered every newspaper, television and radio station every day for the last full

GET the PARENT'S Viewpoint!

ELECT Walter L.

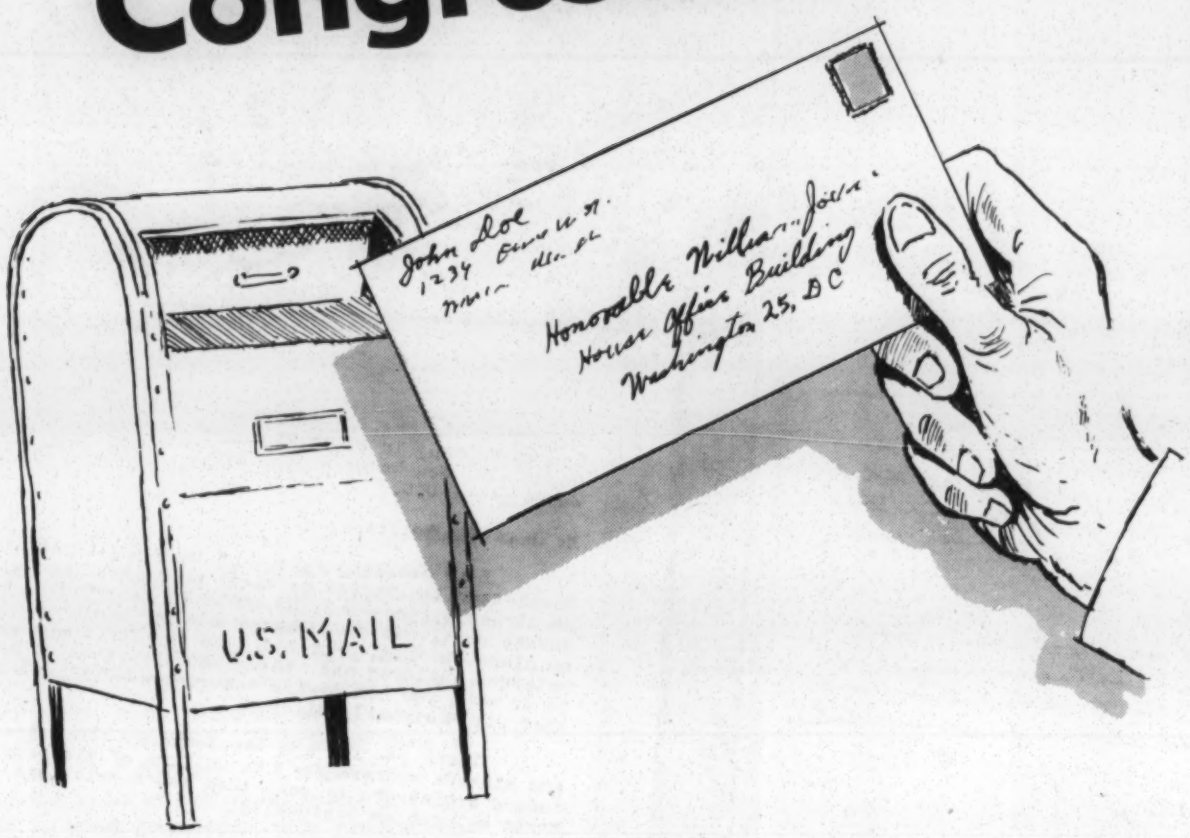
DAVIS

CLEVELAND SCHOOL BOARD

Davis for School Board Committee
Thomas R. J. Flynn, Chairman

The Machinist
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS
Special Section

The Importance of Writing Your Congressman



WHY If you're a typical union member, you've often *had the urge* to write your Congressman. Like last year, when you wanted to congratulate him for taking a courageous stand on an unpopular issue. Or this spring, when you disagreed with the way he voted on another important matter.

Chances are, you never got around to writing either letter. Maybe you forgot. Maybe you didn't know how to go about it. Or maybe you said to yourself: "What's the use. He doesn't care what I think anyway."

The purpose of this special section of THE MACHINIST is to help you hurdle all three of those "maybes."

The fact is—as Senator Humphrey explains in the message at right—your representative in Congress *does care* what you think and want. That's what his job is all about. He knows that the minute he stops caring, you and the rest of his constituents will elect some one else.

Most Congressmen and Senators go to a lot of trouble to learn the opinions of the people. As often as possible, they go back home to ask and listen. At other times, they carefully study newspapers, professional opinion polls and questionnaires they themselves have sent to their constituents. But, more than anything members of Congress depend on their mail.

That doesn't mean a single—or even a dozen letters—will necessarily make up a legislator's mind for him. It *does* mean that every signed letter from a constituent will be read and answered. It *does* mean that a member of Congress usually pays more attention to sincere and spontaneous letters from home than to all the special-interest pressure groups. It *does* mean that individual citizens who take the trouble to write their Congressmen can, and do, have a great influence on what Congress accomplishes.

HOW There's no need to get fancy when you write your Congressman or Senator. The way to get attention is to keep your letter short, simple and to the point. Here are some other things to remember:

Identify yourself, not only by name and address, but also by stating *your reason* for writing. Remember, unsigned letters go into the wastebasket *unread.*

Be specific. If you know the number of the bill you're writing about, mention it. If you've had a particular experience that supports your point of view, briefly give the details.

Use your own words. Your Congressman knows that his constituents are not all professional writers. He's likely to suspect a workingman's letter that reads like it may have been written by a Madison Avenue executive.

Be polite. Rudeness or threats will get you nowhere. Your Congressman wants to be persuaded, not dictated to. And he'll appreciate a kind word about something he's done with which you agree. If you insist on being abusive, you may get this kind of reply which one legislator recently sent an insulting constituent: "Sir, my stenographer, being a lady, cannot type what I think of you. I, being a gentleman, cannot think of it. You, being neither, will understand what I mean."

WHAT When you write a personal letter to a friend or relative, you write about things that have happened or things you would like to have happen. A letter to a Congressman or Senator isn't much different.

Let's say your letter is about the Senate-passed Kennedy-Ervin bill—the so-called labor-management reform bill. You know the AFL-CIO agreed to go along with reasonable reform legislation. But you also know that, as the bill (S. 1555) now stands, it would hurt millions of honest union members in an attempt to get at a few who are guilty of betraying their trust.

In writing your own Congressman about S. 1555, you might explain just how your union has helped *you* over the years and how S. 1555 will hurt both your union and yourself.

But, don't wait too long. The Kennedy-Ervin bill is now in the House of Representatives. If you want to make your opinion count, WRITE NOW!

To Write or not To Write

By Hubert H. Humphrey
U.S. Senator from Minnesota

More hidden mischief and misfortune can be caused by sheer inertia, and failure to act, than most people would believe.

In a competitive world, where well-financed special interests have many ways to plead their case to members of the Congress and other Government officials, very often "the wheel that squeaks the loudest gets the grease." In fact, on many important public issues, virtually the only squeaks you can hear are those that represent just one side of the question. The result is that the Congressman or Senator, for example—unless he has some special knowledge of a situation—will be apt to accept the verdict of public opinion at its face value.

It is important, therefore, to express positive opinions on matters of public policy—through letters to Congressmen and Senators—because if this not done, the victory can go by default to groups who take the opposite view. Failure to act, failure to register an opinion, can be as disastrous to the cause of liberal democracy as failure to vote in elections.

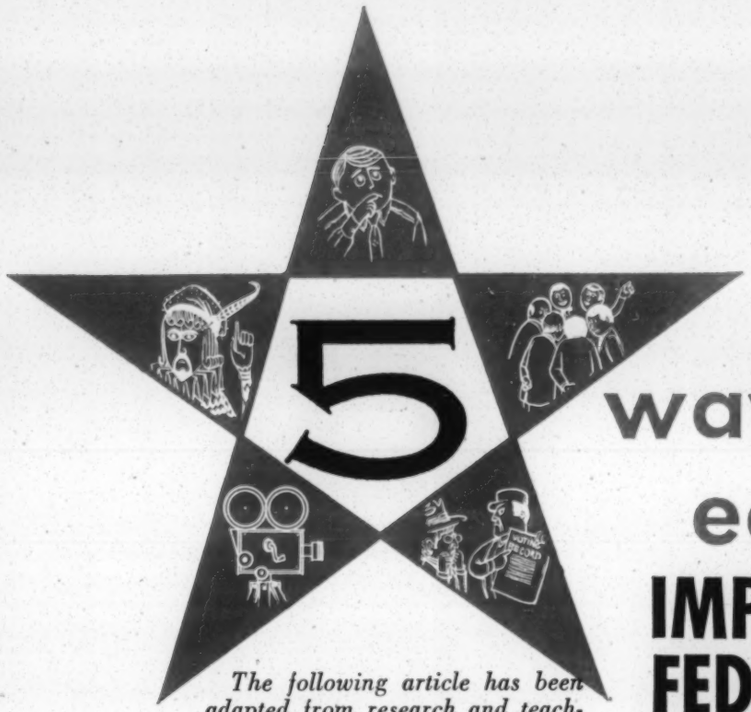
One word of caution: a deluge of identical letters is often far less effective in Congress than a few letters expressing the personal views and feelings of the individual writers. A few thoughtful individual letters can offset a box-full of "form letters" which have been obviously inspired by an interested group. On the other hand, without that handful of thoughtful letters, a member of Congress is apt to feel that there is only one side of the question, so far as the general public is concerned.

The few minutes' trouble that it takes to write what you genuinely believe in can have a real impact on policy. In fact, I would say that it is the obligation of the liberal American to help set the record straight not only by being informed on public issues, but also by expressing what he believes to those who have the task of writing and administering public policy.

Additional copies of this special section are available without cost. Write THE MACHINIST, 909 Machinists Bldg., Washington 6, D.C.

P-98

[1959 ?]



5 ways to educate on: IMPROVING THE FEDERAL FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The following article has been adapted from research and teaching materials prepared by the Joint Minimum Wage Committee, the IAM Education Department and the Labor Management Institute of Rutgers University.

The Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill represents the absolute minimum that is needed to correct the most glaring deficiencies in the FLSA. It should be enacted without delay.

AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Back in 1937, President Roosevelt, alarmed by widespread wage cutting and the lengthening of the workweek without overtime pay, sent a message to Congress asking for enactment of a federal fair labor standards law. This is what he said:

> **"A self-supporting and self-respecting democracy can plead no justification . . . for chiseling workers' wages or stretching workers' hours . . . Our problem is to work out in practice those labor standards which will permit the maximum but prudent employment of our human resources to bring within the reach of the average man and woman a maximum of goods and of services conducive to the fulfillment of the promise of American life."**

At that time Congress set the minimum wage at 25¢ an hour, with the provision that by the end of 1941 the legal minimum would rise to 40¢ an hour. In 1949 Congress raised the minimum to 75¢. In the 1955 session of Congress the minimum wage was raised to $1.00 an hour, effective March 1, 1956, but the fight for increased coverage was lost.

Today the AFL-CIO Executive Council believes that Congress should act immediately to:

> **"1. Increase the minimum wage to at least $1.25 and broaden the coverage.**
>
> **"2. Correct present abuses in provision for sub-minimum wages for so-called learners. If a special provision for learners is continued, the minimum rate for learners should be at least $1.10, and the authorization to permit payment of sub-minimum wages should be limited to two years.**
>
> **"3. Provide for increasing the minimum wage for Puerto Rico as rapidly as possible, and initially by the same cents per hour as the increase proposed in the minimum wage for mainland workers.**
>
> **"The Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill (S.1046 and H.R.4488) recently introduced in the Congress would go far toward meeting most of the minimum wage objectives of the AFL-CIO. This bill would raise the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and extend minimum wage coverage to nearly 8 million workers now denied the law's protection. It also provides for raising the minimum wage for Puerto Rico by the same cents per hour as the increase for mainland workers."**

Use the following educational programs to develop understanding and support for the Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill.

2. How to Use Role Playing

1. The aim here is to project the students' thinking into the minds and reactions of some typical workers not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. Role playing will be used to illustrate the problem.

2. Have each student keep in mind the method used by stewards to elicit information on a grievance presented by a worker as a guide to use for the cases under discussion.

3. The presentation of the skit should be discussed and the class encouraged to comment on the presentation and its conclusions.

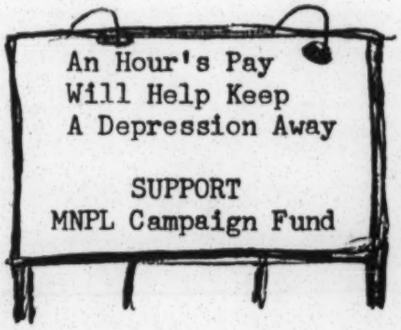
4. The "actors" must be carefully briefed on their rolls.

5. Have extra copies of case studies for actors.

IAM EDUCATION
BULLETIN
Education Department, Machinists Building, 1300 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D. C.

Number 3 June, 1960

PLANNING A POLITICAL EDUCATION CAMPAIGN



Educating members on political issues is one of the Education Committee's responsibilities. This is a year-round job, but your Committee can be particularly helpful right now in preparing members for the June Campaign Fund Drive of the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League. Education programs on the union's legislative and political program will help set the stage for the MNPL drive.

WHO CONDUCTS THE CAMPAIGN? -- A successful campaign requires the combined efforts of the MNPL Committee, Education Committee, Legislative Committee and the officers of the lodge. It is a good idea to give one group the main responsibility and let them coordinate all aspects of the program.

WHY NOW ? -- Money collected now for the MNPL does much more good than money collected in the fall. The candidates we support do not have lavish campaign funds and they need to plan their expenditures carefully over the months between now and November.

THE EDUCATIONAL JOB -- To make the MNPL drive a success, the members in your lodge need to know why the union is in politics and what the legislation we support will do for them. The Education Committee can use its experience and educational skills to inform the membership.

Who Contributes to Whom?

Corporation officials and businessmen contribute heavily to political candidates. Here are figures from a report by a Senate Subcommittee on the 1956 election contributions:

	To Republicans	To Democrats
100 largest military prime contractors	$ 1,133,882	$ 40,650
88 participants in atomic energy program	387,342	34,700
29 largest U. S. oil companies	344,997	14,650
10 leading radio and TV stations	37,800	1,000
37 largest advertising agencies	51,600	nothing
	$ 1,955,621	$ 91,000

Candidates friendly to labor and the public welfare also need money to get elected. This is the reason union members are asked to contribute through the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League.

AIDS FOR YOUR CAMPAIGN

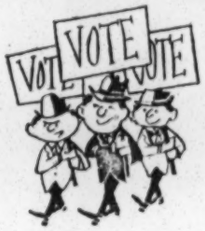
Pamphlets which explain the purpose of this year's MNPL Campaign and the need for funds are available from the MNPL.

Write: MNPL - Room 512
Machinist Building
Washington 6, D. C.

Posters To draw attention to the Campaign, use posters in the union hall and the shop. Use the poster appearing in The MACHINIST. (See page 6)

Large wall-size posters on political education are also available from the AFL-CIO for 25¢ each. Write AFL-CIO Education Dept., 815 Sixteenth St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Questions During June, The MACHINIST newspaper will answer questions about MNPL sent in by IAM lodges. If there is a question that is frequently asked by members in your shop during your drive, send it to The MACHINIST, Machinist Building, Washington 6, D. C.



FILMS FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

During the next months, films about politics will be hard to get from the AFL-CIO Film Division. Please make your bookings soon so you are not disappointed.

THE WISCONSIN STORY. 16 min. Rental $2.50. Produced by Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, 1958.

Shows how union membership lists and their families are checked against city and county registration lists, how new registration or changes are pushed, and the techniques for getting out the vote. This film emphasizes the "telephone brigades" which were organized by the Womens' Activities Division of COPE in Wisconsin and the need for pinpointing labor efforts in the precincts where working people live.

BUILDING UNION PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS. 28 min. Rental $3.00. Produced by the United Steelworkers of America.

This is a story of how a union member gets active in politics. He is moved by his personal interests—fishing and supplementary unemployment compensation. He stops taking things for granted and starts doing something. He becomes the local's representative in an election campaign for a state assemblyman.

YOU CAN DO IT! 10 min. Rental $2.00. Produced by UAW, 1952.

Film stimulates an interest in politics. Talks about why half our population stays away from the polls. Stresses the fact that government is a servant of the social and economic groups that work at politics. Points up the role of the individual in establishing group pressures.

YOU CAN WIN ELECTIONS. 25 min. Rental $3.00. Produced by Roosevelt University and the Independent Voters of Illinois, 1954.

One person's vote has and may change an election. How to get that vote and others is the story of this film. It tells of four steps that need to be taken from door-to-door in each precinct. Excellent film for training and encouraging the local union members to help get out the vote.

LABOR'S WITNESS. 33 min. Rental $3.00. Produced by the UAW, 1957.

Dramatic film of an actual hearing before the U.S. Senate Committee. UAW President Walter Reuther tells the members of the Committee how the UAW works at getting its members registered and voting. He describes the UAW education program, and the union's endorsement policy.

MAN ON THE HILL. 13 min. Color Cartoon. Rental $2.50. Produced by U.S. Armed Forces, 1958.

This is a film about your Congressman. It emphasizes the work of committees in Congress and the importance of legislation in our daily lives. It offers excellent cartoon presentation of the work of elected representatives you have in local, state and federal governments.

VOTING PROCEDURE. 14 min. Rental $2.50. Produced by Indiana University, 1955.

Here are details about voting. They are presented to help the viewer realize that the process of registering and voting is simple. The film stresses the need for voter preparations: knowing where to vote, how to "split" a ticket or vote "straight."

FOR FILMS Write to —
AFL-CIO Film Library
815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

REACHING THE MEMBERSHIP

With Political Education

Your MNPL Campaign will be much more successful if you generate interest and information among the members before the canvassors start asking for money. During the Campaign THE MACHINIST will carry publicity about the drive. There are also some things the lodge can do to make the campaign a success.

START WITH AN ANNOUNCEMENT of the drive and discussion at your membership meeting. This makes it an official lodge activity and the people at the meeting are usually the people in the lodge who will help get the word around.

OTHER WAYS of getting the word out --

LEAFLETS will help start discussion in the shop and make it easier for the collectors. (See the sample leaflet on the back of this sheet.)

MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS during the drive should include a discussion and a report on the campaign.

LETTERS from the president of the lodge officially opening the drive and enclosing some literature from MNPL will help reach all the members.

POSTERS in the union hall, store windows, and in the shop will help.

FILMS shown at union meetings, delegate or steward meetings help create interest. See the list on page 2.

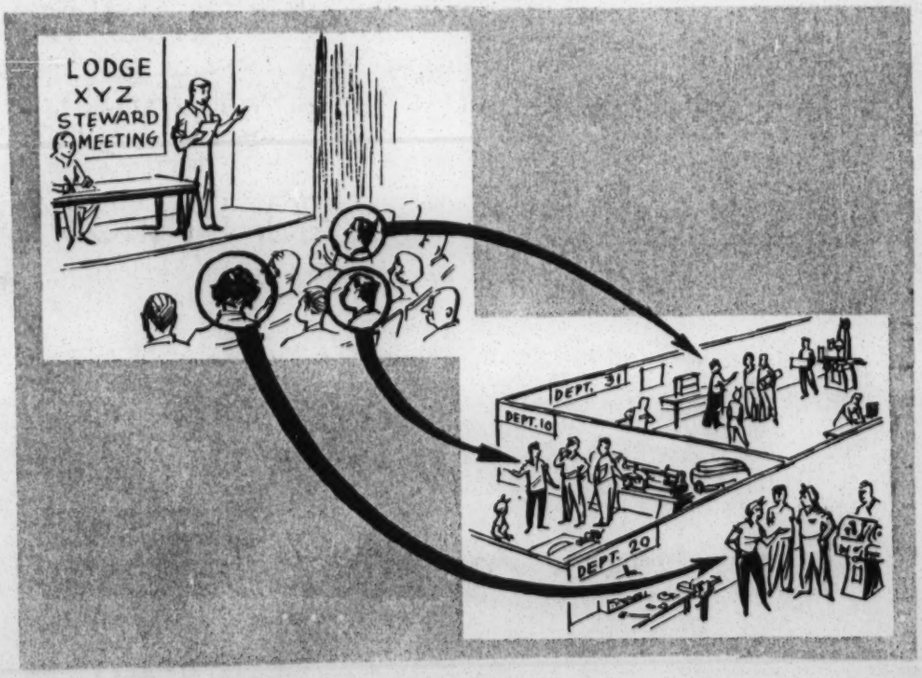
Your Stewards are Your Salesmen

The stewards form a natural network throughout the lodge.

The success of your drive will depend on their support, whether they actually do the canvassing or help the canvassors.

Holding at least one meeting with the stewards in which the campaign is discussed is a good idea.

See the program for such a meeting on page 5.



(Sample Sheet)

How Much Can You Buy For An Hour's Pay?

The Machinists Non-Partisan Political League is asking Machinists members to give one hour's pay for the 1960 Campaign Fund.

This money will be used to help elect good candidates to Congress and state office. Your donation buys security and progress for you, your family, your friends and neighbors.

This Legislation Would Help You

Here are five bills which labor asked Congress to pass this year. Each of them would benefit you and your family. None of them has become a law as yet.

MEDICAL CARE FOR THE AGED	We need a Congress that will pass the Forand Bill, to provide hospital and surgical benefits for the retired, through our social security system.
$1.25 MINIMUM WAGE	Everyone would prosper if Congress raised the federal minimum wage to $1.25 and made it apply to ten million more workers.
AID FOR DEPRESSED AREAS	Areas with severe and chronic unemployment need federal grants, loans, and other aid, as provided in the Area Redevelopment bill. Congress failed to over-ride the President's veto.
BETTER SCHOOLS	More classrooms and higher teachers' salaries are needed everywhere. The federal aid-to-education bill would mean better education for your children.
MORE HOUSING	To provide more and cheaper housing, we need legislation providing loans and low interest rates.

All these bills would benefit YOU AND YOUR FAMILY.

Candidates who are pledged to work and fight for these issues need your support. Help them out by giving one hour's pay in the June drive of the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League.

An Hour's Pay Will Help Keep Depression Away

SUPPORT MNPL CAMPAIGN FUND

One Hour Meeting for Stewards

The purpose of this meeting is to acquaint the officers and stewards of a lodge with the purpose of the MNPL Campaign. Whether they will do the canvassing or others are to do it, stewards are key people in your drive. This meeting can either be held as a part of a regular meeting or as a special meeting.

Have copies of leaflets being used in the campaign distributed to the stewards and put some posters around on the walls. Make the hall look different.

5 minutes	OPENING by the president or the chairman of the meeting. Explain that a drive will be held and that the results will depend on support from all the officers and stewards.
5 minutes	EDUCATION CHAIRMAN - Explain the purpose of the meeting - to discuss some of the issues this year and talk about what "we" can do to make the drive effective. The Education Chairman can conduct this session and introduce the speakers.
10 minutes	REPORT ON ISSUES - Legislative committee members can summarize one or two important bills now before Congress. (See the list on page 4 and select the issues that you think are important in your area.) See the IAM Legislative Bulletin for additional information on these issues. The report should also include some roll call votes or how the area Congressman voted and what has happened to the bill.
20 minutes	DISCUSSION - on Legislative Report. These questions can stimulate participation if needed. — How would this bill affect our town? — Which issue do you think the members in your department rate the most important? — Have a show of hands on this issue. — What has our Congressman (men) done on these bills? — Who is running for Congress (and the Senate) this year?
10 minutes	MNPL DRIVE - Introduce MNPL Chairman, who will explain the Campaign. — What a successful drive can accomplish. — Why the union is interested in politics. — Dates of the drive and what the stewards can do to help. — What the lodge and The MACHINIST will be doing to support the canvassors. -- How the issues can be used in talking to members.
10 minutes	DISCUSS DRIVE — Allow time for questions about the drive. If there is time have two stewards demonstrate how to explain the MNPL -- with one steward acting as the member and the other as the MNPL canvassor.
Total 60 minutes	

CANDIDATES NEED CAMPAIGN FUNDS...

For printed material
For newspaper advertising
For radio and TV time
For posters and billboards
For buttons and bumper strips
For telephone and travel

GIVE YOUR FRIENDS A CHANCE
GIVE AN HOUR'S PAY

See Your Committeeman or Steward

Support Machinists Non-Partisan Political League Campaign Fund

This is the Poster of the Month that appeared in the June 2nd issue of The MACHINIST. Cut these posters out and post them in your shop and at your union meetings.

Legislative Course

Form 1 A

This is not a test --- do not sign your name.

	Check One	
	True	False
1. A Congressman from the minority party cannot introduce a bill until his party becomes a majority.	☐	☐
2. The Senate as a whole usually ignores the recommendation of the committee which brings a bill before it.	☐	☐
3. Only members of the House or Senate can present their views on a proposed law before a committee.	☐	☐
4. The House Rules Committee's job is to make sure that visitors don't smoke or talk or in any way disturb the House Chamber.	☐	☐
5. The House cannot send a bill to the President without waiting for Senate action.	☐	☐
6. If the President vetoes a bill, that's the end of it.	☐	☐
7. When the House and the Senate pass different bills covering the same thing, a compromise is possible.	☐	☐

Prepared by the Education Department
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO
November 20, 1957

Legislative Course

Form 1 B

This is not a test --- do not sign your name.

Mark the answer you think is best.

1. Most Congressmen don't read all the thousands of bills introduced each year because:
   _____ (a) They are just too many bills.
   _____ (b) They just don't care that much about all the bills.
   _____ (c) They can get reelected whether they read the bills or not.
   _____ (d) They rely on the judgment of the Congressmen on the committees who have read the bills.

2. Members of the House of Representatives serve on only one committee. But members of the Senate usually serve on 2 or 3 committees. This is because:
   _____ (a) Senators have more experience because they serve six-year terms.
   _____ (b) Senators are smarter than House members.
   _____ (c) Members of the House can't have too heavy a workload because they must take time out to run for reelection every two years.
   _____ (d) The Senate has at least as much work to do as the House but not as many people to do it.

3. Committee chairmen are powerful because:
   _____ (a) They are always among the most skillful politicians in their party.
   _____ (b) They are picked for their wisdom and intelligence.
   _____ (c) They can decide whether a bill will ever come up for debate on the floor, and there is no appeal from their decision.
   _____ (d) Their decisions can be appealed. But as a practical matter, they can usually decide alone whether a particular bill will be debated.

4. There are four kinds of Congressional Committees. Define each briefly:
   (a) Standing Committees _____
   _____
   _____

   (b) Special Committees _____
   _____
   _____

   (c) Subcommittees _____
   _____
   _____

   (d) Conference Committees _____
   _____
   _____

Prepared by the Education Department
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO
November 21, 1957

Legislative Course

Form 1 C

This is not a test --- do not sign your name.

	True	False
1. The seniority system does not apply in the selection of conference committee chairmen.	☐	☐
2. Since the House members outnumber the Senators 5 to 1, the House always has 5 votes to the Senate's one vote on conference committees.	☐	☐
3. Conference committees can write a new bill instead of trying to amend the Senate and House versions given them.	☐	☐
4. Conference committees are (and should be) secret.	☐	☐
5. Once elected, Congressmen do what they think best and ignore the opinions of voters back home.	☐	☐
6. Congressmen should vote as their party wishes on each bill regardless of the merits of the bill itself.	☐	☐
7. Committee reports are very important because many Congressmen rely on them for guidance on how to vote.	☐	☐

Prepared by the Education Department
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO
November 21, 1957

ANSWERS TO LEGISLATIVE COURSE QUESTIONNAIRE

Form 1 A

1. False
2. False
3. False
4. False
5. True
6. False
7. True

Form 1 B

1. (d)
2. (d)
3. (d)
4. (a) Standing Committees deal with continuous problems (permanent).

   (b) Special Committees are joint committees with House and Senate members dealing with continuous or permanent problems.

   (c) Subcommittees - special division of a full committee (House, Senate or combination).

   (d) Conference Committee is a temporary joint committee.

Form 1 C

1. False
2. False
3. True
4. True
5. False
6. False
7. True

[1957?]

ROADBLOCKS TO PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS

Election Day victories don't pass legislation. Congress has built in roadblocks that can completely block, delay or water down liberal labor supported legislation. This is how they work:

Seniority System

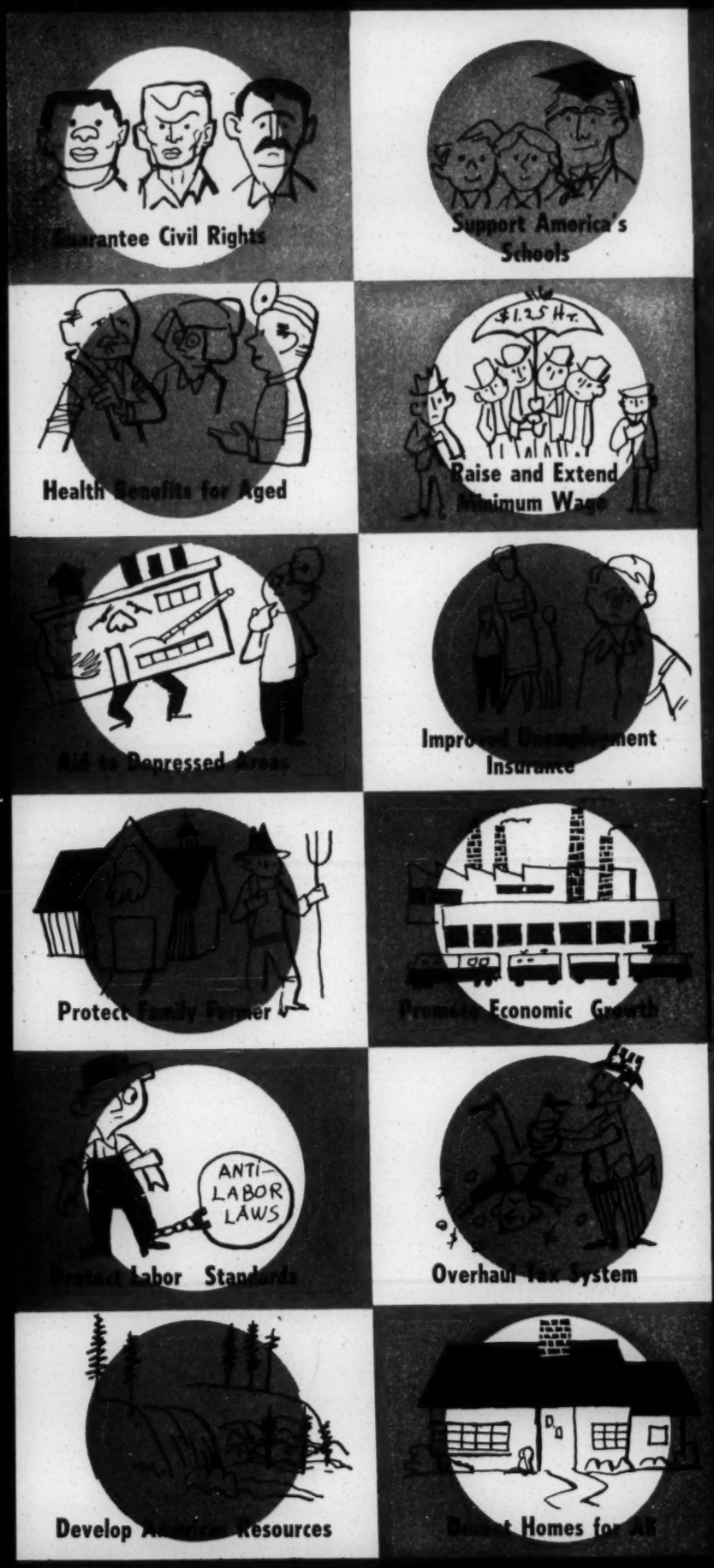
Legislation in Congress first goes through appropriate committees. The kind of bill a committee reports out carries a lot of weight. Through the powers often given committee chairmen directly or indirectly to call or not call meetings of the committee, schedule hearings, schedule the consideration of bills by the committee, etc. The chairman of some committees are often in a position to delay, speed up and have a big effect on what a bill actually includes. The members of the committee and the chairman are chosen by strict seniority - the length of time they've been in Congress - their party, with the chairman coming from the majority party. This gives many Southern Congressmen and Senators a big edge on chairmanships and prominent committee places when the Democrats control Congress since the virtual one-party system in many southern states often consistently returns the same person to Congress. Many of them are anti-labor, and anti-liberal. An example: Rep. Barden (R.,N.C.) chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee.

House Rules Committee

Another roadblock ~~in~~ is the House Rules Committee. In contrast to the Senate Rules Committee, it has a great deal of power over legislation. Each bill has to be given "a rule" by this committee before it can go to the floor of the House. Thus, it can block or at least delay and sometimes force revision of legislation. The committee is dominated by conservative Southern Democrats and Republicans. They delayed for two months the Housing Bill passed by the Senate and improved by the House Banking Committee. Rep. Howard Smith (D., Va.) has been chairman of the committee for some time. An example of some of his tactics was given last year when he absented himself from Congress for a period during the adjournment rush when much important legislation was piled up in his committee. He has also used his position to force changes in many bills before he would let them out, such as when he forced the watering down of last year's Depressed Areas Bill.

Filibuster

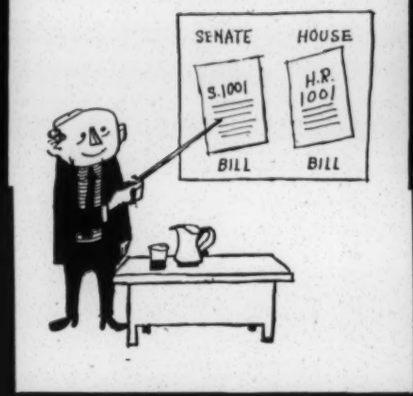
Senate Rule 22 permits practically unlimited debate and thus allows a determined minority to "filibuster" or talk a bill to death. It has been used mainly on civil rights legislation, but not exclusively so. Short of a filibuster, the threat of a filibuster can succeed in getting decent legislation changed drastically. Thus, the threat of a Southern filibuster when the Senate was considering the Civil Rights Act of 1957 succeeded in taking the teeth out of the bill before passage.



REMEMBER CONGRESS ADJOURNS BEFORE JULY 4th, — START YOUR EDUCATION PROGRAM NOW!

WHAT ARE YOU AND YOUR LOCAL PLANNING TO DO ON THESE ISSUES?

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
GEORGE MEANY, President WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. AFL-CIO Poster No. 5 5c per-copy, 100 copies $3.



HELPING TO WRITE YOUR NATION'S LAWS

Congress is now in session. It's the 86th Congress this time. Many people in the local unions may well sit back and be proud of the job they did in helping elect liberal Senators and Congressmen on November 4.

But is now the time to take it easy? Winning elections, when one thinks about it, is not an end in itself. It's only a means to the real end—that of passing decent legislation benefiting the people of the country.

Getting good legislation passed, and damaging legislation defeated, is a constant process involving hard work and understanding by the people at the local level. A legislator sooner believes his mail bag and what he hears people getting excited about back home than what a professional lobbyist tells him is on the minds of the voters in his district.

It is because of this that local union education and legislative committees particularly have a very important job to do while Congress and state legislatures are in session.

There are two main things that education and legislative committees must do to get the continued grass roots support necessary to get legislation passed:

1) Educate on how legislation gets passed.
2) Follow bills as they go through Congress and educate on what the legislation is all about.

Learning More About Congress

Later on in this article there are suggestions on some of the things that your committee and local members can do to help get good legislation passed in Congress. But in order for people to understand why they should do these things, they must first understand how Congress works. Here are some ways to educate on how laws are passed:

1. *Use films*—There are a number of useful films, avail-

How Congress Makes Laws

1. A BILL IS INTRODUCED TO CONGRESS EITHER BY A CONGRESSMAN OR A SENATOR. This may be his own bill or he may have gotten the idea from some group or person back home or from a national group such as a labor or business organization. Or, it may be the bill of the administration or the opposition.

2. BILLS ARE REFERRED TO SPECIALIZED COMMITTEES which study them and make recommendations to the House or Senate. The committees are extremely important, as many bills are long and involved and generally the recommendations of the committee to the Senate or the House are accepted.

3. ON MOST IMPORTANT BILLS, THE COMMITTEE WHICH IS STUDYING THE BILL WILL HOLD HEARINGS where representatives of various groups or individuals who are interested, can present their views on the piece of legislation involved.

4. WHEN THE HEARINGS ARE OVER, the committee and its staff studies all the recommendations and the bill itself and presents an agreed-upon bill to the House or Senate for consideration.

5. THE BILL GOES ON THE CALENDAR IN THE SENATE before it gets on the floor for debate. IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IT IS SENT TO THE RULES COMMITTEE which acts as a traffic cop and decides when (or whether) the bill can be presented for debate.

6. WHEN THE BILL PASSES ONE OF THE HOUSES OF CONGRESS, IT IS THEN SENT TO THE OTHER HOUSE FOR APPROVAL. If the bill passes the second House without any changes, it is sent to the President for his signature.

7. IF THE PRESIDENT SIGNS THE BILL, IT BECOMES A LAW. If he vetoes it, it is sent back to the House and Senate. It takes a two-thirds vote of both Houses to pass a bill over the President's veto.

8. IF THE SENATE AND HOUSE PASS DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF A BILL, the two separate bills are sent to a joint conference committee made up of Senators and Representatives. They compromise the issues involved and then the compromise bill is sent back to the House and Senate, where it is generally passed by both Houses.

able from the AFL-CIO Education Department, which show how Congress works.

MAN ON THE HILL—(23 min. Rental $2.50) Shows the work of a Congressman, especially on committees, and the influence of legislation on our daily lives.

PRESSURE GROUPS—(20 min. Rental $2.50) Shows good and bad pressure groups in action and makes the point that lobbying can be a legitimate, constructive part of the legislative process.

THE CONGRESS—(10 min. Rental $2.00) gives an outline of the process a bill must go through to become a law.

POWERS OF CONGRESS—(13 min. Rental $2.50) A fantasy about the powers of Congress which should be accompanied by an explanation that Congress doesn't automatically work in the interest of the people.

LABOR'S WITNESS—(33 min. Rental $3.00) Good illustration of a hearing before a Congressional committee, in this case a UAW official testifying about political education activities.

Order one of the films for showing at your meeting. Also reproduce the box on page 1 and hand it out to members following the film showing. Then take a particular bill and show how it must go through the various steps before it can become law. A good example would be the Forand Bill, which will be introduced in the House and which the AFL-CIO strongly supports. It would give hospital and surgical care to those who receive social security benefits.

2. *Use an Experienced Person*—Get one of your union representatives or a member who has been to a union legislative institute or someone you have worked with in the community who has had legislative experience. Show one of the films and then ask him to comment on it from his experience. Ask him to comment on the 8 points on "How Congress Makes Laws" and what can be done by the local and its members at each step in the legislative process.

3. *Use a Simple Quiz*—Reproduce the questionnaire on this page. Ask the people to fill out the questionnaire and then discuss the answers. Refer to the box on page 1 in the discussion. Also reproduce it and distribute it.

The Important Issues

Besides understanding how Congress works, union members have to understand the issues facing Congress and the bills being considered by Congress concerning these issues. In this way members will be more prepared to take intelligent action to make their opinions felt in Congress.

This 86th Congress will be meeting for two years. Bills will be introduced, changed in committee, debated, etc. Some may be stalled in committee. Filibuster on the floor may threaten others. Some may not see a final vote till close to the end of next year's session.

Become familiar with the 12-point legislative program adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This program covers the major items which the AFL-CIO hopes will become law during the 86th Congress. There may be other bills submitted which we will oppose strongly.

What bill is the AFL-CIO supporting on, say, eliminating chronic unemployment in depressed areas and why? Who will benefit by it? Why wasn't one passed before? What's in the bill? Has it been changed by a committee or on the floor of one of the houses?

There are many sources of information for getting the background on each issue and for following what's happening to the particular bills. At least one person on your committee should be responsible for gathering this information and keeping up to date. Suggested sources are listed in this article.

Educating on the Issues

Through these sources of information your committee can get to keep up with what's going on in Congress and what the labor movement is supporting and why. Now, here are some things the committees can do in the local to create understanding of the issues.

MAKE REPORTS—At every membership meeting, have one person from the committee make a short report on the progress of the major legislation that the local and the labor movement are interested in.

USE A PANEL—A discussion panel can be more interesting than a report. For example, when the minimum wage bill is receiving a lot of publicity get two or three of the committee to discuss what changes the labor movement is asking for and what effect this will have on underpaid workers and the workers in your own industry.

USE SPEAKERS—For some pieces of legislation, an informed speaker can help get the issue across. Are your local public schools in trouble with overcrowding and losing teachers because they're overworked and underpaid? Find a member of the American Federation of Teachers or of the school board who can speak on how a federal aid to education bill will help in these problems. Try to schedule your program when the newspapers are giving a lot of publicity to a particular bill.

USE FILMS—Any of the films on national legislative issues listed here can be secured from the AFL-CIO Education Department. They can be used effectively as a background for discussion on current issues.

Afghanistan Moves Ahead—10 min. Rental $2. Shows how one isolated country is learning new ways for industry and agriculture through the UN technical aid program.

Farewell Oak Street—20 min. Rental $2.50. A forceful Canadian film for better housing.

Looking Ahead—13 min. Rental $2.50. Use this film to introduce a discussion of how Social Security benefits fall short of human needs, and then discuss the Forand Bill.

Quiz on How Congress Makes Laws

(This is not a test . . . do not sign your name.)

	Check One True	Check One False
1. A Congressman from the minority party cannot introduce a bill until his party becomes a majority.	☐	☐
2. The Senate as a whole usually ignores the recommendation of the committee which brings a bill before it.	☐	☐
3. Only members of the House or Senate can present their views on a proposed law before a Committee.	☐	☐
4. The House cannot send a bill to the President without waiting for Senate action.	☐	☐
5. If the President vetoes a bill, that's the end of it.	☐	☐
6. When the House and the Senate pass different bills covering the same thing, a compromise is possible.	☐	☐

Answers:
1. False, 2. False, 3. False, 4. True, 5. False, 6. True.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

AFL-CIO NEWS—Contains up-to-date information on bills going through Congress. This includes from time to time a useful box giving the status of important bills; and news articles explaining what's happening on important issues. At least your education or legislative committee chairman should have a subscription to the AFL-CIO NEWS. ($2.00 a year).

* * *

LABOR LOOKS AT CONGRESS — 1959. Contains background and votes on the major legislative issues during the last session.

* * *

POSTERS—AFL-CIO Education Department has bulletin board posters (8½ x 11") emphasizing labor's legislative program, like "AFL-CIO President Meany at Congressional Hearings," 5¢ per copy; $3 per 100. The one on the back page is available in a large size (23 x 29") suitable for posting in union halls and meeting places. 25¢ each; 8 for $1.00.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION BULLETIN—Comes out at least once a month from the AFL-CIO Legislative Department. Contains the contents and status of important bills and what action is needed—and when. Write the Department to be placed on the mailing list.

* * *

LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW — Offers monthly summary of a national economic-legislative issue. Available from AFL-CIO Research Department ($2.00 per year).

* * *

The April 16, 1960 issue of "AFL-CIO News" contains a handy BOX SCORE OF THE 86th CONGRESS. Alongside a summary statement of each of the major issues, it gives the AFL-CIO position on the issue and the action taken on it by the previous Congress. Write "AFL-CIO News" for reprints of this page. Small quantities free.

FACT SHEET ON CONGRESS—Is a useful series, starting Jan. 23, 1960 of special articles appearing in the AFL-CIO NEWS. Free reprints, in reasonable quantities.

* * *

POLITICAL MEMO FROM COPE—Bi-weekly newsletter from AFL-CIO COPE contains much information about legislation and voting records on key bills. Send subscriptions to COPE, $1.00 a year; 10 copies to one address, $2.50 a year.

* * *

Local union committees should check their INTERNATIONAL or NATIONAL UNION for legislative information. In some cases, regional education directors prepare material on legislative issues for distribution to local unions. In a few cases, state AFL-CIO bodies have legislative information on national issues.

* * *

(All listed departments are at 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.)

Our Nation's Health—13 min. Rental $2.50. Produced by the former CIO. Presents the case for national health insurance program.

Power and the Land—38 min. Rental $4. Film explains farm problems and points up the tremendous achievements of REA (Rural Electric Administration).

Prices, Paychecks and Prosperity—18 min. Rental $2.50. Leon Keyserling calls for a more vigorous anti-monopoly program, higher outlays for defense, education, health and resource development.

The River—32 min. Rental $3. Film shows the consequences of poor land use. It concludes with scenes on regional planning efforts and flood control.

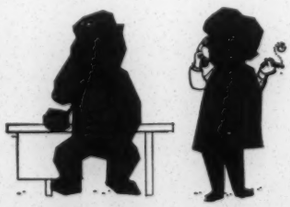
To Promote the General Welfare—13 min. Rental $2.50. Former President Truman discusses responsibiilties of government for housing, better schools, social security and other measures.

Valley of the Tennessee—30 min. Rental $3. Story of planning and reconstruction for an entire river valley. Excellent film to stimulate discussion of resource and development legislation.

WRITE ABOUT IT IN YOUR LOCAL UNION BULLETIN—If, for example, an important measure such as federal standards for unemployment compensation is at a crucial stage, explain the issue in your local union bulletin or newspaper and ask members to act on it. If you don't have a regular bulletin, or even if you do, issuing a special leaflet would point up the action you want.

Show Members How to Take Action

Understanding the legislative issues isn't enough. Show your members how then can take action on needed legislation. (If you follow your AFL-CIO *Legislative Action Bulletin* closely you will be able to know, too, what action is needed on a specific issue at a particular time.)



Here are some of the things you can DO to accomplish this:

WRITE LETTERS—Right after a good program or report on a particular bill, people are more prepared to do something about it. Be ready to pass out stationery and ask members to write their Congressman and Senators expressing their views. At the next meeting discuss the replies that were received. If they're favorable, compliment your Representative on his stand; if unfavorable, get more people to write him.

PASS RESOLUTIONS—on important bills, and, if the legislation is at a crucial stage, telegraph the resolution to your representatives in Washington. Publicize the local's action in your union newspaper and your local daily newspaper.

VISIT YOUR CONGRESSMAN—Get up a small delegation to visit your Congressman (and Senators) to tell them your views. They are usually home during Easter recess, around Christmas and on some weekends. Be informed on what you're going to talk about.

VOTING RECORDS—Keep a large voting record in the meeting hall. Mark your representatives' vote on the important bills as they are voted on. Keep it up to date and **explain the new votes** at each meeting.

* * *

AFL-CIO Pamphlet No. 89

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

George Meany, *President* Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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Reprinted May 1960

POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE LOCAL UNION

- An Aid For Planning -
Specific Jobs to be Done

Listed below are the kinds of skills or workers that may be needed in an active local union political education and action program. Just listing these jobs is only a beginning step in planning for an effective program. You must still decide:

(1) When are these jobs to be done;

(2) How do we uncover the proper person for each task;

(3) What training does each job require;

(4) How do the jobs relate to the over-all functioning of your committee.

You may need to add other jobs to the list to suit your situation. In any one year, especially for a beginning program, you would not expect to have all of the jobs filled. The list is one of the ingredients in the planning process. The tasks are <u>not</u> listed in any way to indicate priorities or the importance of one job as compared to another.

POLITICAL EDUCATION AND ACTION TASKS

1. Discussion leaders
2. Program planners
3. Door to door workers
   Registration - - Get out the Vote - - Issues - - Candidates
4. Movie Projector Operators
5. Typists
6. Letter writers
7. Telephoners
8. Election day messengers
9. Literature distributors
10. Baby sitters
11. Drivers
12. Poll watchers
13. Sound truck crew
14. Clerical - - registration card files
15. Envelope stuffers and sealers
16. Administrative reminder - - see that jobs are done on time
17. Researchers
    a) Facts about the community for a "Political Map"
    b) Information on voting and registration
    c) Information on issues - - local, state, national
    d) Information for complete local "Political Calendar"
    e) Information on voting records
    f) Information on community problems
    g) Information on membership - - age, needs, income, likely interests
18. Fund raisers
19. Organizers for social affairs "Kaffe Klatches", etc.
20. Legislative reporters
21. "Visitors" to legislators and administrators
22. Observers for:
    Legislature, City Council, Board of Supervisors, School Board
23. Candidate Screening Committee (Cooperation with COPE where indicated)

University of Wisconsin
School for Workers

HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW IN WISCONSIN

William O. Kuhl

1. INTRODUCTION (Assembly or Senate)	1. A bill may be introduced by a member of the legislature or a legislative committee during the order of business, "Introduction of Bills."
2. "REFERRED TO REVISION"	2. Every bill introduced in the Assembly, not the Senate, is first "Referred to Revision" where it is examined by clerks of the legislature to see that it conforms with legislative rules.
3. 1st READING STAGE	3. Upon securing "revisions" approval in the Assembly or upon introduction in the Senate a bill is sent to the desk of the presiding officer of the house (Lieutenant Governor in the Senate and Speaker in the Assembly). When the house is next in session, usually the next legislative day, the title of the bill is read by the chief clerk and it is given a number. The bill is now technically introduced. 1000 copies are printed of every bill introduced. Copies may be obtained at the documents room which each house of the legislature maintains.
4. REFERRED TO COMMITTEE	4. The presiding officer of the house refers each bill to the appropriate house committee. There are 6 standing legislative committees in the Senate (Agriculture and Conservation, Education and Public Welfare, Highways, Judiciary, Labor and Banking, Governmental and Veterans' Affairs); 16 in the Assembly (Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacturers, Conservation, Education, Elections, Excise and Fees, Highways, Insurance and Banking, Judiciary, Labor, Municipalities, Public Welfare, State Affairs, Taxation, Transportation, Veterans' and Military Affairs); 1 joint committee (Finance).

5. COMMITTEE HEARING

5. The practice prevails in the Wisconsin legislature of holding public hearings on all bills referred to committee. Committee hearings are held in the afternoon usually beginning at 2:00. The date of a bill's hearing is set by the chairman of the committee. Each house publishes a "Weekly Bulletin of Committee Hearings," which appears on Friday, which lists all hearings that will be held before committees during the next week. This bulletin may be obtained at the document rooms of the two houses. On the day of the hearing bills are called in turn as scheduled, and an opportunity is given to any citizen who is present to express his views, either for or against the bill.

6. COMMITTEE REPORT

6. After the public hearing, either on the same day or at some later date, the committee considers the bill in executive (closed) session and decides upon its recommendation to the house. Each bill must be reported out of committee with a recommendation. In Wisconsin no bill can die in committee. The committee may recommend the bill for passage with or without submitted amendments, or may recommend it for indefinite postponement.

When the committee has formulated its recommendation, its chairman on the next day reports it to the house. This report states merely the committee's recommendation and gives no reason for it.

7. SCHEDULED FOR HOUSE ACTION

7. Upon filing of the committee's report the bill, with or without committee amendments, is placed on the calendar of the house for the second legislative day after the filing of the report, under the order of business, "Bills Ready for Engrossment."

8. 2nd READING STAGE

8. When the order of business, "Bills Ready for Engrossment," is reached, the several bills listed are taken up in order. T This is the first stage at which the house as a whole, considers the bill. It is now open to amendment and this is the only time (except by suspension of the rules) that individual members can offer amendments or that amendments are considered. The bill and all amendments thereto are open to debate, after which a vote is taken on each amendment in turn and then a vote on the bill itself.

The bill may be laid over to some other day, indefinitely postponed which finally kills the bill unless the house should reverse its actions on reconsideration of the vote, recommitted to the committee which reported on it, referred to an entirely different committee or ordered to be engrossed and read a third time.

9. ENGROSSMENT

9. If the bill is approved by the house, it is ordered to be engrossed. Engrossment is the process of retyping the bill, if amendments were adopted, with the amendments being inserted in their proper place. If no amendments were adopted, the original bill is treated as the engrossed bill.

"Bills involving appropriations or expenditures are sent, ordinarily after engrossment, to the Joint Committee on Finance. This committee will usually conduct a hearing on the financial aspects only of the bill, and will make recommendations when it returns the bill to the originating house. Upon being returned the bill may then be debated and amended again on the floor of the legislative house. If action is favorable, the bill will then be re-engrossed for a final vote."

10. SCHEDULED FOR FINAL HOUSE ACTION	10. After engrossment, a bill is placed on the calendar under the order of business, "Bills Ready for Third Reading," and usually comes up for final debate and vote on the second legislative day after the house has ordered it to engrossment.
11. 3rd READING STAGE	11. When the order of business, "Bills Ready for Third Reading," is reached, the bill can again be debated but it is not open to further amendment. The house at this stage must either pass the bill or indefinitely postpone it. After a bill has been passed, it may still be reconsidered, if a motion for reconsideration of the vote by which passed is filed not later than the next legislative day.
12. TRANSMITTAL TO OTHER HOUSE	12. A bill which has been passed is usually transmitted to the other house for concurrence on the second legislative day after passage. The transmittal is in the form of a message from the chief clerk of the house of passage indicating that it has passed Bill No. __ and asking concurrence therein.
13. 1st READING STAGE (SECOND HOUSE)	13. The clerk's transmittal message asking concurrence is read in the second house.
14. REFERRED TO COMMITTEE	14. The bill is usually referred by the presiding officer of the second house to one of its standing legislative committees.
15. COMMITTEE HEARING	15. The committee will usually hold a public hearing on the bill unless joint hearings were held on it before.
16. COMMITTEE REPORT	16. Committee report is filed for action.

17. 2nd READING STAGE	17. The bill is here subject to debate and amendment by the members of the second house. The second house may kill the bill which ends it for the session or it may concur in the bill either with or without amendments.
18. 3rd READING STAGE	18. The second house takes final action on the bill.
19. TRANSMITTAL TO FIRST HOUSE	19. The action of the second house either rejection or concurrence, with or without amendments, is transmitted to the first house.
20. IF SECOND HOUSE AMENDS	20. If the second house amends the bill, its amendments must be acted upon in the first house (the house in which the measure originated). If it refuses to agree to the amendments adopted by the second house, it returns the bill to it for reconsideration. If the second house adheres to its position the bill is returned to the first (originating) house, which may ask for a committee of conference, composed of members of both houses, to work out a compromise. No bill can become law unless both houses have approved an identical measure.
21. ENROLLMENT	21. If both houses have agreed to the bill in identical form, it is "enrolled" by the house in which it originated. Enrolling consists of retyping the bill with all amendments as agreed upon by the houses inserted in their proper place. It also includes printing the bill as passed, with the caption of "An Act" not "A Bill."

22. TRANSMITTAL TO GOVERNOR

22. One copy of the printed, enrolled bill is treated as the official copy of the bill as passed by the houses. This copy is signed in person by the presiding officers of the two houses and by the chief clerk of the house in which it originated. This official copy of the final bill is then sent by the chief clerk of the house of origin to the Governor.

23. ACTION OF GOVERNOR

23. The Governor has six days, excepting Sundays and holidays, in which to approve or disapprove of the Act. If he signs it, it becomes law after publication in the official state paper. If he vetoes it, it is returned to the house in which it originated. If both houses repass the Act by a two-thirds vote the Act becomes law without the Governor's approval.

Should the Governor, within this six day period, neither sign nor veto the Act, it becomes law without his signature unless the legislature adjourns within this period. In this latter case, the Act dies automatically unless the Governor signs it. Failure to act in this case is called a "pocket veto."

P.S. – Civil Liberties

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1969

Wider Interpretation of Freedom of Press Urged

By ROBERT H. PHELPS
Special to The New York Times

ZURICH, Switzerland, May 6 —For 18 years the International Press Institute has been fighting for freedom of the press by opposing government restrictions on journalists and publishers.

Now the time has come, says Ernest Meyer of France, the new director of the association of 1,600 journalists in 60 countries, to look at press freedom in a different light.

"The old Jeffersonian idea of press freedom being the absence of government restraint is no longer sufficient to explain the situation in the world," Mr. Meyer said in an interview, in both French and English, in his townhouse offices.

One example of the inadequacy of the old definition of press freedom is in the United States, he said, where commercial pressures are reducing the number of newspapers and magazines. "The Saturday Evening Post was abolished without consulting its millions of readers."

The degree of freedom should be measured not just by looking at the editorial side, Mr. Meyer said, but by examining the total situation, including the advertising, financial and circulation aspects that limit readership.

Still another dimension of press freedom, he said, concerns the question of possible readers that newspapers overlook, such as Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the United States.

The old definition of press freedom does not apply to South Africa, he said. "South Africa has a free press in the traditional sense," he said. "But this liberty lives in an abstraction. Actually we have a society in which the whites dictate to the blacks."

Thus, he said, ways are found to penalize the press when it reports news detrimental to this society. Specifically, Mr. Meyer cited the case of The Rand Daily Mail's editor, Laurance Gandar, and its chief reporter, Benjamin Pogrund, who are charged with having published false information, based on perjury, in a series of articles in 1965 about jail conditions.

From the standpoint of the old definition, there are still many examples of government restrictions on the press, he said. These include censorship, banning of newspapers and arrests of journalists.

"That is often the situation in South America," he said, noting Brazil, in particular, where newspapers have been seized and newspaper executives arrested.

In Turkey, he pointed out, a non-journalist, Sadi Alkilic, had been sentenced to jail for an essay, submitted in a contest advocating socialism.

And in Greece, the military Government has not yet followed through on its repeated promise to restore press freedom, although it has relaxed its rigid policy of insisting on exactly the same headlines in all papers on required articles.

Mr. Meyer also suggested that a "dialogue" be opened with journalists of nondemocratic countries, both Communist and non-Communist. He conceded that such a move by the press institute would be "risky," because "their governments will say that this shows that their countries are free, when in fact we know they are not."

But, Mr. Meyer said, the risk should be taken because of the opportunity of reaching agreements on purely professional matters and of exciting some newsmen with ideas of freedom that they have never really understood.

Pol Sci – Civil Liberties

WALL STREET JOURNAL, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1970

Mr. Douglas and the New Revolution

• • •

"The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting. Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might and the republic is in danger. Yes, danger from within and without.

"We need law and order."

The year was not 1970, but 1932. The speaker was not Spiro Agnew but Adolph Hitler. And the point, according to Associate Justice of the Supreme Court William O. Doug-

Rebellion," is that as today's Establishment

Rebellion," is that as today's "Establishment" in America seems to grow increasingly impersonal and inhuman, its leaders faintly echoing fascists of another age, violence and revolution by dissident groups in the United States become not only inevitable, but perhaps justifiable.

The Bookshelf

Indeed, as the Establishment continues to defend itself in Hitleresque terms, Mr. Douglas reminds us, the military retains tremendous influence on Government policy and national life. Congress and the Administration raise questions about increased aid to the poor, while farmers, railroads, shippers, airlines and other businesses are granted huge subsidies. Universities which should be centers of intellectual ferment and objective criticism are too often under contract to Government agencies.

As crime and concern for internal security grow, the Government seems headed toward improving law enforcement by trying to grant wider and possibly unconstitutional powers to the police, rather than seeking to expand and improve police forces, courts and the penal system. And over all the bureaucracy of government has grown so huge, its files of information on individuals so detailed, that at best it is a source of great inertia; at worst it may be able to exert terrifying control over individual lives.

Though much of this is valid, none of it is especially original. Mr. Douglas' slim 97-page treatise might have passed without much attention at all were it not for its final pages.

Traditional Thinking, but . . .

Here he proposes some remedies, along the lines of traditional liberal thinking: Cutting the Pentagon budget; giving the downtrodden greater legal advantages; a better food program to reduce farm subsidies and feed more of the hungry; more public hearings to rein in the Federal bureaucracy; creation of "a public sector for employment"; and freeing universities from military and Government agency influence.

But he also makes these statements:

"The truth is that a vast restructuring of our society is needed if remedies are to become available to the average person. Without that restructuring the good will that holds society together will be slowly dissipated."

"Whatever the problem, those who see no escape are hopelessly embittered. A minimum necessity is measurable change."

"Violence has no constitutional sanction; and every government from the beginning has moved against it. But where grievances pile high and most of the elected spokesmen represent the Establishment, violence may be the only effective response."

"We must realize that today's Establishment is the new George III. Whether it will continue to adhere to his tactics, we do not know. If it does, the redress, honored in tradition, is also revolution."

Now, in fairness to Mr. Douglas, it must be emphasized that his statements don't amount to support for those who favor a new American revolution so much as a prediction for the future. And things being what they are, such a prediction may prove valid.

Still, a reader of his treatise is left with a sense of superficiality. For there is a sadder analysis of current American turmoil, one that leads to the conclusion that while modern strains on American democracy are real, they are not so much a cause for revolution as for sharpened understanding of what government can and cannot do. And if predictions of violence are well founded, they are also shallow without this qualification.

This is a difficult truth to face these days, and the fact that a man of Mr. Douglas' position and experience is able to ignore it easily prompts one to think about it a little more:

"Measurable change," after all, actually has been a fairly substantial product of the system in recent years.

Statistics can be produced to show that over the past decade, with concern over poverty and race relations assuming large political dimension, poverty declined significantly and black people have increased their participation in many areas of American life once denied them. In response to an outpouring of public opposition, the relentless upward march of U.S. troop levels and casualties in Vietnam has been reversed. With unnerving suddenness, the conservationism once considered a hobby of the slightly unsophisticated has become a politically sacred cause.

Whatever comfort might be derived from the awareness of such change however, is diluted by knowledge that it has only come in a free society as the need for it has seemed to reach critical levels.

The progress the black American can claim must be laid in part to a rising realization that tension between the races has grown so intense as to threaten national stability and security. Immense sacrifice of lives and money were necessary to convince the nation that the objectives in Vietnam aren't worth the cost. The environment has become a political issue only as millions begin to fear that pollution may have already affected their health and longevity.

This condition is reason enough for concern. It may mean that changes come only after serious damage is done; in some cases, it may also make an inevitable—and understandable—by-product of the hopeless embitterment Mr. Douglas describes.

Still, if democratic government in America may seem to be slipping into a state of perpetual crisis management, it is not necessarily because of its design or society's.

Increasing the Frustration

The true sources of modern crises are too often overlooked. Most fundamentally, they spring from the broad and uncontrollable changes of recent decades: Population growth and migration, economic expansion, the rise of the U.S. to world power status, advances in technology. In innumerable and complicated ways, these developments have increased the level of frustration in America, and for widely differing groups.

The blacks in the urban slums, the rural poor in Mississippi and Appalachia, and the disaffected young are the more visible. Less apparently, the white man in the urban working class neighborhood, the resident of the dying small town and some unhappy suburbanites are also frustrated.

Whether the system, any system, can eliminate all of these frustrations without creating others just as serious is doubtful, though some reforms are possible and would surely have a positive effect.

What is sure, however, is that as any of the frustrated succumb to the temptation of violence—whether slum dwellers and college students or the commuters on the Long Island Rail Road—the frustration level of all can only increase. Misguided passions rise to a dangerous degree and cripple any hopes for rationally devised changes. The net result may be the increasing limitation of traditionally protected freedoms of speech and behavior.

The point, too easily lost on an idealistic nation, is that easing the frustrations completely may prove to be beyond the limits of government and politics, revolutionary or not. And if the three-way escalation of frustration, violence and repression does in the end rise to a tragic level, this may be the result of the dissatisfied following a revolutionary course "honored in tradition," but it will also be the product of a whole society's failure, at a crucial time, to understand itself.

—DAVID C. ANDERSON

Points of Rebellion. By William O. Douglas. Random House. 97 pages. $4.95.

Wall St. Jnl. 3/3/70

Pol Sci — Const L

High Court to Review Post Office's Power To Ban Obscene Materials From the Mails

By LOUIS M. KOHLMEIER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court is about to wrestle once more with obscenity, and the winner this round may well be Chief Justice Burger.

Few, if any, issues have divided the Justices more widely in recent years than the question of how much flesh the Constitution allows to be shown in movies, what state of undress is permitted in magazine photos and how lurid the words may be in books.

Because of the division, the obscenity issue presents the Court's new Chief Justice with what is probably his first opportunity to forge a majority that clearly and unequivocally will reverse a major decision of the Warren Court.

Where to Draw the Line?

Many critics of the Court feel that its liberalism, when Earl Warren was Chief Justice, opened a floodgate through which have flowed movies, magazines and books unprecedented in both the quantity and quality of their depictions of sex. One of these critics apparently is Chief Justice Burger, who already has made clear his position advocating stricter local controls over fleshy movies and sexy printed materials. Another is President Nixon, who appointed Mr. Burger.

The Constitutional question that has so tried High Court unanimity is where to draw the line between sexy movies and printed matter that are protected by the First Amendment's free press and free speech guarantees, and thus are legal, and films and other media that Federal and local governments can ban because they allegedly imperil the public morality or on some other grounds.

Justices Black and Douglas, who take the Constitution most literally, say there isn't any line to be drawn. They regard the First Amendment's guarantees as absolute. Therefore, these two Justices would outlaw all censorship.

The Warren Court didn't go that far. The nine Justices then sitting divided five different ways, but the test that emerged left censors almost powerless. The prevailing opinion said censors couldn't interfere unless the movie, magazine or book met all of three tests: "The dominant theme of the material appeals to a prurient interest in sex; the material is patently offensive because it affronts contemporary community standards, (and) it is utterly without redeeming social value."

The Warren Court provided one major exception to its tests. It said materials could be censored if they were offered for sale to children.

The Burger Court appears to be heading toward a comprehensive review of the Warren Court's definition of illegal obscenity and of the powers of Federal and local censors.

Course Set in December

The course apparently was set in late December, when the Court accepted for review a case concerning a Texas law that makes it a crime to photograph, print, sell, televise or publish anything "which is obscene." It grew out of the state's action against a so-called "underground newspaper."

The Texas attorney general urged the High Court to take the case and to "lay to rest the confusion that presently exists and set a required constitutional standard by which to measure alleged obscenity."

Yesterday the High Court broadened its consideration of the issue by agreeing to decide a related question. It concerns the Constitutionality of a Federal law, enacted because Congress was worried about the smut flood, under

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until August and in the interim publicly attacked the union demand as "ridiculous."

Specifically, the board found that during the 1960 negotiations GE delayed its contract offer and then wouldn't provide the union with cost estimates of its proposed contract improvements. The union struck most GE plants Oct. 2, 1960, and the strike ended Oct. 22 with what the board termed the union's "surrender."

The board found that prior to the surrender GE had offered settlements to individual plant locals, offering truce terms that "were properly the subject of national negotiations."

The board, citing the "totality" of GE's conduct, issued an order barring the company from repeating the allegedly illegal actions. A Federal appeals court affirmed the order, holding that "an employer may not combine 'take-it-or-leave-it' bargaining with a widely publicized stance of unbending firmness that he is himself unable to alter a position once taken."

GE, supported by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, sought Supreme Court review and reversal of the appeal court's decision. The High Court didn't make any comment in refusing review.

The practical effects of the High Court's action appear limited, because GE itself altered its policy during the more recent strike by the IUE.

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An IUE spokesman, asserting that the union during the recent strike had forced GE to "abandon" its policy, said yesterday the Supreme Court's action "again affirms the fact that Boulwarism is illegal." He also asserted that, by forcing GE to alter its offer during the recent strike, the IUE and 12 other unions "defeated" Boulwarism.

In New York, a GE spokesman said the company hadn't any comment "at this time" on the court's decision not to review the ruling.

The UMW Case

The antitrust suit against the United Mine Workers was filed in 1964 by Tennessee Consolidated Coal and its subsidiary, Grundy Mining Co. The suit charged that the UMW conspired with large coal company members of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association to suppress competition in the production of coal in the southeastern Tennessee and southern Appalachian coal fields and to force small companies out of business. The suit asserted that the alleged conspiracy violated the Sherman Antitrust Act and sought triple the amount of damages that the company and subsidiary said they'd lost as a result of the conspiracy.

The controversy centers on the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement, first signed by the UMW and large coal producers in 1950, and on subsequent amendments.

The Bituminous Coal Operators Association was formed in 1950, after demand for coal had declined and there was excess coal production. Under the agreement signed that year, the UMW agreed it wouldn't oppose mechanization of the mines or the resultant decline in mine employment. The large producers agreed to increased wages and royalty payments to the UMW welfare fund.

Further, the union agreed to impose the terms of the agreement on all mine operators, and the signing companies agreed they wouldn't lease coal lands to nonunion mines.

The agreement was amended in 1958 to provide also that signing companies wouldn't buy or sell coal from nonunion mines.

Tennessee Consolidated and Grundy claimed that they and other small operators couldn't operate profitably under the national agreement and that small operators thus were forced out of business.

The suit, in addition, challenged investments and loans made by the UMW in West Kentucky Coal Co., a large operator. The UMW answered that, although it had made investments and loans, it didn't play any part in West Kentucky Coal's management or pricing policies.

The UMW also asserted that national uniformity in wage rates and standards had been a union goal since 1890 and that its 1950 agreement didn't constitute an illegal conspiracy but was the result of legitimate collective bargaining. Moreover, the union asserted that its bargaining activity was immune from antitrust attack.

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Yesterday the High Court broadened its consideration of the issue by agreeing to decide a related question. It concerns the Constitutionality of a Federal law, enacted because Congress was worried about the smut flood, under which the Post Office may bar use of the mails or advertising or distribution of allegedly obscene materials.

Under the law, the Post Office may issue a complaint against a magazine or book publisher, charging it with using the mails to sell obscene materials. If, after a hearing, the Post Office upholds its charges, all mail addressed to the publisher is stamped "unlawful" and returned to senders.

Two Federal district courts struck down the law as unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court agreed to review both decisions.

Still on the High Court's horizon is the Swedish movie, "I Am Curious (Yellow)."

According to Grove Press Inc., U.S. distributor of the film, suits to bar "I Am Curious" or to stop its further showing have been filed in 13 states. The first to reach the Supreme Court was a case in which the State of Maryland banned the film. Grove Press appealed the state's action and also challenged the Constitutionality of the state law that created the Maryland State Board of Censors.

The Supreme Court hasn't said yet whether it will review the Maryland case. It could, of course, deny review of the decision of Maryland's highest court upholding the ban on "I Am Curious" and the Constitutionality of the state law. Or, the Supreme Court could simply hold the Maryland case until more "I Am Curious" challenges arrive and then consider them together.

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1970

For Nixon, Politics of Lost Confidence

By DAVID C. ANDERSON

Much of the commentary following the passionate finale of the trial of the Chicago Seven has seemed to ignore one of its more significant and disturbing results: The easy approval by Judge Julius Hoffman of the Justice Department's claim that it can order electronic eavesdropping—without the usual court permission and without disclosing what it hears—on domestic organizations it considers a threat to the national security.

A considerable controversy developed over the Justice Department's assertion of this position last summer; many commented that granting it such power unregulated by the courts could prove a threat to freedoms traditionally considered inviolable in America. Since then, a number of other actions have added to the impression that in some ways the President and his more influential advisers seem curiously inconsiderate of the dangers some of their policies seem to pose for individual liberties.

A Cause for Concern

Lumped together, the instances of apparent Administration insensitivity to the need to protect individual liberties are a cause for concern. Besides claiming broad power to eavesdrop, for example, the Administration favors the concept of "preventive detention," or denying bail to accused criminals considered a possible danger to the community. Some fear the practice would go too far in inflicting punishment on a suspect before his guilt is determined.

It also supported granting to police the "no-knock" power to break into homes of suspected drug users in order to avoid giving the suspects the benefit of warning, a power finally voted by the Senate only in diluted form. The Administration's anti-crime bill would give numerous and questionable powers to government prosecutors apparently for use in fighting organized crime. Some civil libertarians fear they also might be turned against political dissidents or individual criminal suspects.

And of course the Administration has asserted itself against the press, the attacks including Vice President Agnew's widely publicized speeches as well as the increasing attempts of the Justice Department to subpoena reporters' notes and tapes apparently in search of evidence to prosecute such groups as the Black Panther Party and the Students for a Democratic Society.

It is easy to see how these actions, especially as they seem to reflect a developing pattern, can inspire hysterical reaction in some quarters. Sensible reflection, however, leads to the conclusion that their real cause lies not in some decision of the President to claim illegitimate repressive powers for himself so much as in the workings of American politics, albeit pushed out of traditional shape by some recent developments.

Perhaps the most important shift in the national mood over the last few years is a relatively widespread loss of confidence in the democratic process to solve problems immediately frustrating to large segments of the population.

Most visibly, this conviction led to the rise of militance on the left, among black civil rights activists and disaffected students. But less obviously, it also has been felt by more "conservative" elements of American society, the so-called "middle Americans," who don't speak out much but are every day frustrated by rising prices and taxes, afraid of crime, inconvenienced by a declining pattern of life in rural towns, as well as cities, worried about what might happen to their children in college or in Vietnam, and in general troubled by the feeling that the whole nation is gradually beginning to fall apart.

Weighing Political Advantages

President Nixon, it seems clear, understands well that political advantage will flow to him far more abundantly from these middle Americans than it ever could from the alienated left, no matter how much he might strive to please it. Thus his desire to "bring us together" has not taken the form of persuading the alienated to return to the fold so much as to isolate them, and strongly assert the primacy of the middle American and his values.

If this is shrewd, it is also dangerous from a purely political standpoint. The middle American is not a consistent or even a very homogeneous animal; Mr. Nixon is not charismatic to him. His continued support rests only on the Administration's ability to produce immediately tangible results. Indeed, as columnists Evans and Novak reported recently, in a Chicago neighborhood exemplary of the President's constituency, his support is already wearing paper thin; though he has taken many basically sound steps to ease the mass frustrations, few voters feel their impact.

Against this background, instances of anti-crime, anti-dissent and anti-press overkill by the Administration come into better focus. Let the Vice President observe that there is another point of view than that which seems so dominant in more popular newspapers and magazines. For whatever it's worth, let him try to forge a strong emotional bond between the silent frustrated Americans and the Administration.

Let the Attorney General go as far as he wants in seeking broadened powers for the police and the FBI to cool off the more flamboyant, even dangerous dissident groups and reduce the terrifying crime rate.

Few can deny that the threat they pose is of such magnitude that a need for a relatively drastic attempt at a solution is warranted. If Congress and the Courts reduce the powers, then it's not the Administration's fault that the frustrations continue.

The political appeal of this attitude cannot be minimized:

If in Santa Barbara last week, a thousand or so students went on a rampage over their grievances, more than 15,000 residents of Berkeley, California, signed a petition expressing their outrage over student violence and disorder in the community. In response, their mayor proposed a rather chilling program of "civil defense" in which residents would organize themselves block by block with wardens to warn of impending trouble and harass "wrongdoers" by photographing them.

While black civil rights leaders are among the most outspoken opponents of seemingly repressive measures by government, out of fear that blacks will suffer most from them, such sentiment is not always shared in black neighborhoods, which, it's often forgotten, usually suffer far more crime than do white neighborhoods.

A black New York State Senator from Brooklyn, for example, recently announced the formation of a citizens' group to fight drug traffic in the slum neighborhoods he represents. The organization was making dozens of new recruits among residents of the communities involved. "If the government can't protect us, then we have to protect ourselves," he proclaimed. "If necessary, we are going to break some legs and break some arms."

There is little reason for comfort, of course, in the idea that this politics of lost confidence, rather than conscious design of those in power, may be causing a drift to increasing acceptance of repression. Rather, it makes the questions posed by this unhappy circumstance difficult indeed.

The Price of Freedom?

Can a society which traditionally has gone to great lengths to protect the rights of criminals and the disaffected continue to do so as criminality and dissent rise to politically volatile levels? Isn't it contemptuous of democratic traditions to assert that society may ignore such rights in some degree in order to deal with outrageous and grossly irresponsible challengers? If some criminals go free, if the charges against some revolutionaries can't be proved, isn't this the price we all must pay for freedom?

The answers, obviously, should be yes. Yet as the huge idealistic consensus which has made democracy work in the past begins to dissolve, as the politics of lost confidence begin to take over, a large number, even a majority might well vote no.

This is not a pretty situation, and it is cause for uneasiness over Administration policies which seem to accept it. There is not that much to be done about it directly; on the other hand, it seems a proper issue for searching national debate and other activities which might somehow develop a greater national understanding of what government can and cannot do in a free society.

It is true that playing along with the politics of lost confidence may be the best source of some unity and stability in the short run. It is also true that some of the freedoms long cherished by Americans could be limited or disappear in the process.

Pol. Sci – Const. Law – Civil Liberties

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1970

Obscenity: Testing the Supreme Court

By LOUIS M. KOHLMEIER

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court wades into the obscenity issue this week, and if the future of smut in America hangs in the balance, so does the future of substantial aspects of freedom of speech and the press and of the companion right of grown men and women to decide for themselves what they read and see.

The Constitution says that Congress and the states "shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press."

But the Supreme Court some years ago decided these First Amendment rights are not absolute, so far as obscenity is concerned. It hasn't, however, decided in any comprehensive or even comprehendable sense the difference between legal obscenity and illegal obscenity and in the confusion of it all the smut glut has been rising steadily.

Thus, a concerned Congress in 1967 established the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography which in its recent report concluded that pornography does not contribute to crime or sexual deviation and recommended the repeal of all Federal, state and local laws that "interfere with the right of adults who wish to do so to read, obtain, or view explicit sexual materials." But President Nixon, labeling the commission "morally bankrupt," rejected its conclusion and declared that "so long as I am in the White House, there will be no relaxation of the national effort to control and eliminate smut from our national life."

The President spoke in the heat of a political campaign, but there's no reason to think he didn't mean what he said. His credibility certainly is enhanced by the fact that his declaration was in keeping with an overall pattern that emerged from the just-finished campaign.

Groups on the Defensive

For the campaign surely demonstrated that civil liberties and individual rights in America are on the defensive. It wasn't only conservatives who campaigned for "getting tough" in the areas of crime, obscenity, student disorder and racial integration; normally liberal Democrats and Republicans either remained silent on these matters or clambered aboard what they sensed to be the majoritarian bandwagon.

The Supreme Court is supposed to be above politics and beyond the hue and cry of the crowd. But, of course, it isn't.

The framers of the Constitution wisely shielded the Court by arranging that its members would have lifetime tenure and would not have to run for office. But the Justices are not and cannot be isolated from the real world outside. They know what crime and sex and integration are. They're not insensitive to praise or condemnation heaped on them, by politicians or the crowd.

The Court at this time in history is unusually sensitive. Its liberal majority was under more or less constant attack by conservatives for a decade when Earl Warren was Chief Justice. Now Earl Warren is gone, but the old Warren Court's liberalism still is being blamed for smut and crime. The essentially political war over the Court's future is not finished yet.

During the 1968 campaign Mr. Nixon vowed to use the Presidential power of appointment to turn the Court in more conservative directions. When Mr. Warren retired the President named Warren Burger as Chief Justice. When liberal Abe Fortas resigned, the Senate refused to confirm either of two Southern conservatives, Clement Haynsworth or G. Harrold Carswell, and Mr. Nixon was forced to compromise by nominating a Northern conservative, Harry A. Blackmun. During the just-finished campaign, Vice President Agnew pledged that the President would try again to seat a Southern conservative, when another vacancy occurs. And when Congress returns later this month, it presumably will dispose of efforts by House conservatives to impeach Justice Douglas.

The point is that the country has changed and the Supreme Court is changing too; the obscenity issue is the first that will reveal how it's changing.

In one sense, it's unfortunate that the first issue that truly will pit the Warren Court's liberalism against the changing times is obscenity. The reason is that obscenity cases tend to embarrass dignified, gray-haired jurists. As the late Thurman Arnold, a well-known and outspoken Washington lawyer, put it: "The spectacle of a judge poring over the picture of some nude, trying to ascertain the extent to which she arouses prurient interests, and then attempting to write an opinion which explains the difference between that nude and some other nude, has elements of low comedy."

Their discomfort often causes judges to give peculiar personal twists to their opinions in obscenity cases. For instance, Justice Douglas once found it necessary, in an opinion claiming the Constitution allows no censorship, to deny that he consistently has taken the First Amendment literally "because, as frequently charged, I relish 'obscenity'."

But the potential for embarrassingly sexy opinions isn't dissuading the Burger Court. It has accepted for review a gallery of contemporary sex art and has before it a wide enough variety of both Federal and state anti-obscenity laws to assure a complete redetermination of the free speech and press versus censorship controversy.

The Justices will hear argument on the efforts of Maryland and Massachusetts authorities, under their respective state obscenity laws, to ban the Swedish film "I Am Curious (Yellow)." They will also weigh the Constitutionality of the Texas obscenity statute, in the context of the seizure by Dallas police of copies of an underground newspaper called, innocently enough, Dallas Notes. And they will listen to argument over the Constitutionality of one of the Federal Government's major anti-obscenity weapons, a law that permits the Post Office to deny mailing privileges to materials deemed obscene. Specifically involved are two concerns, in Atlanta and North Hollywood, Calif., that distribute girly magazines consisting almost entirely of explicit photos of nude women.

To assist the Justices in their labors, Grove Press Inc., the U.S. distributor of "I Am Curious (Yellow)" has appended to its legal brief copies of a paperback book containing the scenario of the film, with more than 250 still pictures. Also available is a copy of the underground paper that offended Dallas police.

If this gallery isn't enough, the Court also can choose among other pending cases and hear additional arguments. "I Am Curious (Yellow)" was banned also in Youngstown under Ohio's nuisance statute, for instance. Boston authorities threatened to ban the rock musical "Hair." And there's the case of a man returning from Europe in which customs officials seized 37 photographs the man intended to incorporate in a new hard-cover edition of "The Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana," a classic of sorts that describes a large number of sexual positions.

For the Justices' convenience, the 37 photos are on file at the Supreme Court. So is the complete "Hair" scenario.

The 1957 Decision

A review of obscenity in the Supreme Court must begin with a 1957 decision in which the Warren Court, with Justices Douglas and Black dissenting, held that the First Amendment does not protect obscenity.

But the Court didn't mean to stamp out all speech and writings about sex; aside from being impossible to enforce, that would have banned world-famous classics and works of art. So the Court's "nine old men" had to define the obscenity that Constitutionally could be censored, and this had its own elements of low comedy.

The attempt splintered the Court, in part because any definition of obscenity tends to be subjective. Justice Stewart, in the course of insisting that only "hard-core pornography" can be censored, could do no better in defining that term than to say, "I know it when I see it."

But the plurality opinion that initially emerged defined obscenity as those materials in which, "to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme taken as a whole appeals to a prurient interest." To this two-pronged test the Court in 1966 added a third test: Is the material utterly without redeeming social value? The censors couldn't censor unless the material met all three tests.

So the Court sowed semantic confusion. But the result in the real world hasn't been confusing. It has been pornographic permissiveness, which was the result that the Warren Court liberals felt was required by the Constitution.

This conclusion was confirmed when the Warren Court, applying its definition, overturned a dozen lower court decisions that had struck down as obscene a variety of books, including Henry Miller's "Tropic of Cancer," and girly magazines.

Its permissive attitude was underscored in 1969 when, in the twilight of Earl Warren's reign, the Court decided that the Constitution does not allow the Government to bar the mere possession of pornography, even if it is obscene by the Justices' definition. "If the First Amendment means anything," the Court declared in voiding a Georgia law, "it means that a state has no business telling a man, sitting alone in his own house, what books he may read or what films he may watch."

So what's left for the censors to censor? Not much. Lower courts have interpreted the Supreme Court's opinions to mean, for instance, that customs officials couldn't seize those 37 photos, even though the man who possessed them apparently intended to circulate them commercially. They have ruled that "I Am Curious (Yellow)" isn't obscene and have told the Post Office it can't deny mailing privileges to girly magazines.

About all that the censors can censor, it would appear, is an undefined "hard core" pornography, and seemingly then only when commercial exploitation constitutes "pandering" or when dirty magazines and films are available to youths.

scenity and in the confusion of it all the smut glut has been rising steadily.

Thus, a concerned Congress in 1967 established the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography which in its recent report concluded that pornography does not contribute to crime or sexual deviation and recommended the repeal of all Federal, state and local laws that "interfere with the right of adults who wish to do so to read, obtain, or view explicit sexual materials." But President Nixon, labeling the commission "morally bankrupt," rejected its conclusion and declared that "so long as I am in the White House, there will be no relaxation of the national effort to control and eliminate smut from our national life."

The President spoke in the heat of a political campaign, but there's no reason to think he didn't mean what he said. His credibility certainly is enhanced by the fact that his declaration was in keeping with an overall pattern that emerged from the just-finished campaign.

Groups on the Defensive

For the campaign surely demonstrated that civil liberties and individual rights in America are on the defensive. It wasn't only conservatives who campaigned for "getting tough" in the areas of crime, obscenity, student disorder and racial integration; normally liberal Democrats and Republicans either remained silent on these matters or clambered aboard what they sensed to be the majoritarian bandwagon.

The Supreme Court is supposed to be above politics and beyond the hue and cry of the crowd. But, of course, it isn't.

The framers of the Constitution wisely shielded the Court by arranging that its members would have lifetime tenure and would not have to run for office. But the Justices are not and cannot be isolated from the real world outside. They know what crime and sex and integration are. They're not insensitive to praise or condemnation heaped on them, by politicians or the crowd.

The Court at this time in history is unusually sensitive. Its liberal majority was under more or less constant attack by conservatives for a decade when Earl Warren was Chief Justice. Now Earl Warren is gone, but the old Warren Court's liberalism still is being blamed for smut and crime. The essentially political war over the Court's future is not finished yet.

During the 1968 campaign Mr. Nixon vowed to use the Presidential power of appointment to turn the Court in more conservative directions. When Mr. Warren retired the issue that truly will pit the Warren Court's liberalism against the changing times is obscenity. The reason is that obscenity cases tend to embarrass dignified, gray-haired jurists. As the late Thurman Arnold, a well-known and outspoken Washington lawyer, put it: "The spectacle of a judge poring over the picture of some nude, trying to ascertain the extent to which she arouses prurient interests, and then attempting to write an opinion which explains the difference between that nude and some other nude, has elements of low comedy."

Their discomfort often causes judges to give peculiar personal twists to their opinions in obscenity cases. For instance, Justice Douglas once found it necessary, in an opinion claiming the Constitution allows no censorship, to deny that he consistently has taken the First Amendment literally "because, as frequently charged, I relish 'obscenity'."

But the potential for embarrassingly sexy opinions isn't dissuading the Burger Court. It has accepted for review a gallery of contemporary sex art and has before it a wide enough variety of both Federal and state anti-obscenity laws to assure a complete redetermination of the free speech and press versus censorship controversy.

The Justices will hear argument on the efforts of Maryland and Massachusetts authorities, under their respective state obscenity laws, to ban the Swedish film "I Am Curious (Yellow)." They will also weigh the Constitutionality of the Texas obscenity statute, in the context of the seizure by Dallas police of copies of an underground newspaper called, innocently enough, Dallas Notes. And they will listen to argument over the Constitutionality of one of the Federal Government's major anti-obscenity weapons, a law that permits the Post Office to deny mailing privileges to materials deemed obscene. Specifically involved are two concerns, in Atlanta and North Hollywood, Calif., that distribute girly magazines consisting almost entirely of explicit photos of nude women.

To assist the Justices in their labors, Grove Press Inc., the U.S. distributor of "I Am Curious (Yellow)" has appended to its legal brief copies of a paperback book containing the scenario of the film, with more than 250 still pictures. Also available is a copy of the underground paper that offended Dallas police.

If this gallery isn't enough, the Court also can choose among other pending cases and hear additional arguments. "I Am Curious (Yellow)" was banned also in Youngstown, speech and writings about sex, aside from being impossible to enforce, that would have banned world-famous classics and works of art. So the Court's "nine old men" had to define the obscenity that Constitutionally could be censored, and this had its own elements of low comedy.

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The Burger Court's Turn

But now it's the Burger Court's turn, and the possibilities of re-reading the Constitution to enlarge the powers of Federal and state censorship seem large indeed. The possibilities are there because the Warren Court's members were so sorely divided and because that Court's definitions raised more questions than they answered. Moreover, the smut glut has grown so large that it poses questions the old Warren Court didn't even anticipate. Are big downtown movie houses "pandering," with box office displays of still shots from X-rated films? Can Kenosha, Wis., to protect its youth, incorporate into law the movie industry's rating system? If a man can see all the dirty stuff he wants in the privacy of his living room, is he equally free to pay the admission price to the fornication shows that have opened on New York's 42nd Street?

If the President or Congress or probably even a majority of voters were answering these questions, they would quite likely opt for censorship in the name of public morality.

The Supreme Court may well join the crowd. But if it becomes too much a part of the crowd it will diminish the role that distinguishes it from the two elective branches in our Constitutional system.

For the Court is the delicate branch that, if it cannot be isolated from the crowd, also cannot merely mirror the popular will. In the finest sense it exists to preserve the Constitution, by containing the exercise of power by the Executive and Legislative branches and protecting the rights of individuals and minorities from excessive exercises of governmental power.

In this sense, the issue for the Burger Court isn't really obscenity. The real issue is whether the Court now and in the years ahead will stand sufficiently above politics and beyond the crowd to preserve its delicate role in balancing majoritarian power against private rights in all areas, including obscenity, crime, student disorder and racial injustice.

Mr. Kohlmeier is a member of the Journal's Washington

Wiretaps and Bugs: Defining the Issue

WASHINGTON — About the time wiretapping and electronic bugging exploded from a brooding concern to a front-page issue, the Supreme Court was addressing the same problem in *The United States v. White*. By ruling certain evidence admissible, the court in effect turned down a chance to put further limits on police use of electronic devices.

The evidence in question consisted of testimony by police who had monitored conversations between a defendant accused of narcotics violations and a police informer who had consented to wear a radio that transmitted the conversations to police receivers. No warrant had been issued, and the informer himself was not produced at the trial.

Federal courts ban wiretapping and bugging evidence in most circumstances, but have admitted it when an informer consents to the use of electronic devices. The Supreme Court had previously upheld this rule in *On Lee v. United States* a case with facts practically identified to those in *White*.

Since *On Lee*, however, the Supreme Court had substantially broadened its interpretation of the Fourth Amendment's ban on unreasonable search and seizure. This had previously been read merely as forbidding physical trespass on property, but is now interpreted as protecting a right of personal privacy. A lower court had held that this new interpretation invalidated the *On Lee* precedent, putting the issue of consensual eavesdropping back before the high court.

In its April decision the court reaffirmed the *On Lee* rule and upheld the admissibility of the police testimony in *White*. The decision was written by Justice White, joined by Chief Justice Burger, Justice Stewart and Justice Blackmun. Justices Black and Brennan concurred in the result for different reasons. A dissent was filed by Justice Douglas, and another by Justice Harlan, joined by Justice Marshall.

The facts of the White case were also similar to one of the incidents often cited in this spring's controversy over bugging, the recording of conversations between an FBI informer and Congressman John Dowdy, who was indicted in a bribery case. In the Dowdy incident, however, the FBI had gone to court to get a warrant in advance, as the dissenting Justices in the White case would require.

In public controversy this spring, wiretapping and bugging were often discussed in the broadest terms, tending at the extremes to become questions of whether the FBI is evil or American society repressive. In the real world, as extracts from opinions by Justice White and Justice Harlan may illustrate, the proper control of electronic devices will be decided in terms of narrow issues with highly persuasive arguments on both sides.

—ROBERT L. BARTLEY

Justice White for the Court

Concededly a police agent who conceals his police connections may write down for official use his conversations with a defendant and testify concerning them, without a warrant authorizing his encounters with the defendant and without otherwise violating the latter's Fourth Amendment rights. *Hoffa v. United States*. . . . For Constitutional purposes, no different result is required if the agent instead of immediately reporting and transcribing his conversations with defendant, either (1) simultaneously records them with electronic equipment which he is carrying on his person, *Lopez v. United States*, . . .; (2) or carries radio equipment which simultaneously transmits the conversations either to recording equipment located elsewhere or to other agents monitoring the transmitting frequency. *On Lee v. United States*. . . .

If the conduct and revelations of an agent operating without electronic equipment do not invade the defendant's Constitutionally justifiable expectations of privacy, neither does a simultaneous recording of the same conversations made by the agent or by others from transmissions received from the agent to whom the defendant is talking and whose trustworthiness the defendant necessarily risks. . . .

Inescapably, one contemplating illegal activities must realize and risk that his companions may be reporting to the police. If he sufficiently doubts their trustworthiness, the association will very probably end or never materialize. But if he has no doubts, or allays them, or risks what doubt he has, the risk is his. In terms of what his course will be, what he will or will not do or say, we are unpersuaded that he would distinguish between probable informers on the one hand and probable informers with transmitters on the other. . . .

Nor should we be too ready to erect Constitutional barriers to relevant and probative evidence which is also accurate and reliable. An electronic recording will many times produce a more reliable rendition of what a defendant has said than will the unaided memory of a police agent. It may also be that with the recording in existence it is less likely that the informant will change his mind, less chance that threat or injury will suppress unfavorable evidence and less chance that cross-examinations will confound the testimony. Considerations like those obviously do not favor the defendant, but we are not prepared to hold that a defendant who has no Constitutional right to exclude the informer's unaided testimony nevertheless has a Fourth Amendment privilege against a more accurate version of the events in question.

It is thus untenable to consider the activities and reports of the police agent himself, though acting without a warrant, to be a "reasonable" investigative effort and lawful under the Fourth Amendment but to view the same agent with a recorder or transmitter as conducting an "unreasonable" and unconstitutional search and seizure. Our opinion is currently shared by Congress and the Executive Branch, Title III, Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 . . . and the American Bar Association, ABA Project on Minimum Standards for Criminal Justice, standards relating to electronic surveillance. . . . It is also the result reached by prior cases in this court *On Lee, supra; Lopez v. United States, supra*.

No different result should obtain where, as in *On Lee* and the instant case, the informer disappears and is unavailable at trial; for the issue of whether specified events on a certain day violate the Fourth Amendment should not be determined by what later happens to the informer. His unavailability at trial and proffering the testimony of other agents may raise evidentiary problems or pose issues of prosecutorial misconduct with respect to the informer's disappearance, but they do not appear critical to deciding whether prior events invaded the defendant's Fourth Amendment rights.

Justice Harlan, Dissenting

The impact of the practice of third-party bugging, must, I think, be considered such as to undermine that confidence and sense of security in dealing with one another that is characteristic of individual relationships between citizens in a free society. It goes beyond the impact on privacy occasioned by the ordinary type of "informer" investigation upheld in *Lewis* and *Hoffa*. The argument of the plurality opinion, to the effect that it is irrelevant whether secrets are revealed by the mere tattle-tale or the transistor, ignores the difference occasioned by third-party monitoring and recording which insures full and accurate disclosure of all that is said, free of the possibility of error and oversight that inheres in human reporting.

Authority is hardly required to support the proposition that words would be measured a good deal more carefully and communication inhibited if one expected his conversations were being transmitted and transcribed. Were third-party bugging a prevalent practice, it might well smother that spontaneity—reflected in frivolous, impetuous, sacrilegious and defiant discourse—that liberates daily life. Much off-hand exchange is easily forgotten and one may count on the obscurity of his remarks, protected by the very fact of a limited audience, and the likelihood that the listener will either overlook or forget what is said, as well as the listener's inability to reformulate a conversation without having to contend with a documented record. All these values are sacrificed by a rule of law that permits official monitoring of private discourse limited only by the need to locate a willing assistant.

It matters little that consensual transmittals are less obnoxious than wholly clandestine eavesdrops. This was put forward as justification for the conduct in *Boyd v. United States*, where the government relied on mitigating aspects of the conduct in question. The court, speaking through Justice Bradley, declined to countenance literalism.

"Though the proceeding in question is divested of many of the aggravating incidents of actual search and seizure, yet, as beforesaid, it contains their substance and essence, and effects their substantial purpose. It may be that it is the obnoxious thing in its mildest and least repulsive form; but illegitimate and unconstitutional practices get their first footing in that way, namely by silent approaches and slight deviations from modes of legal procedure." . . .

Finally, it is too easy to forget—and hence, too often forgotten—that the issue here is whether to interpose a search warrant procedure between law enforcement agencies engaging in electronic eavesdropping and the public generally. By casting its "risk analysis" solely in terms of the expectations and risks that "wrongdoers" or "one contemplating illegal activities" ought to bear, the plurality opinion, I think, misses the mark entirely. *On Lee* does not simply mandate that criminals must daily run the risk of unknown eavesdroppers prying on their private affairs; it subjects each and every law-abiding member of society to that risk. The very purpose of interposing the Fourth Amendment warrant requirement is to redistribute the privacy risks throughout society in a way that produces the result the plurality opinion ascribes to the *On Lee* rule.

Abolition of *On Lee* would not end electronic eavesdropping. It would prevent public officials from engaging in that practice unless they first had probable cause to suspect an individual of involvement in illegal activities and had tested their version of the facts before a detached judicial officer. . . . Interposition of a warrant requirement is designed not to shield "wrongdoers," but to secure a measure of privacy and a sense of personal security throughout our society.

The Fourth Amendment does, of course, leave room for the employment of modern technology in criminal law enforcement, but in the stream of current developments in Fourth Amendment law I think it must be held that third-party electronic monitoring, subject only to the self-restraint of law enforcement officials, has no place in our society.

Pol. Sci, Co-44 Law, Econ 213.2

CBS, Its President Cited for Contempt By House Panel Over Refusal to Give Film

W-S-J 7/2/71

WASHINGTON – The House Commerce Committee voted to cite Columbia Broadcasting System Inc. and its president, Frank Stanton, for contempt of Congress.

The action, which follows the network's refusal to give the committee film taken for its controversial documentary, "The Selling of the Pentagon," sets the stage for another battle in court between the government and news media about the meaning of the First Amendment.

The House committee's resolution carried by a vote of 25 to 13, a margin lopsided enough to suggest that the full House will endorse the panel's action. The resolution is a privileged matter that could reach the House floor during the week of July 12. If the House upholds the committee, the Justice Department would prosecute; if convicted, Mr. Stanton could be sent to prison for a year.

Mr. Stanton has said he's willing to accept that risk to vindicate the right of broadcasters to remain free of government "surveillance." On that ground the network has twice refused compliance with a congressional subpoena demanding delivery of film taken for its documentary about Defense Department public relations.

After the committee vote yesterday, Mr. Stanton issued a statement contrasting the decision with the Supreme Court's refusal Wednesday to enjoin newspapers from continuing to publish secret documents about the Vietnam war.

"If broadcasters must submit to government surveillance of news judgments, broadcast journalism can never perform the independent and robust role which the Constitution intended for the American press in preserving freedom," Mr. Stanton said. "I sincerely hope that the House of Representatives won't confirm a citation of contempt which, though directed at CBS, is in effect taking dead aim against the First Amendment."

Rep. Harley Staggers (D., W.Va.), chairman of the House committee, said he doesn't have any intention of second-guessing the network's news judgments or of infringing on the First Amendment by subjecting the broadcaster to official surveillance. Broadcasters differ from newspaper publishers because they are government-regulated trustees of the public airwaves, Mr. Staggers argued. Hence, he asserted, Congress has every right to subject broadcasters to "public scrutiny," and to investigate allegations of "manipulative techniques" such as rearrangement or transposition of film that distorts "actual events or speech being presented" on the air.

Pol Sci & Civil Liberties

HE WALL STREET JOURNAL, FRIDAY, JULY 2, 1971

Press Decision: The Joy Is Premature

By LOUIS M. KOHLMEIER

WASHINGTON—Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, president and publisher of The New York Times, reacted with "complete joy and delight." Katharine Graham, publisher of The Washington Post, was "extremely gratified."

But the elation of the distinguished publishers of the distinguished newspapers was at best premature and at worst could be proved to be downright wrong.

To almost anyone in the newspaper business, from high publishers down to lowly copy boys, the immediate delight of Mr. Sulzberger and Mrs. Graham over the Supreme Court's decision allowing their papers to resume publication of the top-secret Pentagon papers was not only understandable but shared. The newspaper business is a clubbish trade—some say profession—that closes ranks when one or several of its more prominent members are deemed to be unfairly threatened by the frightening power of government. "Freedom of the press" is its rallying cry, and so many papers rallied behind the Times and Post that government lawyers complained about the terrible unpopularity of their task.

The Times and Post were indeed fighting not merely for freedom from orders of lower courts that restrained them from publishing the Pentagon papers, but for the fundamental constitutional right of the press in a democratic society to inform the people about controversial issues, free of government censorship or, in legal terms, "prior restraint." When the Supreme Court decided, 6 to 3, that the government could not enjoin them from publishing more of the secret papers, and thus telling the public more about the origins of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war, the Times and Post unquestionably won a major victory over the Nixon administration.

A Narrow Victory

But it was a narrow victory that may in the long run turn out to be of not much more than immediate significance. Indeed, an argument can be made that press freedom would have been better served had the whole episode not been brought before the courts.

The Times and Post didn't exactly take the issue to court, of course. They began publishing the Pentagon papers in mid-June, and President Nixon, through Attorney General John Mitchell, took the newspapers to court for revealing secrets that allegedly would endanger national security.

But the result was a historic confrontation between the constitutional rights of a free press and the constitutional power of the President, as the nation's Chief Executive and commander-in-chief of its armed forces, to protect and preserve the national security. History suggests that, when such rights and powers crash head-on, press freedom isn't likely to win in the long run, even at the Supreme Court. Moreover, the rather recent history of the newspaper business further suggests that the arguments for press freedom may not prove to be of iron strength if put to additional hard tests.

So far as immediate significance is concerned, the decision of the Supreme Court lifted the temporary orders of lower courts that had prevented the Times and Post for about two weeks from publishing further articles about the Pentagon papers. It said that the Constitution assumes a "heavy presumption" against prior censorship of the press, and that the government had failed in this

Post, it would be the first time in history that the Espionage Act, a law passed to thwart Russian and German spies, was used against American newsmen. Even if he doesn't prosecute, the fact will remain that a majority of members of the Supreme Court have said that the First Amendment does not protect the press from criminal prosecution which, if successful, would mean stiff fines and prison sentences. All criminal laws are intended, in the broadest sense, to be deterrents and are not written simply to punish those who commit proscribed acts.

So it seems obvious that Wednesday's "victory" achieved by the Times and Post already has become something considerably less. The shower of individual opinions surely will have what the high court, in other times and cases, has called a "chilling" effect on the First Amendment.

If these results shock the sensibilities of the press, it is perhaps because the press has been lulled by a line of Supreme Court decisions that has widened press freedom. The long line, which began in the old, liberal Warren court and extends into the new and more conservative high court headed by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, has freed the press almost entirely from fear of libel damages and, to a lesser degree, from federal and state censorship that relates to obscenity statutes.

Particularly in freeing the press from libel damages, the high court has spoken eloquently about the First Amendment and democracy, saying the press must be free to investigate and report if it is to inform the American public. But freedom from libel actions and from prosecution for violating obscenity censorship rules are wholly different matters than freedom to print government secrets that the President says will endanger national security.

Press censorship in the name of "national security" was, until the Times and Post case, an almost completely unexplored area of constitutional law, and better it had remained so. But the President's power under the Constitution to guard the nation's security on occasion has come into dramatic conflict with other constitutional freedoms, and the Supreme Court's decisions in these cases do not give comfort to the press.

In recent history, the high court as a practical matter has shielded the President's power to wage an undeclared war in Vietnam by refusing to hear cases arguing that the Constitution reserves to Congress the power to declare war. In a series of draft-case decisions the high court has upheld individual rights of conscientious objectors. At the same time the court has very carefully not allowed those rights to become so broad as to infringe on the President's authority to draft sufficient numbers of men for military needs.

The court's respect for presidential power and the needs of national security also can be traced far back into history. Before the Civil War, for example, the court upheld President Lincoln's power to blockade Southern ports, although Congress had not then declared war. In World War I, the court said the First Amendment did not mean the Sedition Act could not be used to imprison leafleteers who urged support of the Russian revolution. And in World War II the court unanimously upheld President Roosevelt's power to order the Army to herd some 100,000 Japanese-Americans into detention camps.

These and many more decisions illustrate the application of a doctrine which holds that only with the greatest care should the Supreme Court interfere with presidential power to conduct military and foreign affairs.

The decisions of at least five of the Justices in the Times and Post case demonstrated that the doctrine remains very much alive. Justice John M. Harlan's opinion, to which Chief Justice Burger and Justice Harry Blackmun subscribed, said, for instance: "It is plain to me that the scope of the judicial function in passing upon the activities of the Executive Branch in the field of foreign affairs is very narrowly restricted." The Harlan-Burger-Blackmun conservative trio, of course, accounted for the three dissenting votes in the case. But Justice Byron White, even while voting for the Times and Post, suggested that the Attorney General should prosecute the papers under the Espionage Act, indicating that the prosecution might serve as a good example for its "deterrent effect on the responsible as well as the irresponsible press." Justice Potter Stewart, who also voted for the Times and Post concurred with Justice White.

Further Rulings Likely

Given the government's appetite for secrecy and the press' for news, more head-on collisions are inevitable, even if Attorney General Mitchell doesn't now prosecute the Times and Post. The sentiments expressed by the five Justices will find their way into fully reasoned decisions of the court. And the reasoning may well be buttressed with some arguments that have little to do with national security and a lot to do with the business of newspapering.

The arguments reared their heads in the government's cases against the Times and Post and they added up to an assertion that the press really is a commercial entity that doesn't always respect the principle of economic freedom, so why should the government respect press freedom? For instance, the government said, the Times and Post copyright their stories to retain economc control of their use. It said papers in the past have sought injunctions to prevent other papers from infringing on their copyrights.

The press may see no parallel. But Chief Justice Burger apparently did, when he rather sneeringly referred to the Times' claim to "sole trusteeship . . . of its journalistic 'scoop.' "

The decision obviously did not turn on newspapers' actions concerning economic matters. But Supreme Court decisions often are made of many parts, and in future cases it would be surprising if the government did not develop a line of reasoning that takes into consideration not only copyright privileges but such items as the Times' announced plans to rush out its Pentagon papers articles in paperback book form and the newspaper industry's successful campaign to win from Congress the so-called Newspaper Preservation Act. The act gave newspapers antitrust protection other industries don't enjoy.

And it may be that, among all the opinions that gave Mr. Sulzberger and Mrs. Graham great joy on Wednesday, the most significant words in the end turned out to be those of Justice Blackmun, the junior Justice:

"The First Amendment, after all, is only one part of an entire Constitution."

Mr. Kohlmeier, a member of the Journal's Washington bureau, covers the Supreme Court.

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But the decision was only a brief three paragraphs long and it was a "per curiam" opinion, unsigned by any member of the court, that simply announced the result. It was a rare decision, totally unlike normal Supreme Court rulings that explain how and why a result was reached, that elaborate on the application of that result and that are buttressed by the force of reason and, in the most important cases, by the force of philosophic and even moral discourse. The most powerful of such decisions are those, as in the 1954 school desegregation ruling, that are signed by all nine Justices, but great weight attaches even when a majority of five signs or concurs.

Much Was Omitted

Thus the court's opinion said nothing about the value of a free press or an informed public to a democratic society. It said nothing about constitutional limits on presidential power, or about the historic clash between rights and powers.

This may have been due to the time pressures on the Justices. Unquestionably, it can sometimes take weeks to hammer out an opinion of the court to which all concurring Justices will subscribe, and the Times and Post decision was handed down a mere four days after oral argument was heard last Saturday.

But the end product will not be very useful as precedent in future head-on collisions. There were nine separate opinions by nine Justices, deeply divided into two distinct camps, and the real results will be known only in future decisions when either the court's advocates of press freedom or those of presidential power will prevail.

The press would have been better off if the collision had never gone to the courts, because if for no other reason newspapers for the first time in American history were censored, even if only temporarily, in the name of "national security." The Supreme Court's opinion did not say that the press could not be similarly restrained in the future.

But there are other and certainly more serious reasons. The individual opinions that were handed down gave a majority of at least five Justices an opportunity to say two things that the Supreme Court has never before in history said: first, that the Constitution would not prevent the Justice Department from bringing criminal prosecutions against newspapers for publishing vital national defense secrets and, second, that Congress could pass a law allowing the President to censor newspapers, even though the 6-to-3 decision in the Times and Post case held the Executive Branch can't restrain the press by relying simply on a claim of the "inherent" powers of the presidency.

These individual opinions of five Justices don't amount to constitutional doctrine, of course. But further opportunity may not be far off to write into constitutional law the holding that newspapers—meaning their editors and reporters and presumably their publishers—can be thrown into jail for publishing defense secrets. Attorney General Mitchell said yesterday that, in view of the five opinions, the Justice Department "is continuing its investigation and will prosecute all those who have violated criminal laws in connection with this matter."

If Mr. Mitchell prosecutes the Times and constitutional freedoms, and the Supreme Court's decisions in these cases do not give comfort to the press.

In recent history, the high court as a practical matter has shielded the President's power to wage an undeclared war in Vietnam by refusing to hear cases arguing that the Constitution reserves to Congress the power to declare war. In a series of draft-case decisions the high court has upheld individual rights of conscientious objectors. At the same time the court has very carefully not allowed those rights to become so broad as to infringe on the President's authority to draft sufficient numbers of men for military needs.

The court's respect for presidential power and the needs of national security also can be traced far back into history. Before the Civil War, for example, the court upheld President Lincoln's power to blockade Southern ports, although Congress had not then declared war. In World War I, the court said the First Amendment did not mean the Sedition Act could not be used to imprison leafleteers who urged support of the Russian revolution. And in World War II the court unanimously upheld President Roosevelt's power to order the Army to herd some 100,000 Japanese-Americans into detention camps.

These and many more decisions illustrate the application of a doctrine which holds that

The press may see no parallel. But Chief Justice Burger apparently did, when he rather sneeringly referred to the Times' claim to "sole trusteeship . . . of its journalistic 'scoop.' "

The decision obviously did not turn on newspapers' actions concerning economic matters. But Supreme Court decisions often are made of many parts, and in future cases it would be surprising if the government did not develop a line of reasoning that takes into consideration not only copyright privileges but such items as the Times' announced plans to rush out its Pentagon papers articles in paperback book form and the newspaper industry's successful campaign to win from Congress the so-called Newspaper Preservation Act. The act gave newspapers antitrust protection other industries don't enjoy.

And it may be that, among all the opinions that gave Mr. Sulzberger and Mrs. Graham great joy on Wednesday, the most significant words in the end turned out to be those of Justice Blackmun, the junior Justice:

"The First Amendment, after all, is only one part of an entire Constitution."

Mr. Kohlmeier, a member of the Journal's Washington bureau, covers the Supreme Court.

E WALL STREET JOURNAL, WEDNESDAY, JULY 14, 1971

The Press, the Court — and 1972

By LOUIS M. KOHLMEIER

WASHINGTON—Sometimes the small details tell more of lasting meaning than the major events standing alone.

So it was when the Supreme Court sat in its marble chamber to announce its decision that the government could not further restrain The New York Times and The Washington Post from printing the secret Pentagon papers.

The session had been called hastily, but already the chamber was crowded. Sitting intently quiet and almost unnoticed in the crowd was Sen. Birch Bayh, the Indiana Democrat who led the fights against the Supreme Court nominations of Clement F. Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell.

The room hushed and eight Justices stepped through the red velvet curtains. William O. Douglas, the court's impatient liberal, had already departed for his summer home in the West.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger proceeded into his task of announcing the court's decision, and his own defeat. Six of the Justices had voted against the government. The three who voted for the government and lost were the Chief Justice and Justice Harry A. Blackmun, the two Nixon appointees on the court, and Justice John M. Harlan, a fellow conservative.

The session was over in a few minutes. As the Justices rose and turned, the new Chief Justice waited for a moment for Justice Hugo L. Black. Then they departed, Chief Justice Burger walking a bit behind and extending his hand forward, as if to see the 85-year-old senior Justice safely back through the velvet curtains.

A Strange Sight

As the crowd dispersed, some of the members of the Supreme Court's tiny police force who had not been in the chamber huddled in a corridor outside, skimming the nine Justices' opinions. It was a strange sight, the court's cops, who ordinarily evince no interest in jurisprudence, searching with obvious eagerness to see who had won and who had lost.

But their interest was not misplaced. President Nixon has waged great battles with the Senate over the court's future, and in the court's last term produced many decisions indicating that the court is changing as the President intended it should. But this 6-to-3 decision demonstrated that, when the chips are down, the President doesn't yet have control.

So the fight isn't over, inside the court or outside. The court almost certainly will be a political issue again in the 1972 presidential election. Indeed, as the presence of presidential hopeful Birch Bayh suggested, it may be a bigger issue than Richard Nixon made it in the 1968 campaign. And this time the press almost certainly will be an issue too.

It is hardly an accident that the court and the press became political issues in the years since Mr. Nixon began his campaign for the presidency, or that the two issues should now be joined. Mr. Nixon is a conservative, attacking—with substantial success—a court and a press that were liberally dominated. But in a broader sense, both court and press race, poverty, rehabilitation and recidivism, are, of course, not nearly so simple as political rhetoric sometimes would suggest. But, complexities notwithstanding, the rhetoric undoubtedly will escalate in the 1972 presidential campaign, with President Nixon running on his record and the Democratic candidate charging "repression." And it's this escalation that inevitably will draw the court and the press into the political campaign.

Indeed, the preparations for 1972 are under way.

Mr. Mitchell, who is expected to resign as Attorney General soon to run President Nixon's re-election campaign, has been speaking out in defense of the administration's record and ridiculing what he says are outcries "not just by revolutionary orators but by . . . writers in responsible publications, that the people are being repressed."

In the same speech, Mr. Mitchell underscored the escalation of the "law and order" controversy by lumping together old, ordinary kinds of crime and the "new menace" presented by "violence of extremists." Citing "national opinion surveys," he asserted that "the people are ready for reforms" under which criminals, whatever their crimes, "will be dealt with according to law, and will not be freed uncorrected to prey upon . . . the people."

And it was Sen. Bayh's hopes of being the Democratic presidential candidate next year that brought him to the Supreme Court chamber. The Senator, an aide later explained, is, of course, "very concerned" about freedom of the press, but perhaps more to the point he believes the Nixon administration is "most vulnerable on the zeal with which it tried to suppress" the Times and Post.

Still more to the point, the Bayh camp sees the Pentagon papers case as "part of a pattern," the aide continued. As if warming up for the campaign, he declared: "This is the administration that complains of too much fairness for the accused.

"This is the administration that taps telephones.

"This is the administration that condones mass arrests of demonstrators.

"This is the administration that has been abysmally bad in the kind of people it tried to appoint, like Haynsworth and Carswell.

"All of these things show a willingness to manipulate the law," the aide alleged, adding with obvious enthusiasm: "You can make a hell of a good campaign pitch" out of them.

But whether the pitch is made by Sen. Bayh or another Democrat, the new and bigger "law and order" controversy won't be settled in the political arena alone. The Supreme Court will be drawn more deeply into the battle. This is because the Nixon administration's all-out war on all kinds of lawlessness has involved novel criminal laws and novel uses of old laws, and the Supreme Court is the final arbiter of the Constitution.

For example, the administration has utilized wiretaps and microphone "bugs" as important weapons to gather evidence against not only ordinary criminals but also racial and war dissenters. It's willing to obtain court warrants authorizing the taps and bugs on ordinary criminals, but insists it can keep Black Panthers and white radicals under similar electronic surveillance without warrants. The Supreme Court has already agreed to rule on the constitutionality of the administration's position, which is that domestic radicals are a threat to the "national security," no different than Russian spies, and thus that the President can authorize taps and bugs without judicial supervision.

A second example is the administration's insistence that the federal government as well as states can subpoena newspaper and television reporters to appear before grand juries and compel them to tell what they have discovered from news sources about the activities of radicals. The court has agreed to decide, on the basis of a federal case against a New York Times reporter and two state cases, whether the First Amendment allows reporters to be subpoenaed.

Crucial Decisions

Both the electronic surveillance and subpoena controversies will be decided in the spring of 1972, just as the political campaigns are warming up. If a majority of the court votes to uphold the administration, the court automatically will be giving political aid and comfort to the Republicans. If a majority rules that the administration has acted unconstitutionally, as it did in the Times and Post case, the court automatically will buttress the Democrats and their charge of repression.

So the court's decision in the Times and Post case merely concluded one battle in a continuing war. There will be at least two more equally hard battles next year, and beyond that the court surely will sit in judgment on other aspects of the administration's record: its prosecution of the "Harrisburg Eight," for example, its advocacy of "preventive detention" laws and its approval of the massive-arrest technique the Washington police used against the Mayday demonstrators.

But the decision was an event that, with its attendant details, dramatically demonstrated something else: Although President Nixon's bitter encounters with Birch Bayh and the other Senate liberals yielded gains for him, the future of the Supreme Court remains unsettled. Mr. Nixon lost this decision, and his loss suggests that he may not win the decisions on electronic surveillance and subpoena power next year.

The Republicans and Democrats are aware that whoever wins the election next year will in all probability name the successors to 85-year old Justice Black and 72-year old Justice Douglas, and thus win control of the court. The winner who controls the court will in the end decide the control of the press issue, because the court and the press are forever wedded to one another by the First Amendment.

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It is hardly an accident that the court and the press became political issues in the years since Mr. Nixon began his campaign for the presidency, or that the two issues should now be joined. Mr. Nixon is a conservative, attacking—with substantial success—a court and a press that were liberally dominated. But in a broader sense, both court and press are now caught up in an intensifying issue of "law and order."

"Law and order" became a political byword of the 1968 presidential campaign. Back then the term seemed to be understood by Republicans and Democrats alike as referring to ordinary street crimes and crimes of passion, like murder and rape. Other kinds of lawlessness and disorder, such as racial riots and antiwar protests, troubled the nation, but they were taken to be different kinds of problems, to be addressed with different kinds of solutions.

Within this context both GOP candidate Nixon and Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey agreed that the states needed more federal money to help stem the crime wave. But candidate Nixon went further, asserting repeatedly that the Supreme Court's liberal majority was largely to blame, because of decisions that enlarged the rights of criminal suspects and restrained the powers of police. He also blamed Attorney General Ramsey Clark for being soft on crime and for suffering from a libertarian reluctance to use wiretaps and electronic bugs against criminals. Candidate Nixon promised to replace both Mr. Clark and the high court liberals.

Replacing Mr. Clark with John Mitchell was no problem, of course, but changing the Supreme Court was more difficult. The Senate confirmed conservative Warren Burger as successor to liberal Earl Warren as Chief Justice. But it refused to confirm either Mr. Haynsworth or Mr. Carswell, two Southern conservatives, and the President was forced to settle for Harry Blackmun, a Northern conservative.

Nevertheless, the results are obvious. Increasingly, the two Nixon appointees have voted with three or four of the incumbent conservatives to form a new majority. Last term this majority refused to further expand criminal rights and even some kinds of civil rights. Harder to judge is the effectiveness of a concurrent administration effort, a verbal campaign against the press. But here too, the liberals are on the defensive.

A Mutual Suspicion

Mr. Nixon's troubles with the liberal press predate those with the Supreme Court. Indeed, Mr. Nixon and the press seem to have shared a mutual suspicion for almost as long as he has been in public life. Reporters long ago unkindly coined the nickname "Tricky Dick," and in 1962 Mr. Nixon angrily blamed the press when he lost his race for governorship of California.

But since Mr. Nixon has been in the White House, the tables have been turned. Reporters haven't been calling Mr. Nixon names, but Vice President Agnew—and sometimes Attorney General Mitchell and Mrs. Mitchell—have been calling the press names. Their principal target has been the Eastern liberal press, of which the Times and Washington Post surely are the leaders.

But name-calling and blowing the whistle on old Warren court doctrines aren't really the issues now. As the government's case against the Times and Post demonstrated, the issues have escalated since Mr. Nixon has been in the White House.

If "law and order" was understood in 1968 to cover simply tougher, more effective enforcement of laws against ordinary crime, it's no longer so understood. The Nixon administration has taken the hard line that all forms of disobedience and violence are to be met with equally stern and effective measures. Thus it has tended to equate ordinary crime with disruptive and allegedly unlawful conduct motivated not by greed or passion but by racial tensions and Vietnam war dissent.

Even ordinary crime and punishment, because they are interwoven with problems of

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A Word Edgewise: 7-31-71 Pol Sci - Civil Liberties

Fairness in TV Network News Legitimate Concern of Congress

By John P. Roche

WELL, DR. FRANK STANTON of CBS has been spared a trial for contempt of Congress and—unless some security risk at the network leaks the "CBS Papers"—we shall never know exactly how the "Selling of the Pentagon" was put together. As has been suggested here before, this is just as well—there is enough snooping in our society already. And besides CBS has changed its rules, in effect proclaiming that while it is not guilty, it won't again play games with interviews.

Yet, conceding that Harley Staggers's committee went off the reservation in this particular instance, the fact is that the investigators were trying to put a handle on a notably slippery billiard ball: bias and distortion in the presentation of news. And when the networks claim that they are just like newspapers, and have the same constitutional protection, they have gone well beyond the First Amendment as it is generally interpreted. Indeed, the Supreme Court has sustained the right of Congress to require "fairness" from both radio and TV stations.

This is a crucial distinction. Newspapers are private property, and have the right to be as biased as they choose. If you don't like one paper's position, you can always buy another. Radio and TV stations, on the other hand, are utilizing public property—the air waves and channels—and if all you get is the same pitch from all the networks, you can either believe it or turn it off.

To prevent any one viewpoint from dominating these publicly owned media, Congress passed and the Federal Communications Commission is supposed to enforce the "Fairness Doctrine," which requires that all sides of controversial questions be presented. And presented fairly: you can't have a university professor representing one side, and the village idiot the other.

The legitimate, and constitutional, concern of Congress then is not with such esoteric questions as were raised in the "Selling of the Pentagon," nor should it be with the paranoidal issue of the political viewpoints of the TV editors or commentators.

It is simply this: Is the news presented fairly? No more, no less. The trouble with this standard is the absence of accepted criteria of fairness and the lack of objective techniques of measurement.

However, a land-mine is shortly going to explode. Miss Edith Efron of TV Guide decided back in 1968 that there must be some way of empirically evaluating "fairness" in TV network news. So she got three tape recorders and had transcribed all the daily prime-time news features on the three networks from Sept. 16 to election eve, Nov. 4, 1968. As issues, she chose the presidential race and 10 associated matters including Vietnam policy, black militants, demonstrators, and the white middle class.

She then took this mass of material—over 100,000 words per network—and broke it down in terms of "for" and "against," e.g., Hubert Humphrey, Richard Nixon, George Wallace, or black militants, or the war.

WITHOUT GOING into details here, the result is a volume, "The News Twisters" (to be published in September by Nash) that should make quite a stir. It is a devastating indictment of unfairness of treatment by all three networks. Without an independent investigation of her data and methods, it is impossible to issue a final verdict on her charges.

But the point is that she has put a handle on that billiard ball, has provided a prima facie case of private news-management that would bring a true bill from any grand jury in the nation.

In other words, what Miss Efron's charges merit is a thorough, sophisticated and nonpartisan investigation by Congress of the extent to which its stewardship, as set forth in the Fairness Doctrine, has been evaded. It might be added that this is not a matter of grinding any special ax—she suggests that the New Left was treated as unfairly as the war in Vietnam.

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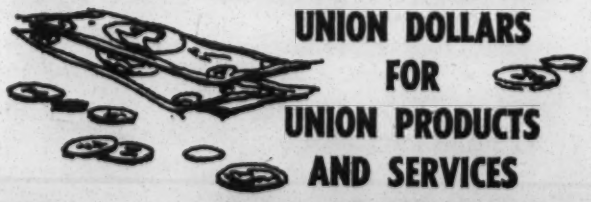

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AFL-CIO NEWS 7/31/71

Const'l Law - Civil Liberties
AFL-CIO NEWS 5/27/72

A Word Edgewise:

Amish School Decision Raises Tricky Constitutional Questions

By John P. Roche

THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION that the state of Wisconsin cannot require children of the Amish religious faith to attend school beyond the eighth grade opens up some remarkably tricky questions about the meaning of freedom of religion under the First Amendment.

Put briefly, the facts are that the Amish—gentle folk who do not hold with our worldly ways—see high school education as a source of corruption. They claim that mandatory state education requirements impose an unconstitutional burden on their religious freedom.

A unanimous Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Warren Burger, sustained their claim—and in so doing took American constitutional law into very treacherous waters. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes was fond of saying that "hard cases make bad law," and one suspects that this is a good instance of what he had in mind.

The Amish are a quiet group who want nothing more than to be left alone. Decent-minded people certainly don't want to see them jailed or fined for following their consciences. But the problem is that this court decision is, as the lawyers put it, fungible—that is, it is applicable to a whole category of church-state conflicts.

To take an obvious parallel, what about the handful of fundamentalist Mormons who still believe in plural marriage? Under the laws of the states this is a crime known as bigamy. Chief Justice Burger observed with regard to the Amish that "a way of life that is odd or even erratic but interferes with no rights or interests of others is not to be condemned because it is different."

In my judgment, plural marriage would clearly fall into this category. A more extreme case involves those who on religious grounds reject medical care, i.e., under some circumstances commit suicide (and the subsidiary question of whether they have the right to deny medical care to their children).

Switching areas, it might be noted that the Amish also oppose, on grounds of conscience, participation in social security. Should they be exempted from the tax laws of the nation? Should Christian Scientists be forced to pay taxes to support Medicare? Or Quakers for the support of the Dept. of Defense?

This list could continue at some length—and I have omitted such extreme situations as snake-worshippers—but the key problem is this: Does the First Amendment authorize people getting a constitutional bonus for their religious convictions? Historically speaking, the courts have denied this contention, though the precedents on conscientious objection to the draft are a bit murky.

SELECTIVE SERVICE statutes have uniformly required that conscientious objectors have a religious basis for their position, but the Supreme Court has broadened the meaning of religious to include non-theological convictions. (This was managed by suggesting that this must have been what Congress had in mind; otherwise it would have created serious problems of separation of church and state. In fact, it was not at all what Congress had in mind.)

What the court has done in the Amish case is, by supporting freedom of conscience, blast an enormous hole in the "wall of separation" between church and state.

In effect it has given special status to religious convictions: the non-Amish Wisconsin parent who simply wants to put his kid to work on the farm will continue to face the penalties of the law. One can only imagine the lawsuits that will now flood the courts as every eccentric sect goes forth to assert its supremacy over the police power of the state.

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SPY 15 CENTS

Imperiling Privacy

Mollenhoff's Probing Points Up Wide Access To Federal Tax Returns

Besides White House Aide, Agencies, Congress Have Power to Request Forms

At Least 30 States Get Data

By RICHARD F. JANSSEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—You may not be important enough for White House sleuth Clark Mollenhoff to peek at your tax return, but don't rest easy. A lot of other people, ranging from your governor to members of Congress, may have access to it.

Abuses of outside access to tax returns are exceedingly rare, officials insist. But they concede that the opportunities for misuse of the highly personal information the documents contain—ranging from alimony amounts to the ideological preferences indicated by deductions for donations—are vast. Chances are more than 50-50 that a copy of your return will be passed on to your state's bureaucracy, for instance, and at least a thousand times a year returns are tapped by Federal law enforcers outside the Internal Revenue Service.

This wide access is quite legal, officials stress, as the wall of secrecy around tax returns isn't as breach-proof as the IRS would like—or would like you to think. "For all our talk about confidentiality, there are a lot of institutions that can get these things wholesale," confides one insider.

"Indiscriminate Access"

The current cause celebre is Mr. Mollenhoff, who casually told reporters that the President had orally given him permission to peruse returns in pursuit of his White House duties of ferreting out potential scandals. This opened the way for Democratic National Committee Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien to charge "indiscriminate access by a political operative." Mr. O'Brien's comments helped push the IRS and Congressional committees into a reconsideration of the sensitive area of taxpayer privacy.

The news of Mr. Mollenhoff's access is pointing up an embarrassing amount of accessibility to supposedly sacrosanct tax returns; the practice is so institutionalized that probably the worst that can happen to him, officials say, is that instead of submitting requests for returns directly he will have to have the President sign a note for him.

Even before the Mollenhoff affair broke, the Treasury was concerned about buttoning the lips of outsiders who see tax returns. Its concern arises largely because so many people are being granted access nowadays, especially in the tax offices of states and local governments, which increasingly cross-check their returns with Federal returns in the hope of catching cheaters.

At least 45 million of some 75 million returns just filed, for instance, will be put on computer tapes for mailing next fall to at least 30 states. The states, in turn, can pass on the data to the many cities and counties that levy their own income taxes.

Past Practice

Potentially as dangerous to privacy as this wholesale access is the small-scale peeking at individual returns by Federal investigators outside the tax field, such as Mr. Mollenhoff. The White House special counsel has had nine returns pulled for him, according to Revenue Commissioner Randolph Thrower.

Even that modest number may well be too much, former Democratic White House aides contend. Joseph Califano recalls that when Lyndon Johnson launched him on a strenuous effort to roll back an aluminum price increase the President said "do anything legal but stay away from tax returns" and antitrust threats.

And while Mr. Mollenhoff says that all Presidential special counsels have been able to see tax returns, onetime LBJ special counsel Harry McPherson asserts he is unaware this was the case; he calls Mr. Mollenhoff's prerogative "scary as hell." Still, Commissioner Thrower says IRS records show that under John F. Kennedy the White House did obtain "a significant number" of tax returns without written requests, just as Mr. Mollenhoff has done.

It's Fun to Peek

Much like Mr. Mollenhoff, Treasury officials can get returns without written requests as long as it's in the line of duty, and sometimes they find the peeking pleasurable. Asked once what the most interesting aspect of his job has been, Edwin S. Cohen, the Treasury's Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy, replied that it was research for tax reform proposals, explaining "I never saw the return of a wealthy man before."

Scrutiny of tax returns by other Federal agencies is surprisingly common. The IRS disclosure office reports that in 1969 it logged requests from agencies as apparently remote from tax matters as the Health, Education and Welfare Department (three), the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (four), the Small Business Administration (64) and the Labor Department (six). Generally, the agencies' pur-

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Imperiling Privacy: A Controversy Spotlights Access to Tax Returns

Continued From First Page

pose in seeking returns is to help enforce laws under their jurisdiction.

The biggest customer for tax returns is the Justice Department. It made 143 requests last year for returns to be perused in matters ranging from untangling Mafia ties to legitimate business to defending the Government's interest in routine land condemnation suits. Another big user of returns is the Renegotiation Board, whose need for 96 corporate returns in 1969 is understandable in view of its role in recapturing overcharges on defense contracts, officials say.

Perhaps reflecting increasing IRS insistence on a strict showing of need, requests to the IRS for returns by other Federal agencies have been drifting lower in recent years. In the fiscal year ended last June 30, 317 requests were recorded, down from 392 the year before and from about 600 six years before. However, this doesn't necessarily portray the exact number of returns scrutinized: one request can be for the returns of more than one taxpayer. In calendar 1968, according to Republican Sen. John Williams of Delaware, 3,393 returns were requested.

Besides these requests that funnel through the revenue commissioner's office here, there are many more that go from the 93 U.S. Attorneys across the country straight to local IRS offices. These aren't counted regularly, but officials say a tally in 1967 turned up 627 requests.

At least potentially sweeping access to tax returns is regularly granted by Presidents to Congressional committees, although IRS men insist that only sparing use of the power is made. By Executive Orders, the House Committees on Government Operations, Public Works, Internal Security and Crime and the Senate's Government Operations and Judiciary Committees can tap anyone's tax returns dating back, in some cases, as far as 1948.

Public Works Committee staffers, the tax men suggest, might want to see returns when they're investigating possible kickbacks on highway construction jobs; at least one former White House aide, though, recalls his President being puzzled about the purpose as he signed such an order and observes that "Presidents traditionally have been edgy about denying" a committee this power.

The Congressional panels specializing in tax legislation—the House Ways and Means Committee, Senate Finance Committee and Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation—have their access rights written into law. Still other committees can requisition returns from the IRS, and tell the whole Congress about them, if the appropriate house so resolves.

Not everyone in Government is circumspect about using access to tax returns. A U.S. prosecuting attorney, apparently to make sure that he had a jury unlikely to be sympathetic to a defendant in a tax case, once had the returns of 150 prospective jurors screened for him by friendly revenue agents. Recounting the episode in a tax journal, two law professors denounced this "fishing expedition" as a "severe invasion of the jurors' privacy."

Even in private legal matters, other tax experts add, access to returns can often be obtained upon application to the IRS by such persons as estate executors, bankruptcy trustees or beneficiaries skeptical about whether they're getting their fair share from a trust.

Tax treaties with 31 foreign countries generally provide for automatic exchange of relevant tidbits of tax data, such as dividends paid an American with business interests abroad. Some observers worry that the growing list of treaties greatly broadens the potential for spreading revenue information. However, Treasury men insist that they wouldn't let a foreign authority actually see an American's tax return unless a major fraud were suspected. Last year they received only a handful of requests for selected facts from returns.

Speaking generally, IRS officials maintain that present practice makes returns "pretty private." Requests from Federal agencies must be signed personally by the agency head. A onetime IRS aide recalls bouncing back a batch to which former Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg's name had been rubber-stamped by underlings.

As of 1970, any return passed to an outside official has a bright red sticker attached, warning against "unauthorized disclosure" to others. Although officials say they can't recall any IRS employe ever being prosecuted under the statute providing up to a year in jail and a $1,000 fine, they note that a number have been fired for "bragging" about returns they have seen.

The most gnawing worry for the IRS officials is the mass access to returns by state and local officials from governors on down. As distribution of computer-taped returns grows, one insider says, "there is an increased risk of unauthorized exposure; there isn't any doubt about that." The soul-searching about security was triggered a few years ago, he recalls, when Congressmen and the IRS were pelted with letters from Pennsylvanians astonished to find that their Federal returns had filtered all the way down the county government level.

At least, officials say, the old practice of letting state revenue clerks riffle through piles of Federal returns is fading with the advent of computers. Now, one reports, Florida is the only state that sends its functionaries to "wallow around" among the masses of Federal returns at an IRS service center, although Ohio still does a fair amount of photocopying of individual returns.

What Nixon Didn't Say *The Editors*

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Pol Sci – Civil Liberties

White on White

Privacy and the "Third-Party Bug"

by Nathan Lewin

Back in December 1965, when James White of Chicago let Harvey Jackson into his home thinking that Jackson was buying heroin from him, neither of them would remotely have imagined that their sordid and petty transaction would, more than five years later, be the subject of emotional dissertations on privacy by Justices Douglas and Harlan of the Supreme Court.

What Mr. White did not know was that Mr. Jackson was acting as an informer for agents of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and that strapped to Jackson's body was a "radio kel set" – a transistorized device which transmits sound to a radio receiver nearby. Listening to their conversation on the radio in a car parked near White's home was Agent DeFauw of the Bureau of Narcotics. White had visited Jackson in Jackson's home twice during the preceding week, and each time a narcotics agent (also, coincidentally, named Jackson) had been hidden, with the informer's permission, in a kitchen closet where he could hear what was being said and could peek out to see what White and Jackson were doing. Here again, Jackson had the kel set attached to him, so that the hidden agent was not the only one able to hear; Agent DeFauw was listening in on his car radio receiver.

White and Jackson had more meetings in December 1965 and early January 1966. Nearly all were overheard by Agent DeFauw because of the radio transmitter Jackson was wearing. Some of the meetings took place in Jackson's car or in his kitchen, others on street corners, and one meeting – at which, after several substantial "buys" of heroin, White told Jackson that the price of heroin was going up – was arranged at White's place of business, a Chicago restaurant. Finally, after about five thousand dollars and several packages of heroin had changed hands during eight meetings between White and Jackson, Agent DeFauw arrested White on a street corner as he was receiving a briefcase containing heroin from another accomplice.

Having done his work for the Narcotics Bureau, informer Jackson apparently disappeared, and the prosecutor could not find him to testify at White's trial. As a result, the critical evidence was given by the agents who had overheard the conversations on the radio receiver. White's lawyers objected to Agent DeFauw's testimony on the ground that the radio transmission was nothing less than a "bug" placed in the various locations where White and Jackson had had their meetings. They argued that the conversations could not constitutionally be overheard unless the agents had obtained the equivalent of a search warrant, which they had admittedly not done. The objections were overruled, and White – who was a second-time narcotics offender – was found guilty and sentenced to 25 years in jail and a $35,000 fine.

Since his conviction, White's case has received four full-scale appellate hearings. It was first argued to a three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals sitting in Chicago, which decided, by a two-to-one vote, that the radio transmission was an unconstitutional eavesdrop. Thereafter, the full Court of Appeals (eight active judges and one retired judge) reheard the case and again decided, six-to-three, in favor of White. On the government's request for Supreme Court review, the case was argued in November of 1969, when the Court had only eight Justices. There was, apparently, an even division, because rather than deciding the case in the 1969 term, the Court set it down for reargument in 1970. And it was finally decided – against Mr. White – by a five-to-four vote on April 5.

An understanding of the constitutional issue and its importance calls for a little background. The Fourth Amendment guarantees that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated," and it prohibits the issuance of search warrants on anything less than "probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation." In a now infamous 1928 decision (*Olmstead* v. *United States*, 277 U.S. 438), the Supreme Court held – over classic dissents by Justices Brandeis and Holmes (with Justice Stone and even Pierce Butler joining the dissenters) – that a telephone wiretap was not an unconstitutional search or seizure because no tangible thing had been seized and no private house or enclosure had been searched or physically invaded. (Wiretap evidence was ruled impermissible in later cases not because it was unconstitutionally obtained, but because its disclosure violated the Federal Communications Act.) For the next

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Congress

VOL. CLXXIII NO. 34

Capitol Traffic Jam

Committees Proliferate In Congress as Members Seek Power, Prestige

Chairmen Can Hire Staffers, Create Headlines; Some Panels Spotlight Problems

Hunger Study Sparks a Fight

2/18/69

By ARLEN J. LARGE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Big doings at the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures: It isn't "nonessential" any more.

Created in 1941 as a temporary panel of Senators and Representatives, the committee for years was a personal cut-the-budget megaphone for the late Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia. Because it hardly ever met or recommended spending cuts, it was becoming the butt of Capitol Hill wisecracks about its own essentiality.

Democratic Rep. George Mahon of Texas, the current chairman, now has ordered the name trimmed to the Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures, reasoning with perfect logic that any "nonessential" spending ought to be stopped, not just reduced. With its new name, the committee is thriving: The staff has doubled to four people, who now are issuing three kinds of reports instead of just two.

The durability of old committees and subcommittees in the Capitol Hill bureaucracy, coupled with the persistent proliferation of new ones, suggests that Congress itself has passed Parkinson's Law. There are now 43 separate committees in the House and Senate, and these are divided into roughly 260 subcommittees. Committee office-space needs, as distinct from the lawmakers' own offices, were mainly responsible for construction of the $100 million-plus Rayburn building, the third House office building. By themselves, the 100 Senators would rattle around in their two huge office buildings, but the space consumed by committee offices makes working conditions inside incredibly cramped.

Putting on the Brakes?

A lonely opponent of Congressional committee proliferation is Sen. Allen Ellender of Louisiana. Yesterday on the Senate floor he bemoaned the growth in Senate committees' staff payrolls and admonished his colleagues: "Unless we put on some brakes somewhere, if this increase in employes continues, we're going to have to build a third Senate office building much, much larger than we have at the present." Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield added: "I think we're getting subcommittee-happy in this body."

With "black capitalism" in vogue right now, the Senate Small Business Committee is keeping up with the times by establishing a new subcommittee on urban and rural economic development. "We will go to the urban small businessman in his shop, in his warehouse, at his pushcart or in his office," proclaims the subcommittee's chairman, Sen. Harrison Williams of New Jersey. "We will seek out minority entrepreneurs with business potential who need a helping hand."

Proposals abound for creation of still more committees. Hijacking of planes to Cuba is a jittery topic in Congress just now, and Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania jokingly suggests creation of a committee on unplanned international travel. Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine very seriously wants a select committee on technology and the human environment to study problems that may arise in the next 50 years. His proposal has been referred for consideration to the Government Operations subcommittee on intergovernmental relations, headed by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, chairman.

Even unsuccessful proposals for new committees can spawn additional panels. A cause popular with many Senators is the formation of a veterans committee to handle legislation currently split among several committees. To head off this poaching on his jurisdictional preserve, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long of Louisiana plans to form a special veterans subcommittee.

Mr. Chairman

A powerful inducement for committee creation is the allure of chairmanships, with their prestige, extra staff and headline-getting power. Of the Senate's 57 Democrats, 46 can claim to be chairman of some panel or other, no matter how obscure. Even some freshmen have quickly ascended to chairmanships; newly elected Alan Cranston of California already heads a Veterans Affairs subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

"If you're walking down the hall and you pass a member (of Congress), always say, 'Good morning, Mr. Chairman,'" advises a long-time Capitol Hill denizen. "If it isn't so, you won't offend him, but chances are it will be true."

But personal empire-building isn't the only driving force behind committee proliferation. A committee's existence sometimes is a pawn in a substantive legislative struggle; an example is on view this week as the Senate debates funding for its Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. The hunger committee, as it's commonly called, was established last year after Senate liberals turned up evidence of malnutrition and near-starvation among poor families in the South.

Arousing the Public

The hunger committee's chairman, Democrat George McGovern of South Dakota, wants to hold hearings around the country and stir up public indignation. He swears he'll fold up the committee this year after making legislative recommendations, presumably for a liberalized food stamp program and better guidance for the poor in balancing their diets. Implied all along by the McGovern camp is the notion that a special committee wouldn't be needed if the regular Senate and House Agriculture Committees had been more aggressive.

From the beginning some of the Southerners who chair Senate committees have resented the hunger investigation. The Senate Rules Committee, headed by North Carolina's Everett Jordan, supervises the budgets of other committees; it has slashed $100,000 from the

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Capitol Traffic Jam: Committees Proliferate in House and Senate

Continued From Page One

hunger panel's request for $250,000, and Mr. McGovern is fighting to get the full Senate to restore the money. A vote may come today.

In the Senate alone, the 685 committee staffers will run up a payroll of nearly $7 million this year. Expensive as it is, however, the system does promote an unpredictable sort of Congressional vigilance. For a comfortable special-interest group or Government agency, lightning can strike from any direction at any time.

Neither the Johnson Administration nor the Senate Commerce Committee saw much mileage in the auto safety question in 1965, but Sen. Abraham Ribicoff did. With only the flimsiest jurisdictional claim, the Connecticut Democrat used his Government Operations subcommittee on executive reorganization to skewer an unsuspecting Detroit. Senators on the Commerce Committee had to share the glory with Mr. Ribicoff when they wrote the 1966 auto safety law.

Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas was supposed to be investigating riots last year, but he suddenly veered his Government Operations permanent subcommittee on investigations onto a questionable Federal antipoverty grant to a Chicago street gang. Antipoverty matters are supposed to be handled by a liberal-dominated Senate Labor subcommittee, but Mr. McClellan compelled the Office of Economic Opportunity to disown the Chicago project. By the rules of the game, he took a clean scalp.

The Congressional committee system is supposed to produce speed and efficiency, on the theory that all 535 members can't possibly study details on the thousands of bills introduced each year. So all legislation in each general category goes to a small group of lawmakers who select a relative handful of the bills for action, hold hearings on them, amend the language and send them to the full Senate or House for a vote. The system's backbone is the list of "standing" committees—16 in the Senate, 20 in the House—dealing with such broad subjects as banking, armed services and public works.

Pet Projects

Complaints of proliferation arise mainly from the splitting of these groups into subcommittees. The 17-man Senate Judiciary Committee has no less than 15 subcommittees, each pursuing the pet projects of its chairman.

"The problem here is that each of the causes appeals to one of us," Sen. Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island told Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts the other day. Mr. Kennedy was asking the Rules Committee for funds for his Judiciary subcommittee on administrative practice and procedures, which he pledged would help protect consumers. Sen. Pell, complaining of subcommittee proliferation, continued: "Some of us who are liberal-minded, consumer-minded, have great sympathy with one subcommittee. Others with different interests have sympathy with other subcommittees."

Conservatives are fans of Sen. Sam Ervin's Judiciary subcommittee on the separation of powers, which last year took pokes at the National Labor Relations Board. The white-haired North Carolinian also gives civil rights bills a hard time as chairman of the Judiciary subcommittee on Constitutional rights. Louisiana's Sen. Allen Ellender and other proliferation critics argue Sen. Ervin's two subcommittees should be merged with Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh's subcommittee on Constitutional amendments, since they all deal with Constitutional topics, but the status quo prevails.

The Judiciary Committee's most colorful offspring is the subcommittee on Federal charters, holidays and celebrations. It's headed by Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, the only Republican on Capitol Hill who's a chairman, and its only other member is Democratic Sen. McClellan of Arkansas. Sen. Dirksen once described how the subcommittee originated years ago when a powerful Democrat and an influential Republican swapped favors: "It was an absolute, unadulterated, unmitigated, unrefined, unconfined *deal*. But I did not make the deal. I am only the inheritor of the deal."

Questioning Officials

Some committees process no legislation at all. The Joint House-Senate Economic Committee (eight subcommittees) merely holds hearings and issues reports. Nevertheless, it does make Government officials give on-the-record explanations of current economic policy. "That's the only committee I know of where the members sometimes ask questions like reporters," says one Washington correspondent. "They really try to nail the witnesses down."

The general public rarely hears of the Senate's Special Committee on Aging, which toils along with seven subcommittees, a staff of 15 and a budget of $200,000. But its output of reports is greatly appreciated by its special constituency. "I consider it a very major committee," says William Hutton, executive director of the National Council of Senior Citizens. "When we couldn't have gotten any visibility otherwise, it has brought the problems of the elderly to the fore."

In order to appear relevant and thus to survive, Congressional panels keep evolving. Evolution is currently coming to one of the most famous Congressional investigating groups of them all, the House Committee on Unamerican Activities. For years the target of liberal wrath, the committee this year seeks a new image with a new name: The House Internal Security Committee.

Committees occasionally do die, however. Sen. Ernest Gruening of Alaska from time to time made a splash with his Government Operations subcommittee on foreign aid expenditures and defended it successfully against one of Sen. Ellender's what-good-is-it onslaughts. But Sen. Gruening didn't get reelected last fall, and his panel has vanished from sight.

5-13-69

Congressmen Disclose Holdings in Defense, ABM Contractors

* * *

First Public Financial Reports Also Show Committeemen With Other Tied Interests

5/13/69

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON—Sixty-one House members have a financial interest in the nation's top defense contractors, and 35 own stock in the nine corporations awarded contracts to build major components of the Sentinel antiballistic missile system.

These were among the disclosures the Congressmen themselves made in the first public financial accounting ever made by House members. The reports, filed by Representatives and their top aides in compliance with a House rule adopted last year, have just been made public. The reports were analyzed by Congressional Quarterly Inc., a private news organization specializing in reporting activities of Congress and the Federal Government.

CQ's tabulations found 90 Congressmen reporting an interest in banks, savings and loan associations or bank holding companies. Thirteen of them are members of the House Banking and Currency Committee, and six are on the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee. Seven of these key committee members are directors or trustees of their own companies.

Seventy-seven of the House members reported income of at least $1,000 from law practices in addition to their $42,500 Congressional salaries. One of the largest loopholes in the disclosure rule was the absence of any requirement that members who are attorneys disclose their clients or any business conducted by their partners or firms before Federal regulatory agencies.

AT&T Holders

Seven Representatives who sit on committees that sometimes handle defense issues listed holdings in American Telephone & Telegraph Co., the most widely held stock in the nation. AT&T's manufacturing subsidiary, Western Electric Co., is in charge of overall management of the Sentinel system designed by the Johnson Administration to protect against ballistic missile attack. The Safeguard ABM system proposed by President Nixon is a modified version of Sentinel.

Western Electric accounted for $571.2 million of AT&T's $775.9 million in military contracts with the Government for the June 30, 1968 fiscal year. The telephone company was the nation's sixth largest defense contractor at the time.

Two members of the Armed Services Committee lost AT&T holdings: Reps. Philbin (D., Mass.) and Stafford (R., Vt.). AT&T-holding members of the Appropriations Committee were Rep. Rooney (D., N.Y.), Hull (D., Mo.) and Wyman (R., N.H.) Two members of the Joint Committee on Defense Expenditures reported owning AT&T stock: Reps Sullivan (D., Mo.) and Widnall (R., N.J.). Rep Koch (D., N.Y.), a member of the Science and Astronautics Committee, also reported holdings of ATT&T stock.

Among the other top defense contractors whose stock is owned by Representatives with Defense responsibilities are General Electric Co., Westinghouse Electric Corp., RCA Corp. (formerly Radio Corp. of America), Eastman Kodak Co., International Business Machines Corp., Texas Instruments Inc., Chrysler Corp., Gulf Oil Corp., Texaco Inc., McDonnell-Douglas Corp. and United Aircraft Corp.

Congressional interest in business is not limited to the defense issues. Rep. Skubitz (R., Kan.) holds stock in American Airlines and Continental Airlines; Rep. Preyer (D., N.C.) owns stock in Delta Airlines and National Airlines. Both Representatives are members of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. The committee has jurisdiction over legislation dealing with all aspects of regulated aviation.

Thirteen members of the House Banking and Currency Committee said they owned stock in financial institutions or served as directors or trustees for banks and savings and loan associations. The large number of House members with banking interests didn't spur Banking Committee Chairman Patman (D., Texas) to suggest any ethics code changes.

Individual Matter

Mr. Patman, who has often attacked Executive Branch officials for keeping bank stock while serving in the Government, said he wouldn't police members of his own committee, CQ reported. It reported Mr. Patman said he preferred to leave the issue to each member's conscience.

Three members of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported owning stock in oil companies or properties. The committee helps set national policy on natural resources.

Rep. Brown (R., Ohio), a member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, is president of a corporation that operates a radio station. Another Commerce Committee member, Rep. Ottinger (D., N.Y.), owns RCA Corp. stock. A third, Rep. Friedel (D., Md.), owns stock in Northern Pacific Railroad. The committee writes laws regulating communications and transportation industries.

Two members of the House Agriculture Committee, Chairman Poage (D., Texas) and Rep. Zwach (R., Minn.) reported farm-connected financial interests. Eleven other members reported farm or ranch interests. However, they weren't required to list income from Federal farm-subsidy programs.

Many members denied their financial interests conflicted with their official responsibilities. Rep. Skubitz, the Kansas Republican, said his airline stock holdings haven't placed him in a conflict-of-interest situation. The stocks were acquired before he joined the committee. Rep. Bush, a Texas Republican, said he disposed of large holdings in oil businesses before taking up duties on the House Ways and Means Committee.

The reports only sketch the broad outline of Congressional-business relationships. For instance, of the 432 statements filed, more than one-third contained no answers. Further, members were asked to report any concern doing "substantial" business with the Federal Government or subject to Federal regulatory agencies in which they had an equity position exceeding $5,000, or from which they received income of $1,000. But they weren't asked to report amounts—only the names of the concerns. They also were asked to report any professional practice from which they received $1,000 or more and the recipient of services rendered when payment exceeded $5,000.

Because the official instructions placed honorariums for speeches under the $5,000 minimum disclosure rule, no member reported income from this source, Congressional Quarterly said.

VOL. CLXXIV NO. 8

7-11-69

Golden Oratory

Special-Interest Groups Pay Big Speaking Fees To Many in Congress

Maritime Labor Body Holds Regular Lunches; Savings Group Pays Dirksen $3,500

Using Ghost-Written Texts

By JERRY LANDAUER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Just before noon almost every Wednesday, one Congressman or another takes a short trip downtown to make some extra money the easy way.

Flagging a cab on Capitol Hill, the Congressman goes to the Transportation Institute, a year-old organization devoted to promoting the "citizen-owned, citizen-manned" U.S. merchant marine. In the institute's paneled auditorium, he hoists a cocktail or two and downs a brief lunch. Afterward he reaches for a ghost-written speech and proceeds to address leaders of the AFL-CIO's Maritime Trades Department, a group of 39 independent unions.

His text is short, running no more than six or eight double-spaced pages. Yet some in the audience of perhaps 75 labor leaders plus guests seem inattentive, perhaps because the same group has heard the same speaker strum similar themes several times before.

But the Congressman doesn't seem annoyed. By 2 p.m., he'll be back in his office, richer by $500 or even $1,000. And he can almost surely count on banking another sizable sum for another speech three or six months hence.

The Congressman's "honorarium" is a form of extra income that scores of colleagues are gladly accepting, though doubts have arisen about the propriety of certain fees.

A $3,500 Fee

Some of the nation's most prestigious legislators, including Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield and Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen, are fattening their incomes by speechmaking outside the halls of Congress. During the past year or so, the reported fees have ranged from a modest $41.90 received by Michigan GOP Sen. Robert Griffin for a speech to the Colorado Jaycees up to $3,500 paid to Sen. Dirksen for an appearance before the U.S. Savings & Loan League; the big Congressional names frequently draw $1,000 or more. The payments come from universities and political, religious, farm and civic groups, as well as from labor and business organizations.

During the second half of 1968, according to reports recently filed with the Senate, no fewer than 61 Senators received a total of $303,000 for speaking, writing, appearing on television and the like. Some Senators regularly arranged speaking dates through booking agencies and kept quite busy; for the whole year top earner Edward Brooke of Massachusetts found time to deliver 17 speeches, netting $21,556.

The House requires no disclosure of speechmaking income; hence it's not possible to compile any totals for Congress as a whole.

At least some of the House members who draw speechmaking fees see no need for revealing them. Democrat Charles Wilson of California contends his income from speeches doesn't concern outsiders. "It's my business," he says. Democrat Thomas O'Neill of Massachusetts fears publicity about any one honorarium he has received might offend donors of others; "I'm certainly not going to divulge that one group paid me more than another," he says.

House Action

Clearly, there's increased sensitivity in Congress about this sort of outside income. Last year, in an effort to prevent possible impropriety, the Senate adopted rules requiring disclosure of the amounts and sources of these fees. And though the House declined to go as far, it did order members to "accept no honorarium for a speech, writing for publication or other similar activity . . . in excess of the usual and customary value for such services."

There can hardly be any serious challenge to the propriety of many of the fees paid—particularly such sums as the $150 that Republican Sen. John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky got last year for a speech at the Brookings Institution here or the $400 that Maine's Democratic Sen. Edmund Muskie received for speaking at the Bread Loaf Writers' Conference in Vermont.

But questions may arise when fatter fees go to a lawmaker who wields influence in an area of special interest to the group making the payment. Undoubtedly the U.S. Savings & Loan League was aware that its big payment to Sen. Dirksen was going to a member of the tax-writing Finance Committee as well as the Senate Republican leader. It's noteworthy, too, that Alabama Democrat John Sparkman, chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, received $1,000 for addressing the National League of Insured Savings Associations. And Republican Wallace Bennett of Utah received $1,200 from the National Mortgage Banking Association; he sits on the Senate Finance and Banking Committees.

(Civil service regulations prohibit Executive-branch officials from receiving any pay at all for comparable speeches; the Secretary of Agriculture, for example, can't take money for addressing a meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation.)

Eager Listeners

But few business groups or unions desire or can afford to hear a political speaker more than once a year—and then generally at an annual convention. Only the leaders of maritime labor pay so frequently for first-hand enlightenment from Congress.

In one recent 12-month period, legislators picked up 55 fees for speaking to Maritime Trades Department lunches, breakfasts and seminars. The payments ranged up to $1,250 for a speech by Maryland Democrat Edward Garmatz, chairman of the House Merchant Marine Committee, which fixes the annual ceiling for maritime subsidies.

Senate speakers, too, have found the maritime labor leaders pay well—usually better than other groups do. According to the Senate disclosures, Democrat Frank Moss of Utah gave two paid speeches last year, receiving

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Golden Oratory: Many in Congress Collect Large Fees for Speeches

Continued From Page One

$100 from the University of Missouri and $1,000 for addressing the Maritime Trades Department. Democrat Stephen Young of Ohio spoke for pay three times, to a bar association in Cleveland for $500, to the American Jewish Congress in Miami Beach for $500 and the Maritime Trades Department in Washington for $1,000. Democrat William Spong of Virginia collected four fees—$100, $250, $500 and, in his only paid appearance not requiring an out-of-town trip, $1,000 for talking to the maritime group. Republican Norris Cotton of New Hampshire didn't speak at all for pay in 1968; this year, though, a six-page speech to the maritime union men brought him a check for $1,000.

But members of the House speak more often than Senators to the maritime labor group, and some come back several times. Pennsylvania Democrat John Dent, collecting three fees totaling $2,000 in 10 months, sounded almost apologetic on one occasion. "I'm happy that you don't feel I've worn out my welcome by my long speeches," said Mr. Dent, chairman of a key House Labor subcommittee.

For attending the group's Wednesday luncheons, $500 went on March 5 to Democrat Frank Thompson of New Jersey ("It's a pleasure for me to be back at another of these MTD lunches"); $500 on April 2 to Democrat Fred Rooney of Pennsylvania ("This is the third occasion that you of the MTD have given me the opportunity to discuss maritime issues"); $500 on April 10 to Democrat James Hanley of New York ("It's a pleasure for me to come back to another of these MTD luncheons"); and $500 on April 17 to Republican Seymour Halpern of New York ("I appreciate your very kind invitation to come back to another of these MTD luncheons").

Union Ghosts

The list goes on and on. There was a $500 payment on April 30 to Republican Howard Pollock of Alaska ("I'm happy to be back among my friends in maritime labor and management"); $500 on May 7 to Democrat Joseph Addabbo of New York ("I appreciate your very kind invitation to come back and talk with you once again"); and $500 on May 21 to Democrat William Hathaway of Maine ("I'm delighted to be back at another of these MTD discussion sessions").

The luncheon hosts are always ready to provide their Congressional guests with a unique service—a service explaining why opening speech lines sometimes sound similar. Without asking, scheduled speakers receive suggested texts written by union ghosts. And if the lawmaker chooses to speak his own words, the union may nonetheless release to the press the words it wanted him to say. On occasion, news tickers inadvertently carry excerpts from undelivered, union-ghosted speeches.

Democratic Rep. Robert Leggett of California, for one, scrapped a canned speech sent to his office in advance of a speaking date set for March 28. He wanted to talk in his own way about Soviet seapower. Nonetheless, the luncheon hosts passed out their version of the "Leggett speech."

Conceivably, of course, the speech-buying may be intended to serve educational purposes, keeping the union leaders informed about events in Congress. But a closer look at those who pay the tab suggests more political motives.

To begin with, the freely flowing honorariums are paid not by the Maritime Trades Department but by just one of its 39 member unions, the Seafarers International Union. The Seafarers Union is relatively small, counting possibly 40,000 members. Yet this union gladly writes all the honorarium checks because it has found a way to recover the expense from the crews of those "citizen-manned" U.S. merchant ships.

One example is the tanker St. Lawrence, flying the Stars and Stripes and carrying fuel to Vietnam under Pentagon charter. Part of the crew is Japanese, picked by union agents in the Seafarers' Yokohama hiring hall. The foreigners must kick back much of their pay to the union for the right to keep working. According to secret union records, two paydays on the St. Lawrence netted the Seafarers $7,000 from noncitizens; some handed over as much as $500 each.

A Political Fund

Significantly, these collections aren't deposited in the union's general treasury, which is subject to public accounting and Federal policing under the Landrum-Griffin labor reform act. Instead, the money goes into a separate union-controlled political campaign fund that's governed only by the looser Federal election laws. Last year this fund ladled out $883,493 for campaign contributions, other political expenses and speaking fees; that was tops for any union. It's from this fund that the Seafarers pay the Maritime Trade Department's fees to its congressional guests.

By drawing honorariums from a political fund (it is so registered with the clerk of the House of Representatives), the union appears to be conceding that its purpose in paying for speeches is less educational than political.

The Seafarers assert that the income of their political fund consists of voluntary contributions, as the law requires. "For years our members have voluntarily contributed to our political activity funds and have thus expressed their right to participate in the American political process," a union statement explains.

However, collection records show that much of the money comes from noncitizens like those working aboard the St. Lawrence, and few such donations seem to be freely given. Thus, from foreign crew members on the tanker Western Planet, carrying Navy oil from the Persian Gulf to the Far East, the political fund received 14 gifts of $100 each; four other aliens gave $200 each and one parted with $300.

Though some Americans do donate, their contributions appear to be much less liberal than the foreign seamen's. On one occasion, the collections aboard the Transglobe, a vehicle and container carrier sailing to Vietnam, ranged between $5 and $20 each among the American crewmen; the Japanese, Filipinos and Scandinavians in the crew gave from $350 to $500 each. The total take from Americans was $399 and from foreigners $6,650.

E.U – Courts

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Second Section
Wednesday, July 5, 1967

Start follow for the Series

Recipe for court reform

By Howard James

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

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Crisis in the courts 13

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO IMPROVE justice in the state courts?

The list of problems covered in this series has been long. Yet it is not exhaustive.

For each court in each county in each state is different. Each has its own set of challenges. These are closely tied to the experience and temperament of the judge, the size and quality of the bar, the people who live in the area, and the kind of justice they demand.

Court reform is not an easy task because courts are complex institutions. Too many citizens see them as the private property of the professionals — the judges, lawyers, policemen, prosecutors, and the others who work there.

One organization, the American Judicature Society, has been hammering for court reform ever since it was founded in 1913. Its executive director, Glenn Winters, has been on the job 27 years, and only in the past six or seven years has he seen much progress.

It was Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, who said, "Judicial reform is not a sport for the short-winded."

Money has long been a problem in court judges, lawyers, private citizens, police officials, sociologists and social workers, and corrections officials. They come from the reports of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. They come from reports and studies by professional groups like the American Judicature Society, the American Bar Association, the American Trial Lawyers Association, the Institute of Judicial Administration, the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, and the National College of Trial Judges.

Because each state, county, and court is different, suggestions cannot be applicable to all. Yet the suggestions are universal enough to be valid in most areas, and hopefully are already being practiced in many.

What citizens can do

1. Invite judges, lawyers, prosecutors, policemen, juvenile officers, probation officers, corrections officials, and others working in the state system of justice to speak before clubs and other groups. Do your homework and ask them searching questions. Discover what the local problems are.

7. Be willing to sit on juries. Consider it an obligation in a free society, like military service.

8. Demand decent local facilities for youthful offenders. Abandoned and battered children should not be jailed or housed with delinquents.

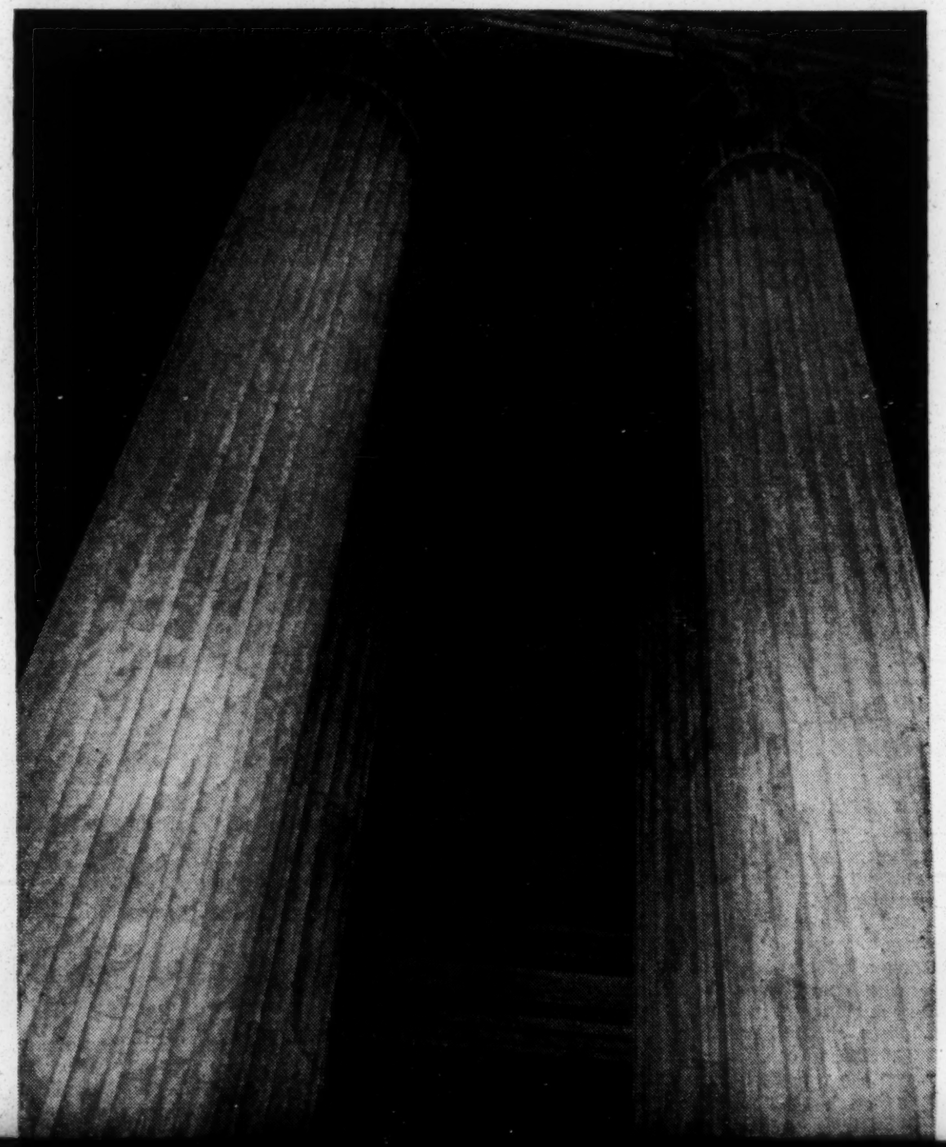
Help provide good foster homes for neglected children and those who have been in trouble because of horrible home conditions. Juvenile courts across the nation have complained of a shortage of first-class foster homes.

9. Since policemen are the first link in criminal justice, they should reflect a high degree of intelligence, be well educated, understand social problems, be mentally balanced, and carefully trained in police procedures. Citizens should demand this and be willing to pay for it.

10. Individuals can ask the American Judicature Society to hold citizens' conferences in their state to help bring about court reform. Since 1959, when the first was held, 32 conferences have been held in 28 states—a little over half of the states. Six more are scheduled or in the planning stages for this year: Mississippi, Arizona, Vermont, West Virginia, and two in California. Usually 100 leading laymen participate.

What legislatures can do

1. Take judges out of politics—even if it requires a referendum and/or constitutional amendment. Nomination of judges by a blue-ribbon commission and appointment by



state is different. Each has its own set of challenges. These are closely tied to the experience and temperament of the judge, the size and quality of the bar, the people who live in the area, and the kind of justice they demand.

Court reform is not an easy task because courts are complex institutions. Too many citizens see them as the private property of the professionals — the judges, lawyers, policemen, prosecutors, and the others who work there.

One organization, the American Judicature Society, has been hammering for court reform ever since it was founded in 1913. Its executive director, Glenn Winters, has been on the job 27 years, and only in the past six or seven years has he seen much progress.

It was Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, who said, "Judicial reform is not a sport for the short-winded."

Money has long been a problem in court reform. State legislatures, hounded for funds by educators and highway builders and a dozen other groups, too often have neglected the courts.

Foundations have been slow to enter the field. It was only 10 years ago that the Ford Foundation entered it, and officials admit court problems are so gargantuan that private money can only brush away a little accumulated dust.

In Washington, hearings are going on that may result in help—in a small way. The Senate subcommittee on improvements in judicial machinery, headed by Sen. Joseph D. Tydings of Maryland, is considering legislation that would provide $5 million a year for three years "to encourage improved judicial administration in state and local courts." It would set up an office of judicial assistance to help local courts uncover their problems and to improve the caliber of judges and court personnel by educational programs.

But improving justice is largely a state and local responsibility. This is especially clear because the federal government has its own and separate system of courts that parallel the state courts.

The following suggestions for reform, culled from this writer's tour of the nation's state courts, come from interviews with justice. They come from reports and studies by professional groups like the American Judicature Society, the American Bar Association, the American Trial Lawyers Association, the Institute of Judicial Administration, the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, and the National College of Trial Judges.

Because each state, county, and court is different, suggestions cannot be applicable to all. Yet the suggestions are universal enough to be valid in most areas, and hopefully are already being practiced in many.

What citizens can do

1. Invite judges, lawyers, prosecutors, policemen, juvenile officers, probation officers, corrections officials, and others working in the state system of justice to speak before clubs and other groups. Do your homework and ask them searching questions. Discover what the local problems are.

2. Form a special citizens group to study the local system of justice, perhaps patterned after the Indianapolis plan, under which citizens become volunteer court watchers, keep statistics, present findings to local officials regularly, and demand reform.

3. Find out if qualified professionals are being hired for important jobs like probation officer and whether pay is adequate to attract good men as judges, policemen, etc.

4. If public officials insist on using the spoils system of politics, form a group to study the problem, and work to get it changed over to the merit system.

5. As an individual, sit in court. Is the judge: Attentive? Concerned? Informed? Fair? Strong? Businesslike? Polite? Does he work a full day? How many days a week is he in court? How long are his vacations? Do witnesses, policemen, and lawyers show up on time? In criminal cases do the professionals—the judge, policemen, prosecutor, appointed defense attorney—have poise and skill?

6. Find out if your schools are teaching law and justice. Do young people know what is lawful and right—and why it is lawful and right? Are special programs being held on the law, or system of justice, and its role in a free society?

Perspective on U.S. law

It is important to put the American system of justice—responsible for bringing order to a complex society—in perspective.

Anthropologists report ancient man lived by the law of "survival of the fittest." The strong man with the big stick carried the law in his hands.

As tribes organized, religious leaders became law givers. Laws were "handed down" by tribal gods. Thus the people were forced to conform to tribal norm largely out of fear. Often priests could order punishment, including execution.

Sometimes tribal counsels sat in judgment. Some early systems of justice were quite advanced.

Babylonian stone and clay tablets tell of a well-developed system of legal codes some nine centuries before the Christian era. They also had courts and written evidence. Those wronged received compensation from the guilty party. A system of commercial and property law was also developed.

Law and religion have always been closely knit.

Moses is credited with making more lenient laws. His "eye-for-an-eye" concept made retribution more equal to the crime.

The American system is based on the English common law—a blending of old church law, the law of kings and feudal lords, standards of property rights, and manners and morals dating back thousands of years.

While it is not static, law does not change swiftly. To a great extent Americans today are governed by their grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and several generations before that.

But Americans, in a system that supports government "by the people," have added legislative law to common law, the former overshadowing the latter.

And each law passed must eventually be weighed against provisions of the United States Constitution and the constitution of each state: Is the new law constitutional?

degree of intelligence, be well educated, understand social problems, be mentally balanced, and carefully trained in police procedures. Citizens should demand this and be willing to pay for it.

10. Individuals can ask the American Judicature Society to hold citizens' conferences in their state to help bring about court reform. Since 1959, when the first was held, 32 conferences have been held in 28 states—a little over half of the states. Six more are scheduled or in the planning stages for this year: Mississippi, Arizona, Vermont, West Virginia, and two in California. Usually 100 leading laymen participate.

What legislatures can do

1. Take judges out of politics—even if it requires a referendum and/or constitutional amendment. Nomination of judges by a blue-ribbon commission and appointment by the governor is usually considered the best solution.

2. Tie this to a good removal system. California's program is being copied by several states.

3. Provide funds for judicial education, and require all judges to attend a seminar of one or two weeks minimum before taking the bench. Also require a new judge to sit with an experienced judge before presiding over trials, as is done in Delaware.

4. Establish a state court administrator's office. Give this administrator the power to check on judges and keep records and statistics on court business, and to file periodic reports, including comparisons of judicial hours worked, business completed, and backlogs of cases.

5. Establish a strong judicial council composed of judges, lawyers, and citizens to study court problems. Listen to council recommendations. Act on them.

6. Form a study commission for continual review of state laws. This is to throw out horse-and-buggy statutes and to avoid conflicting legislation.

7. Establish a retirement age for judges, but also provide for a "senior judge" system that allows the more able retired judges to work part-time if they wish when court business is heavy.

8. Provide adequate pay and liberal retirement benefits for judges so that leading lawyers will not find it a financial hardship to take the bench. Also encourage judges to retire when they can no longer work at full capacity.

9. Eliminate justice-of-the-peace courts and other independent minor courts, as Illinois has done. Replace these magistrates with professionals and promote the most able from the lower courts to the higher courts. In sparsely populated states, copy the system being used by several states, where circuit judges actually ride a circuit.

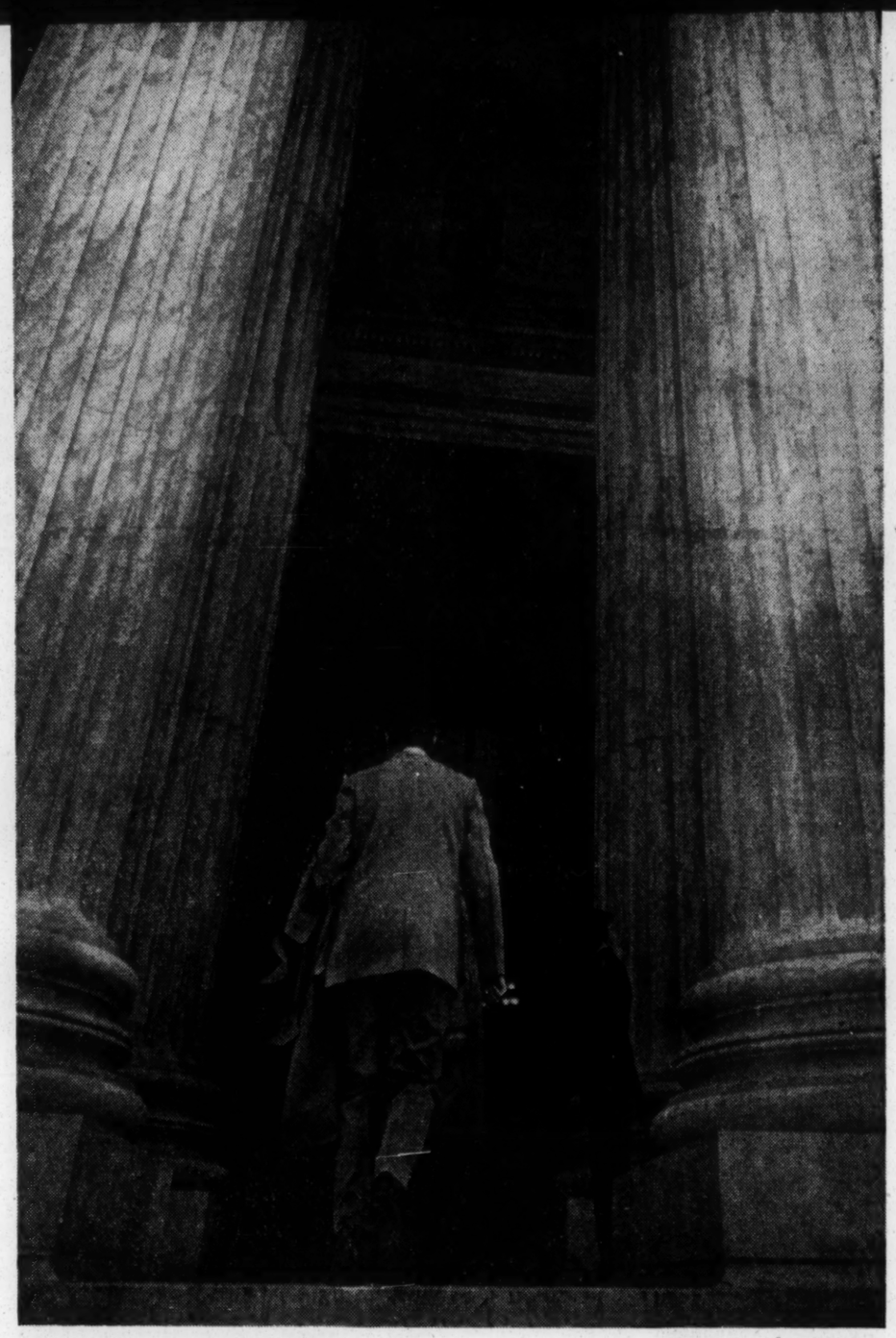
10. Require prosecutors to be skilled attorneys. Set pay high enough to encourage the best men to make the job a career. Provide adequate staff, including skilled investigators and competent clerical help. In sparsely populated states, divide the state into districts and have the prosecutor ride circuit, or have a deputy assigned to each county in the district. Eliminate the part-time prosecutor.

11. Establish a meaningful public-defender system — either full time or appointive, perhaps patterned after the Houston plan (described earlier in this series), under which every member of the bar is subject to public-defender service. With a full-time office, establish pay levels comparable to those of the prosecutor, so that the better lawyers will make the defender's office a career. Provide adequate clerical and investigative help.

12. Establish a family court system that treats the entire family and its problems as a unit. This would include divorce court and juvenile court, since the problems found in these courts are often interrelated. The family court should be given adequate professional staff, including marriage counselors, social workers, investigators, and clerical help.

13. Raise juror's pay and issue certificates of recognition for service.

14. Increase the amount paid witnesses, so that the time off from work they must spend in court does not impose such a financial hardship.



All photos by Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Entrance to Supreme Court Building

15. Require policemen to attend all hearings involving their cases and compensate them for their time.

16. Require courts to operate in a more businesslike manner, following modern court procedures, so that the time of lawyers, witnesses, and those called for jury duty is not wasted.

17. For civil matters involving only a few hundred dollars, establish small-claims courts with specially skilled judges as in Los Angeles, or work out a system of arbitration as Pittsburgh has (discussed in this series).

18. Establish uniform guidelines for all courts in the state, so that a lawyer from a neighboring city knows how to proceed and what to expect from the judge when he enters an unfamiliar courtroom.

19. Prepare, or have a commission prepare, guidelines for judges so that they know what is expected of them. This could include an indication of how many hours they should work under normal circumstances, how many civil cases can be handled in an average month, courtroom decorum, treatment of jurors, handling of witnesses, rules of evidence, and other basics.

20. Establish an "information center" that would—even for rural judges—provide points of law, citations, and information about recent decisions that affect court procedures. This could, in some cases, include a Teletype system similar to that being used by law-enforcement agencies to get information. Experimental use of computers indicates modern technology could help such an information center by listing citations to be transmitted by Teletype.

21. Consider revamping the state bar examination and licensing system so that lawyers are divided up into general practitioners and specialists. Set guidelines for

★ Please turn to next page

★Recipe for reform in American state courts

Continued from first page, second section

both, and make sure trial lawyers are actually capable of trying a case.

22. Provide funds for adequate court facilities, including accommodations for witnesses who now spend hours standing in corridors waiting to be called.

As Philadelphia Judge Herbert S. Levin has pointed out, it is hard to dispense justice with the hiss of steampipes in musty, dusty, hot, dungeonlike rooms, and with witnesses waiting in drafty, dreary corridors.

23. Establish, by statute, the length of time a man can be held by law-enforcement officials before appearing before a magistrate, and the days, weeks, or months a man can be held without a trial.

24. Require the prosecutor to file a public report every two weeks listing all cases that have been delayed and the reasons for the delays.

25. Tighten up on continuances of cases, so that both lawyer and prosecutor must show the court good reason for postponing cases.

26. In states where judges handle both criminal and civil cases, the cases should be called in order of importance: criminal cases where the defendant is in custody, first; on bond, second; and civil cases, third.

27. Eliminate the old "term" of court except where judges ride circuit, and then require special terms for jailed defendants.

28. All charges against a defendant should be dismissed if he is not tried within the legal time limit or steps have not been taken to begin the judicial process.

29. It is widely suggested that traffic offenses, except the more serious cases like manslaughter and drunken driving, should be taken out of the courts and turned over to a traffic board or commission. Police who handle criminal investigations and disputes and disturbances might also be freed of traffic duty. Separate units, like the Ohio Highway Patrol, could specialize in traffic control—but be trained in police work so they could nab suspects on the road and backstop criminal agencies.

30. Local governmental agencies should be prevented from using traffic fines and tickets as a source of revenue, regardless of need. Traffic court should promote safe driving. It should not be a fund-raising agency.

31. The merger of many small police departments into larger units — perhaps countywide—could improve the quality of the men and the very basic "justice" they mete out as they are confronted with problems hourly.

32. All sentencing should be done by experts. At present there is great disparity. Thus a panel of judges or a special sentencing commission is probably of value. Jury sentencing, in the several states where it exists, should be abolished.

33. There can be great inequities between the rich and the poor when fines are levied. A "$10 or 10 days" sentence is still common in an era when the minimum wage is $1.25 an hour. This question should be

All photos by Norman Matheny, staff photographer

'Law Versus Mob Rule'

Mural by John Steuart Curry over entrance to Justice Department library

speaking mandatory so lawyers become more articulate as a group.

3. Round out curriculums so that they cover the whole spectrum of the law.

4. Encourage students with specific talents to enter fields of law that match their talents—rather than pushing them to sign up with a Wall Street law firm for prestige or money.

5. Launch basic law and sociological research projects, using the courtroom, lawyer's office, prosecutor's office, defender's office, police station, jail, prison, slum neighborhoods, and court records. These projects would help educators, lawmakers, and court administrators understand how the system of justice is really functioning; where problems exist; how improvements can be made; what to do about court backlogs; and perhaps even how to resolve the nation's growing crime problem.

6. Consider your obligation to teach students ethics. Point out to them that leaders in their field are now emphasizing that it is a profession, not a business, and that their key role is to serve, not turn a fast buck.

7. Launch a legal internship program, so that young lawyers are better prepared to go to court and do clients less harm in their early years.

8. Encourage the establishment of a curriculum in court administration, perhaps a joint effort of the school of law, business, and sociology.

9. Work to improve the "language of the law." The use of common words with uncommon meanings (prayer, for example); of Latin, old English, middle English, and French words (amicus curiae, aforesaid,

experience or training in public administration. Work with him. Evaluate what he says, even if suggestions seem new or

improving individual habits and performances.

5. If you engage in plea bargaining in

as refresher courses for experienced attorneys. See that they are more useful than many now being held.

5. Begin conversations with groups where long-standing conflicts may exist, including social-welfare agencies, and the press. Groups such as real estate brokers, whose work increasingly gets into areas affected by civil-rights laws, should also be included. Work to improve understanding of opposing points of view.

6. Expand member participation in legal aid and defense for the indigent, especially among more affluent members of the association.

What the press can do

1. Report court news honestly and fairly —seeking accuracy and balance rather than sensationalism. Guidelines for fairness and self-restraint may be necessary.

2. Serve as a guardian of the people, respecting both the rights of society and the rights of individuals who appear in the civil and criminal courts.

3. Ferret out dishonesty and incompetence in the courts and court-related facilities.

4. Crusade for improvement of the adversary system; law schools; judicial training and education; judicial selection, tenure, discipline, and removal; legal ethics; and other problem areas.

5. Evaluate editorial policies that give special treatment to court news about certain individuals or special groups—either for reasons of prominence, friendship, or power, or because they are members of minority groups, or lack influence, money, or power.

This is not an exhaustive list of suggestions. Rather, it may better serve as a starting point for discussion in most communities, large and small.

What is being done

Court reform, as has been pointed out earlier, has been slow in coming. But Mr. Winters, of the American Judicature Society, sees a trend that he calls "the court-reform bandwagon."

New York is currently in the throes of a constitutional convention. Plans include modernizing the state court system. Other states have completed constitutional revisions or are making plans for them. Among them are: Michigan, Florida, Maryland, Illinois, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania.

In 6 of the 50 states, judges are selected on a merit system of nomination and appointment, according to Mr. Winters's tally. Missouri pioneered in this field in 1940 but has not made the system statewide. Alaska was first to do this, beginning with statehood in 1958. Iowa and Nebraska followed in 1962. Colorado has the most far-reaching plan, adopting a system in 1966 that includes the lower courts. Last year the Vermont Legis-

It's up to Oklahoma voters

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Oklahoma City

A major overhaul of Oklahoma's court system, first in more than 50 years, will go to the voters July 11 in a two-part constitutional amendment.

The change was referred by the past session of the Legislature. It is an outgrowth of scandals that rocked the state court system three years ago.

Major changes proposed would eliminate the maze of special courts that have grown up in Oklahoma to handle problems of metropolitan areas. The system would abolish justices of peace.

Voters will also decide whether they want all judges elected on a nonpartisan ballot or whether they prefer appellate judges appointed and other judges chosen by the nonpartisan method.

The proposed system would retain the Supreme Court and Court of Criminal Appeals. It would also give the Legislature power to create intermediate appellate courts when it sees fit.

The district court would be the key trial court. Judges of present lesser courts would become associate district judges subject to assignment to cases by the presiding district judge.

Justices of the peace would be replaced by special judges. These would be full-time salaried judges appointed by the presiding district judge.

Special judges would have to be attorneys. However, a nonlawyer could be appointed if there were no attorney available in the area.

If voters adopt the appointive-retention system for selection of appellate judges, jurists would be appointed from a list of three names submitted to the governor. The names would be selected by a 13-member judicial nominating commission.

be prevented from using traffic fines and tickets as a source of revenue, regardless of need. Traffic court should promote safe driving. It should not be a fund-raising agency.

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33. There can be great inequities between the rich and the poor when fines are levied. A "$10 or 10 days" sentence is still common in an era when the minimum wage is $1.25 an hour. This practice should be restudied.

34. Examine the purpose of a corrections system and see if—in the light of the growing crime problem—your state system is corrective or simply punitive.

35. Establish or aid associations of judges and court administrators. Support them financially. Make attendance of meetings mandatory.

36. Establish standards of sheriffs' offices and local police departments. Require each to have men with skills other than shooting and fast driving. Schedule educational seminars. Test policemen for intelligence. Add to local police budgets with state funds, if necessary.

37. Consider removing social problems —family and individual—from the court system. Should courts be mere collection agencies for child support, as is the case in many states? Is it a judicial function to deal with alcoholism and vagrancy, or should the social welfare or mental health departments take over this responsibility? What about compulsive speeders? A study of these and similar questions would be of value, and could result in reducing court congestion.

38. Consider giving prosecutors the right to appeal an adverse ruling, especially in the pretrial stage or when essential evidence is suppressed.

39. New institutions are needed to replace or backstop traditional prisons, work farms, jails, and mental hospitals. Pay of those who work in corrections should be increased. Emphasis should be shifted from hiring guards to employing more people with educational and sociological skills.

40. In urban areas establish 24-hour arraignment courts with adequate staff to properly process defendants. In most cities weekend courts should be used to prevent the arrest process from functioning as a sentencing or punitive action by police.

41. Consider alternatives to trial by jury for auto accident cases. Solutions may include a board of commission that operates in a manner similar to workmen's compensation. Consider revamping insurance practices and litigants paying court costs.

42. Establish probation offices in all court districts or a statewide office that is adequately staffed. Require all probation officials to be professionally trained. Require each probation department to hire women probation officers to handle women probationers.

What educators can do

1. Give law students more opportunity to learn about trial work—both civil and criminal.

2. Make courses in writing and public

lems exist; how improvements can be made; what to do about court backlogs; and perhaps even how to resolve the nation's growing crime problem.

6. Consider your obligation to teach students ethics. Point out to them that leaders in their field are now emphasizing that it is a profession, not a business, and that their key role is to serve, not turn a fast buck.

7. Launch a legal internship program, so that young lawyers are better prepared to go to court and do clients less harm in their early years.

8. Encourage the establishment of a curriculum in court administration, perhaps a joint effort of the school of law, business, and sociology.

9. Work to improve the "language of the law." The use of common words with uncommon meanings (prayer, for example); of Latin, old English, middle English, and French words (amicus curiae, aforesaid, demurrer); of words designed to perplex laymen (pursuant to stipulation); weasel words (adequate, due care); and words of extreme precision (perpetuity, never, all) should be reevaluated.

What judges can do

1. Accept the office only if you are willing to work full time as a public servant.

2. Stay awake. Pay attention, no matter how routine or dull the matter seems.

3. Run your own courtroom. Prevent prosecutors, lawyers, court clerks, politicians, or others from grabbing control.

4. Study. Attend seminars, special courses, and judicial conferences. Read current professional journals on recent decisions and mounting problems.

5. Try to see through your prejudices and quirks that may affect the quality of justice you are dispensing.

6. Recognize the judicial powers you have been given and use them carefully. Understand that fellow humans are standing before you, and that what you do will affect their lives, their families' lives, the county welfare budget, and the stability of the community.

7. Work carefully with other judges in the district and the state. Meet with them to see that justice is uniformly and fairly administered. Exchange ideas with them. Discuss sentencing, rules of evidence, and other basics.

8. Sentence no one to a juvenile home, mental hospital, jail, or prison until you have carefully examined the facility and understand its ability to cope with inmates. Be aware of serious shortcomings.

9. Urge all law-enforcement agencies that operate in your district to file a weekly report showing how many men are in jail, how long they have been held, and what the charges are against them. Large cities should follow the Los Angeles system, where daily checks are made and a complete list, punched out by a computer, is available to the public around the clock.

10. In multijudge courts judges should be assigned according to experience and skill rather than by seniority or chance. Assignments should parallel their experience as lawyers whenever possible.

11. Teamwork in multijudge courts is essential. Establishing court rules, hours, and procedures should be a group effort. As in Memphis, no judge should consider going home or to the golf links until fellow judges have a clear calendar, with no cases waiting. Regular meetings to discuss law, trends, and difficulties have been found to be profitable.

12. Recognize the need for a competent court administrator—a man with business

chosen by the nonpartisan method.

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experience or training in public administration. Work with him. Evaluate what he says, even if suggestions seem new or radical.

13. Welcome the public into your courtroom. Make it possible for them to hear what is going on. Cut down on whispered conferences when a jury isn't present, so the public will be confident that you know what you are doing and that you are not hiding anything.

14. Conduct business whenever possible in open court so the layman feels confident you are more than a politician dispensing favors or giving reprimands.

15. Keep your courtroom quiet. Require your bailiff to act as a gentleman, and to treat those who come into the courtroom—criminal or civil—as he would want to be treated. Ask your clerk not to rattle papers, react to testimony in a way that might influence a jury (disdain or disgust, for example), and to treat those who enter the courtroom courteously.

16. Call your docket in order. Do not let your aides be persuaded or bribed into shuffling the docket when lawyers, witnesses, and those involved in the cases at the top of the docket are present.

17. Recognize that your first obligation is to dispense justice to the public—not to please or appease lawyers.

18. Recognize that while settlements in civil cases are desirable, this is not necessarily the primary function of the judge. It can, in fact, reduce respect for the courts. As New York's Judge Bernard Botein has said: "Forced settlements convert the courthouse into a countinghouse." Also recognize your own skill or limitations in hammering out settlements. It takes a special talent, and without it, you are wasting everyone's time.

19. Require lawyers to file certificates of readiness in civil cases to avoid delays.

20. Refuse to resort to assembly-line justice, regardless of congestion or other court problems. Instead, bring these problems to the attention of the public, to local units of government, and to state lawmakers.

21. Consider the use of key punch and computer operations to keep track of cases, making assignments, docketing, and researching courtroom problems. Cook County, Ill., is one area pioneering in this field. Equipment may be used on a shared-time basis with the county auditor or treasurer or other governmental bodies.

What lawyers can do

1. Be prepared when you enter the courtroom. The old concept of flying by the seat of your pants or the smoothness of your tongue leads to charges of ineptness. Look up the law.

2. Do not ask for excessive continuances. As one of the nation's most prosperous lawyers points out, continuances are not profitable to you, and in most cases simply jam up the courts and reduce public confidence in your ability.

3. Avoid trying to "butter up" the judge. If he is half competent he can see through it, and this may prejudice him against your client.

4. Avoid chicanery. An educated public can see through it, and it only hurts the profession as a whole, you as an individual, and your client. The "image problem" of the law profession can only be improved by improving individual habits and performances.

5. If you engage in plea bargaining in criminal court, and you handle few criminal cases in your practice, consult an experienced criminal trial lawyer. Otherwise your client may learn in prison that you have bargained away more years than he might have got without the "deal."

6. Be punctual. Showing up late bogs down the courts and raises tempers, and may affect the justice your client gets.

7. Recognize, that, as Robert B. McKay, dean-elect of the New York University Law School, asserts, lawyers have a "responsibility . . . not simply to their client with whom a private . . . arrangement is made . . . for a fee," but "for the betterment of the entire social structure."

What prosecutors can do

1. Take pride in seeing justice done, rather than displaying an impressive conviction record.

2. Investigate all cases carefully. Screen arrests. Assign men to cases early. Give them investigative and clerical help.

3. Recognize your responsibility to prosecute law violators, to society as a whole, and to the families of men and women you prosecute. Understand the impact of your actions on the local community, the welfare rolls, and the individuals and families involved.

4. Refuse to run for office simply to "learn the trade." Only a competent trial lawyer can represent and protect the people in criminal cases. If experienced lawyers refuse to take on the job, it is probably because the pay is too low or there is a need for a district or statewide prosecutor system.

5. When you must hire inexperienced men, institute an in-service training program where green lawyers work as a team, as in Chicago, or with experienced prosecutors.

What bar groups can do

1. Muster the courage to stand up to incompetent or corrupt judges, clerks, bailiffs, and other court employees.

2. Adopt national, state, or local codes of ethics and *enforce* them.

3. Push for improved court facilities, better pay for judges, more competent court employees, judicial education, improved police departments, improved correctional practices, uniform court rules, better law-school curriculums, and answers to the many other court and court-related problems.

4. Launch or support programs of continuing education for young lawyers as well

Winters, of the American Judicature Society, sees a trend that he calls "the court-reform bandwagon."

New York is currently in the throes of a constitutional convention. Plans include modernizing the state court system. Other states have completed constitutional revisions or are making plans for them. Among them are: Michigan, Florida, Maryland, Illinois, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania.

In 6 of the 50 states, judges are selected on a merit system of nomination and appointment, according to Mr. Winters's tally. Missouri pioneered in this field in 1940 but has not made the system statewide. Alaska was first to do this, beginning with statehood in 1958. Iowa and Nebraska followed in 1962. Colorado has the most far-reaching plan, adopting a system in 1966 that includes the lower courts. Last year the Vermont Legislature passed a statute putting a statewide merit plan into operation. Utah's Legislature took the step this year.

Kansas, Alabama, and Florida have some courts under the merit-selection plan. Illinois and California allow judges to run unopposed on their records after initial election. New York, Oklahoma, and Minnesota (as well as Puerto Rico) fill vacancies on the bench through a merit system of nomination and appointment, where governors or other officials have voluntarily decided to operate in this way.

In four states merit selection of all or some judges will eventually go before the voters. Oklahoma decides next week (July 11). In North Dakota, where the plan was rejected last November, voters will get another chance in 1968. So will Idaho voters. Indiana is working at it.

What of discipline and removal?

California is credited with the best system of removing or reprimanding judges for misconduct or disability (adopted in 1960) as was pointed out earlier in this series. Texas was first to follow, then Florida, Nebraska, Maryland, Ohio, Utah, and Vermont.

New York was the pioneer, establishing a "court on the judiciary" some 20 years ago. Illinois adopted a similar plan in 1962, and Oklahoma voters approved its version a year ago.

In Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Michigan, and Puerto Rico "removal power is vested, on varying terms," in the state supreme courts, according to Mr. Winters. New Jersey has the law but lacks legislative implementation.

Alaska has a constitutional provision for a board of inquiry—made up of judges and doctors to investigate charges of physical or mental disability.

Several states are considering the California plan in drafts of constitutional revisions.

Other areas of reform?

Seven states — New Jersey, Alaska, Hawaii, Illinois, Colorado, Michigan, and North Carolina have completed, at least to a large extent, statewide court unification, plus "an effective statewide court administrative office." Again add Puerto Rico to this list.

Illinois has done away with the justice-of-the-peace courts. So has Connecticut. Virginia, California, Missouri, Tennessee, Maine, Ohio, New Mexico, and North Dakota are among the states where minor courts have been improved in varying degrees.

Progress has been made, and is being made year by year.

For a man like Mr. Winters, who has devoted most of his working life to trying to bring this about it can only be seen as a bandwagon.

But as this series has pointed out, there is still a long, tough trail ahead.

Last of 13 articles

THE COMMON LAW IS THE WILL OF MANKIND

SANCTIONED BY THE LIGHT OF REASON

EV
Election Law

5-7-69
Wall St. Journal

GOP Has Turn At Hocus-Pocus

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By JERRY LANDAUER

WASHINGTON—When upward of 2,500 joyful Republicans, joined by some Democrats, feast on $1,000-a-plate filet here tonight, President Nixon will be presented a commemorative volume listing all the ticket "subscribers."

But never mind asking the dinner planners to disclose the names in the book. They won't even release a seating list.

It's the same old hocus-pocus employed so long by the Democrats to avoid exposing contributors.

The seating list of attending celebrants wouldn't necessarily identify the paying "subscribers," because many ticket buyers don't come, while a substantial percentage buy several tickets for distribution to friends and business associates. Yet the dinner planners are taking no chances. They don't want nosy newspapermen digging into the GOP's financial affairs—seeking, for example, to know which erstwhile Democratic donors have been seized by desire to dine with the party newly in power. "Four members of the (Lyndon Johnson) President's Club bought tickets in one day," dinner director Lee R. Nunn confides.

A Simple Avoidance Technique

In theory, Federal election laws command that every ticket buyer be identified. But the avoidance technique is simple. The buyer writes his check to the Republican Victory Dinner Committee, which deems itself exempt from Federal disclosure because it functions in a single jurisdiction, the District of Columbia. When, in accordance with pre-arranged formula, the dinner proceeds are divided among the Senate and House GOP campaign committees and the Republican National Committee, those three recipients can satisfy the Federal law merely by reporting this income in lump sums from the dinner committee. Press and public can look at these reports, but the information is nearly meaningless.

Contributions shielded from exposure by the dinner dodge have never been challenged by the Justice Department. Nonetheless, some GOP fund-raisers have been quietly urging party bigwigs to stop the shenanigans, contending that meticulous disclosure will enhance the image of candor that Nixon men are striving to project. Last November Democratic Attorney General Ramsey Clark put his Republican successors on the spot by directing the FBI to find out why several GOP treasurers hadn't filed disclosure reports before Election Day. Though prosecution seems unlikely for such relatively minor lapses (the Justice Department hadn't previously enforced the filing deadline), department spokesmen say the case hasn't been quashed but is still "under study."

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On the fund-raising front, though, traditionalists in the party vetoed the suggestion for public accounting of tonight's dinner income, contending that disclosure of names is potentially embarrassing for whichever party controls the White House.

In a sense, Republicans are caught in a trap of their own making. During LBJ's regime GOP orators repeatedly, and sometimes indiscriminately, thundered against the $1,000-per-member President's Club. At times the attack hit the target, as in the case of one Republican functionary who got caught giving the President's Club $12,000; this minor GOP official was also an architect seeking government contracts. More often, however, the Republican digging turned up inconclusive, albeit suggestive, "coincidences." But lack of proof didn't dampen Republican zeal. Awards by the Democrats ranging from airline routes to contracts for penetrating the earth's crust were all attributed to the influence of political money. Now it is the Democrats' turn to seek scandal headlines, and the GOP's turn to favor secrecy.

Secrecy Is Self-Defeating

But it can be argued that secrecy is self-defeating. It generates a cynical assumption among the citizenry that campaign donors want favors, so the donors demand protective anonymity. In turn this compels otherwise-scrupulous politicians to sidestep the disclosure law, and tainted money seeps into campaign coffers—money that might not be offered or accepted if the donors were known.

Loophole-plugging Federal legislation, bringing temporary dinner committees clearly within the law's embrace and prohibiting similar dodges, is the ideal way to break this cycle. Yet House elders killed a Senate-passed reform bill in the waning days of the last session, quelling reformers' taste for yet another time-wasting exercise. Congress rarely acts in such matters except in the aftermath of scandal.

Stil, Congressional inaction needn't prevent reform. The voluntary code of fair campaign practices that the two party chairmen ceremoniously sign in election years has been generally effective in preventing low blows; it could be expanded to prohibit sidestepping existing laws about financing. In short, there's really no reason for the donkey and the elephant not to feast in full view.

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By Andrew J. Biemiller

Director, AFL-CIO Dept. of Legislation

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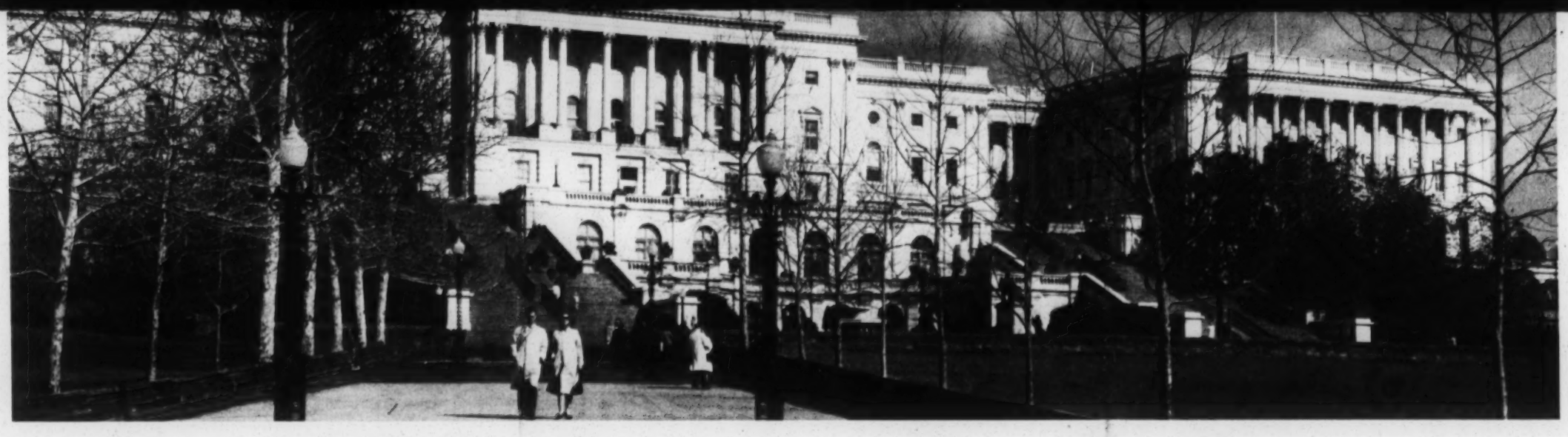
the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Medical Association.

The third party candidate, George Wallace, has no platform, no policies, and no program—nothing ex-



The 90th Congress: A Report

By Andrew J. Biemiller

Director, AFL-CIO Dept. of Legislation

Liberals in the 90th Congress fought with courage and determination to prevent the anti-labor conservative coalition from cutting back and destroying the social progress achieved during the Kennedy-Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Unfortunately, this defensive battle was not always successful. Again and again conservative Republicans and their conservative Dixiecrat bedfellows joined forces to chop, slash, undercut, or starve the basic programs that help working people and their families.

If a direct, frontal attack didn't work, the coalition raised an "economy" battle-cry, the traditional roundabout back-door attack of conservatives opposing popular programs like education, health, labor, welfare, anti-poverty, housing, and conservation.

Thus, the AFL-CIO was forced to fight to protect the social gains of the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier and Great Society. Instead of plowing new ground, we had to protect medicare, aid to education, improved social security benefits, civil rights, and anti-poverty measures from being weakened or destroyed.

The reactionary anti-civil rights, anti-civil liberties, anti-democratic bias of the conservative coalition has emerged clearly in the 1968 fight on the Fortas nomination. Republican Sen. Robert Griffin, Dixiecrat-turned-Republican Strom Thurmond, and Dixiecrat Sen. Sam Ervin have led an outrageous attack on the Supreme Court, using as a pretext the nomination of Justice Fortas to be Chief Justice.

GOP-Dixiecrat teamwork forced a "states' rights" amendment into the 1967 aid-to-education bill, seriously weakening the bill.

An anti-civil rights amendment aimed at weakening federal school desegregation guidelines got coalition approval in 1968.

The anti-labor compulsory arbitration proposal rammed through the 90th Congress in 1967 forced striking railroad shopcraft workers back on the job. action was a serious setback to the cause of free collective bargaining.

Fortunately, in spite of the victories won by the conservative coalition, liberals in the Senate and House were able to muster a majority on a number of key issues.

When Republican Sen. John Williams tried to stop AFL-CIO's COPE collection of voluntary dollars for political contributions to COPE-endorsed candidates, we won by a healthy 49-19 margin. Republicans cast 18 of the anti-labor votes and the 19th came from a Southern Democrat.

A landmark civil rights law with strong, wide-ranging "fair-housing" requirements was passed in 1968 after the Dixiecrat-Republican filibuster in the Senate was broken.

A far-reaching, massive $5.3 billion housing law—with new programs to help low and moderate income families get adequate homes—was approved in 1968.

Four major consumer protection laws—truth-in-lending, meat inspection, poultry inspection and a new Commission on Product Safety—won approval in the 1968 session. These programs the conservative coalition didn't dare oppose.

We must not let the conservative coalition strengthen its position in the 91st Congress. There is too much at stake. The loss of even a small number of liberal congressmen will almost certainly mean further dismantling of the important social programs already under attack in Congress.

We must not let a conservative candidate win the presidency in 1968. Election of a conservative President would bring a flock of new conservative congressmen into office. Election of a conservative President would open the door to a new anti-labor campaign by the conservative coalition.

Our choice is clear. The AFL-CIO has endorsed the election of Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie and all candidates for Congress who share their views and ours.

Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic candidate, has a 100 percent perfect record on our COPE score sheets. Time after time during a national career spanning more than 20 years, Humphrey has spoken up and voted for every good, decent, constructive, progressive cause. He is a tried and true friend of labor.

The Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, also has a long public career and he should be judged by that career. Nixon claims he was elected to Congress in 1947 "to smash the labor bosses." Maybe he didn't deliver on that promise, but he managed to vote wrong 86 percent of the time as congressman and senator, casting his lot again and again with the anti-labor, anti-people lobbies like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Medical Association.

The next three pages carry labor's report card on the 90th Congress as it neared adjournment.

Congressmen have been judged on 13 key issues; senators on 12. The symbols—"R-right" or "W-wrong"—are based on the position the AFL-CIO took on the legislation.

Alongside the voting records are brief descriptions of the issues—what the vote was about and why it was important to the labor movement and the nation.

A congressman or senator may claim he supported labor's position because he voted for final passage of a bill. But in most cases, the key vote was on an amendment that would have seriously weakened or greatly improved the bill. The votes used here are those considered most significant.

The third party candidate, George Wallace, has no platform, no policies, and no program—nothing except racism and hatred. His record as governor of Alabama makes a mockery of his claim to be a friend of labor. Alabama's regressive, soak-the-worker sales taxes are among the highest in the history of the United States—after Wallace promised not to raise them. Low wages, poor working conditions, high crime rates, high illiteracy rates, anti-unionism, segregation, and prejudice in Alabama all testify to the kind of America that Wallace wants.

The national campaign for the Presidency holds the center spotlight Nov. 5—but the shape of the future is also taking form as liberals and conservatives fight for control of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives.

The loss of more than 40 liberal congressmen in the 1966 elections made the difference between the fabulously productive liberal 89th Congress and the conservative-dominated 90th Congress. If more liberal congressmen lose their seats in the 1968 elections, we face a serious anti-labor campaign.

We can expect the conservative coalition to push "labor court" legislation, compulsory arbitration, a national "right-to-work" law, bills applying anti-trust laws to labor unions, bills banning nation-wide bargaining and anti-COPE legislation.

The build-up is planned and coordinated. It is being cultivated in Congress by the conservative coalition. It is spearheaded in the public forum by the giant business associations, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers.

The signs point inescapably to the conclusion that these anti-labor forces are counting on conservative political gains in 1968 to pave the way for restrictive labor legislation in 1969.

We must carry the fight at the national level, in the states, and in every congressional district to win a liberal majority in the 91st Congress. Only with a liberal President and a liberal Congress will the 91st Congress improve on the sorry, conservative record of the 90th Congress.

From the 91st Congress we must get a massive new job program, occupational safety, expanded health, education, manpower training, anti-poverty programs, organizing and bargaining rights for farm workers, situs picketing rights in the construction industry, and adequate funding to meet the urgent needs of the urban crisis.

This voting record tells how senators and representatives answered the roll calls on the major issues of the 90th Congress. With this information, working men and women can make their informed judgment and decision on Election Day.

How Your Repre

1. House Rules

Conservatives of both parties ganged up on the opening day of the 90th Congress to restore to the House Rules Committee some of its power to stall legislation indefinitely.

The vote served notice that the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition was back in the saddle. It was a major step backwards from the accomplishments of the liberal 89th Congress.

A motion to continue the rules reform which had been adopted in the 89th Congress was defeated, 196-225, on Jan. 10, 1967.

For—right; Against—wrong.

2. Aid to Education

The thrust of the federal program of aid to education has been to encourage local school districts to develop programs to meet the special education needs of children from poor families who live in slum areas and start life with two strikes against them.

But the House adopted a "states' rights" amendment which turned over federal funds to the control of state boards of education instead of putting it where the need is greatest.

The labor-opposed amendment passed the House, 230-185, on May 24, 1967.

For—wrong; Against—right.

3. Compulsory Arbitration

Striking railroad shopcraft workers were forced back to work when Congress passed a compulsory arbitration law.

The labor movement vigorously opposed the law, warning that collective bargaining couldn't work if management knew that its workers would not be permitted to strike.

Rail management supported compulsory arbitration, adding to the evidence that management's bargaining tactics were based on a conviction that Congress would outlaw a railroad strike.

The House voted for compulsory arbitration, 244-148, on July 17, 1967.

For—wrong; Against—right.

4. Federal Pay Raise

	House Rules	Education	Compulsory Arbitration	Postal and Federal Pay	Appropriations	Budget Cuts	Meat Inspection	Civil Rights	Housing	Model Cities	Food Stamp	Rat Control	Anti-Poverty Funding
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALABAMA													
1. Edwards (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Dickinson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Andrews (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Nichols (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
5. Selden (D)	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
6. Buchanan (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
7. Bevill (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
8. Jones (D)	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W
ALASKA													
AL Pollock (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	R
ARIZONA													
1. Rhodes (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Udall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Steiger (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
ARKANSAS													
1. Gathings (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Mills (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	W
3. Hammerschmidt (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Pryor (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	R
CALIFORNIA													
1. Clausen (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	W	W
2. Johnson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Moss (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R
4. Leggett (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Burton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Mailliard (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
7. Cohelan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Miller (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Edwards (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Gubser (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	W	W
11. McCloskey (R)	*	*	*	*	*	W	*	R	R	*	*	*	R
12. Talcott (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
13. Teague (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
14. Waldie (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. McFall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
16. Sisk (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
17. King (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	—
18. Mathias (R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
19. Holifield (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
20. Smith (R)	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
21. Hawkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R
22. Corman (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
23. Clawson (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
24. Lipscomb (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
25. Wiggins (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
11. Pucinski (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
12. McClory (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
13. Rumsfeld (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
14. Erlenborn (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
15. Reid (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
16. Anderson (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W
17. Arends (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
18. Michel (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
19. Railsback (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
20. Findley (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W
21. Gray (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
22. Springer (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
23. Shipley (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
24. Price (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
INDIANA													
1. Madden (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Halleck (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	—	W	W	W	W
3. Brademas (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R
4. Adair (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
5. Roush (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Bray (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
7. Myers (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
8. Zion (R)	W	R	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
9. Hamilton (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Roudebush (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
11. Jacobs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
IOWA													
1. Schwengel (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	—	W	W
2. Culver (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Gross (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Kyl (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Smith (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	—	R	R	
6. Mayne (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—
7. Scherle (R)	—	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
KANSAS													
1. Dole (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
2. Mize (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	—	W	W
3. Winn (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
4. Shriver (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W
5. Skubitz (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
KENTUCKY													
1. Stubblefield (D)	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R
2. Natcher (D)	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R
3. Cowger (R)	W	W	R	W	W	—	—	R	R	R	W	W	R
4. Snyder (R)	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Carter (R)	W	W	R	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	R	W	R
6. Watts (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W
7. Perkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
LOUISIANA													
1. Hebert (D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
2. Boggs (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Willis (D)	—	—	W	—	R	W	—	W	—	—	—	R	W
4. Waggoner (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W
5. Passman (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Rarick (D)	W	W	—	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Edwards (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	—

children from poor families who live in slum areas and start life with two strikes against them.

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Rail management supported compulsory arbitration, adding to the evidence that management's bargaining tactics were based on a conviction that Congress would outlaw a railroad strike.

The House voted for compulsory arbitration, 244-148, on July 17, 1967.

For—wrong; Against—right.

4. Federal Pay Raise

A three-step pay raise sought to bring salaries of postal and other federal employes closer to private industry levels.

The House narrowly defeated a Republican motion to kill the second and third step of the increase, leaving only the first step.

The pay-cutting move was rejected, 199-211, on Oct. 11, 1967.

For—wrong; Against—right.

5. Appropriations

Late in the first session, conservatives sought to force an $8.5 billion cut in the President's budget. The brunt of the cuts would have fallen on education, health, housing, anti-poverty and similar programs.

The Senate managed to reduce the amount of the 1967 cut, but the action foreshadowed the big victory of the economy bloc in the 1968 session.

The House voted for the budget slash, 238-164, on Oct. 18, 1967.

For—wrong; Against—right.

6. Taxes—Budget Cuts

Conservatives insisted on—and got—a deep budget cut in return for going along with a tax increase the President said was essential to the nation's economy.

Earlier, Administration supporters sought to reduce the amount of the budget slash—a compromise which would have permitted high priority programs to continue while reducing funds for less urgent matters.

This compromise was rejected by the House, 137-259, on May 29, 1968.

For—right; Against—wrong.

7. Meat Inspection

One of the big accomplishments of the 90th Congress was extension of federal meat inspection standards to the billions of pounds of meat which had been exempt because it wasn't sold across state lines.

The Senate made major improvements in the original, very weak House bill. The conservative coalition voted down a motion to accept the Senate amendments which required states to match federal inspection standards.

A public outcry finally brought approval of a good bill, but this attempt to strengthen the meat inspection law was beaten, 166-207, on Nov. 29, 1967.

For—right; Against—wrong.

4. Nichols (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
5. Selden (D)	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
6. Buchanan (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
7. Bevill (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
8. Jones (D)	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W

ALASKA

AL Pollock (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	R

ARIZONA

1. Rhodes (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Udall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Steiger (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

ARKANSAS

1. Gathings (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Mills (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	W
3. Hammerschmidt (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Pryor (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	W	R

CALIFORNIA

1. Clausen (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	W	W
2. Johnson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Moss (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R
4. Leggett (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Burton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Mailliard (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
7. Cohelan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Miller (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Edwards (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Gubser (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	W	W
11. McCloskey (R)	*	*	*	*	*	W	*	R	R	*	*	*	R
12. Talcott (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
13. Teague (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
14. Waldie (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. McFall (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
16. Sisk (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
17. King (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	—
18. Mathias (R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
19. Holifield (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
20. Smith (R)	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
21. Hawkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R
22. Corman (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
23. Clawson (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
24. Lipscomb (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
25. Wiggins (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
26. Rees (D)	R	R	R	R	—	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
27. Reinecke (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
28. Bell (R)	W	R	W	R	—	—	W	R	—	R	W	W	R
29. Brown (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
30. Roybal (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
31. Wilson (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
32. Hosmer (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
33. Pettis (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W
34. Hanna (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
35. Utt (R)	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
36. Wilson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—
37. Van Deerlin (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R
38. Tunney (D)	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

COLORADO

1. Rogers (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Brotzman (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	—	W	W
3. Evans (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
4. Aspinall (D)	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	W

CONNECTICUT

1. Daddario (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. St. Onge (D)	R	R	W	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Giaimo (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
4. Irwin (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Monagan (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Meskill (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R

DELAWARE

AL Roth (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	R	W	W	W	W

FLORIDA

1. Sikes (D)	W	W	W	—	W	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	W
2. Fuqua (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
3. Bennett (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Herlong (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Gurney (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Gibbons (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
7. Haley (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Cramer (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
9. Rogers (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
10. Burke (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
11. Pepper (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
12. Fascell (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R

GEORGIA

1. Hagan (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. O'Neal (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Brinkley (D)	W	W	—	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Blackburn (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	W	W
5. Thompson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	—	—	W	W
6. Flynt (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Davis (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
8. Stuckey (D)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
9. Landrum (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W
10. Stephens (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W

HAWAII

AL Matsunaga (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
AL Mink (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

IDAHO

1. McClure (R)	W	W	—	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Hansen (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	—

ILLINOIS

1. Dawson (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	—	R
2. O'Hara (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Murphy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Derwinski (R)	—	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Kluczynski (D)	—	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Ronan (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Annunzio (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Rostenkowski (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Yates (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Collier (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
1. Madden (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Halleck (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	—	W	W	W	W
3. Brademas (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R
4. Adair (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
5. Roush (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Bray (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
7. Myers (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
8. Zion (R)	W	R	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
9. Hamilton (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Roudebush (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
11. Jacobs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

IOWA

1. Schwengel (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	—	W	W
2. Culver (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Gross (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Kyl (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Smith (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	—	R	R
6. Mayne (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—
7. Scherle (R)	—	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

KANSAS

1. Dole (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
2. Mize (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	—	W	W
3. Winn (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
4. Shriver (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W
5. Skubitz (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W

KENTUCKY

1. Stubblefield (D)	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R
2. Natcher (D)	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R
3. Cowger (R)	W	W	R	W	W	—	—	R	R	R	W	W	R
4. Snyder (R)	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Carter (R)	W	W	R	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	R	W	R
6. Watts (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W
7. Perkins (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

LOUISIANA

1. Hebert (D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
2. Boggs (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Willis (D)	—	—	W	—	R	W	—	W	—	—	—	R	W
4. Waggoner (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W
5. Passman (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Rarick (D)	W	W	—	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Edwards (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	—
8. Long (D)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W

MAINE

1. Kyros (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Hathaway (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

MARYLAND

1. Morton (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R
2. Long (D)	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	—	R	
3. Garmatz (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Fallon (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Machen (D)	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
6. Mathias (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Friedel (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Gude (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

MASSACHUSETTS

1. Conte (R)	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R
2. Boland (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Philbin (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Donohue (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Morse (R)	W	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	W	R
6. Bates (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	R
7. Macdonald (D)	R	R	R	—	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. O'Neill (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. McCormack (D)	Speaker												
10. Heckler (R)	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R
11. Burke (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
12. Keith (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R

MICHIGAN

1. Conyers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Esch (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R
3. Brown (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	—	R	R	R	R	W	R
4. Hutchinson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Ford (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	R
6. Chamberlain (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
7. Riegle (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	R
8. Harvey (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	R
9. Vander Jagt (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	R	R
10. Cederberg (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W
11. Ruppe (R)	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	W	R
12. O'Hara (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
13. Diggs (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	—	R	R	R
14. Nedzi (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R
15. Ford (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
16. Dingell (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	—	R	R	W	R
17. Griffiths (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
18. Broomfield (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
19. McDonald (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R

MINNESOTA

1. Quie (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	—	W	R
2. Nelsen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	—	W	W
3. MacGregor (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
4. Karth (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Fraser (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Zwach (R)	W	W	R	—	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W	W
7. Langen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Blatnik (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

MISSISSIPPI

1. Abernathy (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Whitten (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	
3. Griffin (D)	*	*	*	*	*	W	*	W	R	*	*	*	W
4. Montgomery (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Colmer (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

MISSOURI

1. Karsten (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	—	R	R	R	—
2. Curtis (R)	W	W	R	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Sullivan (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Randall (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	W
5. Bolling (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
6. Hull (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W
7. Hall (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Ichord (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	W	W
9. Hungate (D)	R	R	—	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	—	W
10. Jones (D)	W	—	W	W	—	—	W	—	W	W	—	W	—

sentatives Voted

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
MONTANA													
1. Olsen (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Battin (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
NEBRASKA													
1. Denney (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Cunningham (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
3. Martin (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
NEVADA													
AL Baring (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
NEW HAMPSHIRE													
1. Wyman (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W
2. Cleveland (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W
NEW JERSEY													
1. Hunt (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
2. Sandman (R)	—	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	—	W
3. Howard (D)	R	R	W	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Thompson (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Frelinghuysen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
6. Cahill (R)	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
7. Widnall (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Joelson (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Helstocki (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Rodino (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Minish (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
12. Dwyer (R)	W	W	W	R	W	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
13. Gallagher (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
14. Daniels (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. Patten (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
NEW MEXICO													
AL Morris (D)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W
AL Walker (D)	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	W
NEW YORK													
1. Pike (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
2. Grover (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W
3. Wolff (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Wydler (R)	W	R	W	—	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
5. Tenzer (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Halpern (R)	W	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Addabbo (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Rosenthal (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Delaney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
10. Celler (D)	—	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Brasco (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
12. Kelly (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
13. Podell (D)	*	*	*	*	*	R	*	R	R	*	*	*	R
14. Rooney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. Carey (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
16. Murphy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
17. Kupferman (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
18. Powell (D)	NOT SEATED												
19. Farbstein (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
20. Ryan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
21. Scheuer (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
5. Green (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Rhodes (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Williams (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
8. Biester (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
9. Watkins (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	—
10. McDade (R)	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Flood (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
12. Whalley (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
13. Schweiker (R)	W	R	W	R	W	W	—	R	R	R	W	R	R
14. Moorhead (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. Rooney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
16. Eshleman (R)	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
17. Schneebeli (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
18. Corbett (R)	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R
19. Goodling (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
20. Holland (D)	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	—	—	R	—
21. Dent (D)	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
22. Saylor (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	—	R
23. Johnson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
24. Vigorito (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
25. Clark (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	—	R	R
26. Morgan (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
27. Fulton (R)	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	R
RHODE ISLAND													
1. St. Germain (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Tiernan (D)	*	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
SOUTH CAROLINA													
1. Rivers (D)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
2. Watson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Dorn (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Ashmore (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Gettys (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
6. McMillan (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W
SOUTH DAKOTA													
1. Reifel (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W
2. Berry (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
TENNESSEE													
1. Quillen (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
2. Duncan (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
3. Brock (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
4. Evins (D)	R	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	—	R	R	R	—
5. Fulton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Anderson (D)	R	R	—	R	R	W	R	W	—	R	R	R	R
7. Blanton (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W
8. Everett (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W
9. Kuykendall (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
TEXAS													
1. Patman (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	—	R	R
2. Dowdy (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Collins (R)													
4. Roberts (D)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
5. Cabell (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
6. Teague (D)	R	—	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	—
7. Bush (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
8. Eckhardt (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Brooks (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Pickle (D)	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	—	W	R	R
11. Poage (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	R	W
12. Wright (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	R
13. Stephens (D)	R	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	R

8. Civil Rights

Final passage of the 1968 civil rights legislation would have been endangered if the House had not agreed to accept Senate amendments and instead insisted on sending the bill to a conference committee. The legislation outlawed housing discrimination, protected civil rights workers, and made it a federal crime to enter a state with the intent to take part in a riot.

A conference would have opened the door to a new Senate filibuster and endangered the legislation. Church, labor and civil rights organizations pressed for a House vote on acceptance of the Senate-passed bill.

The resolution which cleared the way for final passage was adopted, 229-195, on Apr. 10, 1968.

For—right; Against—wrong.

9. Housing

Decent homes for all Americans would go a long way toward meeting the nation's most pressing problems. An important step was taken in this year's housing legislation. It provides for building 1.7 million new or rehabilitated housing units in the next three years for low and moderate income families. It includes interest subsidies to help low income families buy homes and incentives for apartment-builders to provide low-rent units.

Other sections of the legislation expand rent supplement and model cities programs.

The housing bill was passed, 295-114, on July 10, 1968.

For—right; Against—wrong.

10. Model Cities

A Republican amendment would have wrecked the model cities program last year by eliminating $225 million to help cities renovate entire neighborhoods through a combination of better housing and better services and facilities.

As it is, the money available has been inadequate to meet the needs of the cities. The program, launched by the 89th Congress, has been one of the most promising approaches to the nation's urban problems. The battle in the 90th Congress has been over the financing needed to make this promise a reality.

The motion to gut the program was rejected, 193-

[illegible]	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W
2. Cleveland (R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W

NEW JERSEY

1. Hunt (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
2. Sandman (R)	—	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	—	W
3. Howard (D)	R	R	W	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Thompson (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Frelinghuysen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R
6. Cahill (R)	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
7. Widnall (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Joelson (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Helstocki (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Rodino (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Minish (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
12. Dwyer (R)	W	W	W	R	W	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
13. Gallagher (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
14. Daniels (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. Patten (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

NEW MEXICO

AL Morris (D)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	W
AL Walker (D)	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	W

NEW YORK

1. Pike (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
2. Grover (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W
3. Wolff (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Wydler (R)	W	R	W	—	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
5. Tenzer (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Halpern (R)	W	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Addabbo (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
8. Rosenthal (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Delaney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
10. Celler (D)	—	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
11. Brasco (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
12. Kelly (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
13. Podell (D)	*	*	*	*	*	R	*	R	R	*	*	*	R
14. Rooney (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. Carey (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
16. Murphy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
17. Kupferman (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
18. Powell (D)	NOT SEATED												
19. Farbstein (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
20. Ryan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
21. Scheuer (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
22. Gilbert (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
23. Bingham (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
24. Fino (R)	R	R	—	R	W	W	R	—	R	W	R	R	W
25. Ottinger (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
26. Reid (R)	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
27. Dow (D)	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
28. Resnick (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	—
29. Button (R)	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R
30. King (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	R	W	W	W	W
31. McEwen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W
32. Pirnie (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R
33. Robison (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R
34. Hanley (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
35. Stratton (D)	R	R	W	W	R	W	—	R	R	R	—	W	R
36. Horton (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
37. Conable (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	—
38. Goodell (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	—	R
39. McCarthy (D)	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
40. Smith (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	R	R	W	W	W	R
41. Dulski (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

NORTH CAROLINA

1. Jones (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
2. Fountain (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Henderson (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Gardner (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W
5. Galifianakis (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W
6. Kornegay (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
7. Lennon (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Jonas (R)	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
9. Broyhill (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
10. Whitener (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W
11. Taylor (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W

NORTH DAKOTA

1. Andrews (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W
2. Kleppe (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W

OHIO

1. Taft (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R
2. Clancy (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Whalen (R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
4. McCulloch (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	—	W	R
5. Latta (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	W
6. Harsha (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
7. Brown (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W
8. Betts (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
9. Ashley (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Miller (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
11. Stanton (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	—	W	R
12. Devine (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
13. Mosher (R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	—	R	R
14. Ayres (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	—	—	R
15. Wylie (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
16. Bow (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	W	W
17. Ashbrook (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
18. Hays (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	W	R
19. Kirwan (D)	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
20. Feighan (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
21. Vanik (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
22. Bolton (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
23. Minshall (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
24. Lukens (R)	W	W	R	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

OKLAHOMA

1. Belcher (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
2. Edmondson (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R
3. Albert (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Steed (D)	R	R	W	W	R	R	—	W	R	W	R	W	W
5. Jarman (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Smith (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

OREGON

1. Wyatt (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	—	W	W
2. Ullman (D)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	—	R	W
3. Green (D)	R	W	W	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
4. Dellenback (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R

PENNSYLVANIA

1. Barrett (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Nix (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Byrne (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Eilberg (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
26. Morgan (D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
27. Fulton (R)	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	R

RHODE ISLAND

1. St. Germain (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
2. Tiernan (D)	*	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. Rivers (D)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
2. Watson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Dorn (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Ashmore (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. Gettys (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
6. McMillan (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W

SOUTH DAKOTA

1. Reifel (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	W
2. Berry (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

TENNESSEE

1. Quillen (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
2. Duncan (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
3. Brock (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
4. Evins (D)	R	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	—	R	R	R	—
5. Fulton (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Anderson (D)	R	R	—	R	R	W	R	W	—	R	R	R	R
7. Blanton (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W
8. Everett (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W
9. Kuykendall (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W

TEXAS

1. Patman (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	—	R	R
2. Dowdy (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
3. Collins (R)													
4. Roberts (D)	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
5. Cabell (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
6. Teague (D)	R	—	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	—
7. Bush (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
8. Eckhardt (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
9. Brooks (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
10. Pickle (D)	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	—	W	R	R
11. Poage (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	R	W
12. Wright (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	R
13. Purcell (D)	R	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	R
14. Young (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
15. de la Garza (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R
16. White (D)	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
17. Burleson (D)	R	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
18. Price (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
19. Mahon (D)	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R
20. Gonzalez (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
21. Fisher (D)	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
22. Casey (D)	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
23. Kazen (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

UTAH

1. Burton (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
2. Lloyd (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W

VERMONT

AL Stafford (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R

VIRGINIA

1. Downing (D)	R	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W
2. Hardy (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	R	W	R	W
3. Satterfield (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
4. Abbitt (D)	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
5. A. Tuck (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
6. Poff (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
7. Marsh (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Scott (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
9. Wampler (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
10. Broyhill (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W

WASHINGTON

1. Pelly (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	—	W	R
2. Meeds (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Hansen (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. May (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
5. Foley (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Hicks (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
7. Adams (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

WEST VIRGINIA

1. Moore (R)	W	W	R	W	W	—	W	R	—	W	R	R	R
2. Staggers (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Slack (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
4. Hechler (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Kee (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R

WISCONSIN

1. Schadeberg (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
2. Kastenmeier (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
3. Thomson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
4. Zablocki (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
5. Reuss (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
6. Steiger (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
7. Laird (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
8. Byrnes (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
9. Davis (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
10. O'Konski (R)	R	R	—	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	—	W	R

WYOMING

AL Harrison (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W

Key to Symbols

R Voted Right or was Paired Right.
W Voted Wrong or was Paired Wrong.
— Absent and not paired.
* Elected after vote on issue.

The number before each name shows the congressional district; AL means At-Large.

way toward meeting the nation's most pressing problems. An important step was taken in this year's housing legislation. It provides for building 1.7 million new or rehabilitated housing units in the next three years for low and moderate income families. It includes interest subsidies to help low income families buy homes and incentives for apartment-builders to provide low-rent units.

Other sections of the legislation expand rent supplement and model cities programs.

The housing bill was passed, 295-114, on July 10, 1968.

For—right; Against—wrong.

10. Model Cities

A Republican amendment would have wrecked the model cities program last year by eliminating $225 million to help cities renovate entire neighborhoods through a combination of better housing and better services and facilities.

As it is, the money available has been inadequate to meet the needs of the cities. The program, launched by the 89th Congress, has been one of the most promising approaches to the nation's urban problems. The battle in the 90th Congress has been over the financing needed to make this promise a reality.

The motion to gut the program was rejected, 193-213, on May 17, 1967.

For—wrong; Against—right.

11. Food Stamps

Millions of poor people have been able to eat better because the food stamp program enables them to buy stamps worth several times their cost when exchanged for food at a store.

Pres. Kennedy directed an experimental food stamp program immediately after his inauguration in 1961. Pres. Johnson in 1964 won congressional approval to expand the program and make it permanent.

An Agriculture Committee amendment would have led to the abandonment of the program in most states by forcing the states to pay 20 percent of the program's cost.

The amendment was voted down, 173-191, on June 8, 1967.

For—wrong; Against—right.

12. Rat Control

To a majority of the House, on July 20, 1967, a federal program to help cities exterminate rats which bring disease and danger into slum homes was a joking matter.

Public outrage eventually brought approval of the program. The conservative coalition had, for once, overstepped itself. Later, somewhat shamefacedly, money was provided in another bill.

But on this first vote, the House refused, 176-207, to even take up the rat control legislation.

For—right; Against—wrong.

13. Anti-Poverty Funds

A Republican motion to slash $100 million from anti-poverty funds would have deprived thousands of children of participation in the Head Start program and forced the closing of 13 Job Corps centers—slamming the door shut on training opportunities for young men and women.

Adoption of the motion would have served notice that Congress and the nation was preparing to abandon the war on poverty as "too costly" for the world's richest nation.

The cutback was rejected, 181-220, on June 26, 1968.

For—wrong; Against—right.

1. Filibuster Rule

The Senate's Rule 22 requires a two-thirds vote to stop a filibuster. Because of this. the Senate has been unable to act on repeal of Taft-Hartley's Sec. 14(b) and major civil rights bills. The filibuster has also been used to block any change in the rule. On Jan. 24, 1967, the Senate voted 53-46 for Majority Leader Mansfield's motion to close debate on the rules change, but it was defeated for lack of a two-thirds margin. For—right; Against—wrong.

2. Compulsory Arbitration

Sen. Ralph Yarborough sought to balance the compulsory arbitration bill by an amendment impounding 10 percent of the railroads' profits during the period in which rail workers were prohibited from striking—thus creating an incentive for a voluntary settlement of the dispute. The amendment was rejected, 23-59, on June 7, 1967. For—right; Against—wrong.

3. Congressional Redistricting

A House-passed bill would have allowed states to evade one man-one vote standards for congressional districts until 1972. An amendment by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) improved the bill by limiting the population variation to no more than 10 percent, beginning with 1968 elections, and barring gerrymandering. It was adopted, 44-39, on June 8, 1967. For—right; Against—wrong.

4. Political Contributions

An amendment by Sen. John J. Williams (R-Del.) to an election reform bill was aimed at the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. It would have prevented COPE from giving dollars voluntarily contributed by union members to endorsed candidates. The amendment was rejected, 19-46, on Sept. 11, 1967. For—wrong; Against—right.

5. Social Security

The Senate social security bill was greatly superior to the House-passed bill. An amendment to reduce benefits to the level of the House bill was defeated, 22-58, on Nov. 21, 1967. For—wrong; Against—right.

How Your Senators Voted

	1 Senate Rules	2 Compulsory Arbitration	3 Congressional Redistricting	4 Election Reform	5 Social Security	6 Education	7 Civil Rights	8 Runaway Shops	9 Rent Supplements	10 War on Poverty Jobs	11 War on Poverty Funding	12 War on Poverty Funding
ALABAMA												
Hill (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Sparkman (D)	W	W	W	R	—	W	W	—	R	W	W	W
ALASKA												
Bartlett (D)	W	—	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R
Gruening (D)	W	—	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
ARIZONA												
Hayden (D)	W	—	—	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W
Fannin (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	—
ARKANSAS												
Fulbright (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	—	R
McClellan (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	—
CALIFORNIA												
Kuchel (R)	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Murphy (R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
COLORADO												
Allott (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
Dominick (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
CONNECTICUT												
Dodd (D)	R	—	R	—	—	—	R	R	R	W	R	—
Ribicoff (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
DELAWARE												
Boggs (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R
Williams (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
FLORIDA												
Holland (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
Smathers (D)	W	W	W	—	R	W	W	R	—	W	—	—
GEORGIA												

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MONTANA												
Mansfield (D)	R	W	R	—	R	R	R	—	R	W	R	R
Metcalf (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R
NEBRASKA												
Curtis (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—
Hruska (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
NEVADA												
Bible (D)	W	W	R	—	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	R
Cannon (D)	W	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	W	W	R	R
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
McIntyre (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	—	R
Cotton (R)	W	W	R	W	R	—	R	R	W	W	W	R
NEW JERSEY												
Williams (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R
Case (R)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
NEW MEXICO												
Anderson (D)	R	W	W	—	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W
Montoya (D)	R	R	W	—	R	R	R	—	R	—	R	—
NEW YORK												
Goodell (R)	See House Record											
Javits (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
NORTH CAROLINA												
Ervin (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	—	W	W	—
Jordan (D)	W	—	W	—	—	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
NORTH DAKOTA												
Burdick (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R
Young (R)	W	W	W	—	R	—	W	W	W	W	W	W
OHIO												
Lausche (D)	W	W	R	—	R	W	R	—	W	W	—	—
Young (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
OKLAHOMA												
Harris (D)	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	W	R	R	—	R
Monroney (D)	W	W	—	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W
OREGON												
Morse (D)	R	W	R	—	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	—
Hatfield (R)	R	W	W	—	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R

3. Congressional Redistricting

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4. Political Contributions

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5. Social Security

The Senate social security bill was greatly superior to the House-passed bill. An amendment to reduce benefits to the level of the House bill was defeated, 22-58, on Nov. 21, 1967. For—wrong; Against—right.

6. Aid to Education

A "states' rights" amendment to give control of federal school funds to state boards of education was rejected, 35-38, on Dec. 11, 1967. For—wrong; Against—right.

7. Civil Rights

A filibuster against the fair housing civil rights bill was broken when a motion to limit debate received the necessary two-thirds majority. The vote to end the filibuster was 65-32, on Mar. 4. 1968. For—right; Against—wrong.

8. Runaway Shops

Many cities have used tax-exempt industrial bonds to finance plants as a lure to runaway industry—along with low wages and a non-union workforce. The Senate on Mar. 28, 1968, voted 50-32 to end this tax exemption. For—right; Against—wrong.

9. Rent Supplements

Funds for rent supplements to help poor families live in decent housing would have been cut in half under an amendment rejected by the Senate, 34-55, on Sept. 20, 1967. For—wrong; Against—right.

10. Emergency Jobs

A labor-supported proposal by Sen. Prouty (R-Vt.) would have set up a one-year, $925 million emergency job program—a step in the direction of the large-scale program urged by the AFL-CIO and the Urban Coalition. It lost, 42-47, on Oct. 4, 1967. For—right; Against—wrong.

11. Head Start

Pre-school children have been helped to overcome poverty handicaps through the Head Start program. An amendment by Sen. Clark (D-Pa.) to appropriate $25 million for Head Start was approved, 43-42, on Mar. 11, 1968—after Vice Pres. Humphrey cast the tie-breaking vote. For—right; Against—wrong.

12. Anti-Poverty Funds

A House-Senate conference committee recommended knocking out $75 million for the 1968 summer youth manpower training programs and $25 million from Head Start. The conference report was rejected, 24-54, on Apr. 10, 1968. For—wrong; Against—right.

● Bartlett (D)	W	—	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R
Gruening (D)	W	—	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
ARIZONA												
Hayden (D)	W	—	—	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W
Fannin (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	—
ARKANSAS												
Fulbright (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	—	R
McClellan (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	—
CALIFORNIA												
Kuchel (R)	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Murphy (R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
COLORADO												
Allott (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
Dominick (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
CONNECTICUT												
Dodd (D)	R	—	R	—	—	—	R	R	R	W	R	—
Ribicoff (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
DELAWARE												
Boggs (R)	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	W	R
Williams (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
FLORIDA												
Holland (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
Smathers (D)	W	W	W	—	R	W	W	R	—	W	—	—
GEORGIA												
Russell (D)	W	W	W	—	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
Talmadge (D)	W	—	W	R	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
HAWAII												
Inouye (D)	W	—	—	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Fong (R)	R	W	W	W	—	W	R	R	R	R	W	R
IDAHO												
Church (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	—	R	W	R
Jordan (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R
ILLINOIS												
Dirksen (R)	W	W	W	W	W	—	R	R	R	R	W	—
Percy (R)	R	W	W	—	W	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
INDIANA												
Bayh (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
Hartke (D)	R	—	W	—	R	—	R	R	R	W	R	R
IOWA												
Hickenlooper (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—
Miller (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
KANSAS												
Carlson (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W
Pearson (R)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W
KENTUCKY												
Cooper (R)	R	W	R	R	—	W	R	W	R	R	R	R
Morton (R)	R	W	—	—	W	W	R	W	R	R	R	R
LOUISIANA												
Ellender (D)	W	—	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
Long (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W
MAINE												
Muskie (D)	R	W	R	—	R	R	R	W	R	R	—	R
Smith (R)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
MARYLAND												
Brewster (D)	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R
Tydings (D)	R	W	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
MASSACHUSETTS												
Kennedy (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
Brooke (R)	R	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
MICHIGAN												
Hart (D)	R	—	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Griffin (R)	R	W	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
MINNESOTA												
McCarthy (D)	R	R	—	R	—	—	—	—	—	R	—	—
Mondale (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
MISSISSIPPI												
Eastland (D)	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Stennis (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
MISSOURI												
Long (D)	R	R	W	R	R	—	R	—	R	R	W	R
Symington (D)	R	R	W	—	R	R	R	R	—	W	R	R
Cotton (R)	W	W	R	W	R	—	R	R	W	W	W	R
NEW JERSEY												
Williams (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R
Case (R)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
NEW MEXICO												
Anderson (D)	R	W	W	—	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W
Montoya (D)	R	R	W	—	R	R	R	—	R	—	R	—
NEW YORK												
Goodell (R)	See House Record											
Javits (R)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
NORTH CAROLINA												
Ervin (D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	—	W	W	—
Jordan (D)	W	—	W	—	—	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
NORTH DAKOTA												
Burdick (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R
Young (R)	W	W	W	—	R	—	W	W	W	W	W	W
OHIO												
Lausche (D)	W	W	R	—	R	W	R	—	W	W	—	—
Young (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
OKLAHOMA												
Harris (D)	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	W	R	R	—	R
Monroney (D)	W	W	—	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W
OREGON												
Morse (D)	R	W	R	—	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	—
Hatfield (R)	R	W	W	—	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
PENNSYLVANIA												
Clark (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Scott (R)	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R
RHODE ISLAND												
Pastore (D)	R	W	R	—	R	R	—	W	R	—	—	—
Pell (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Hollings (D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
Thurmond (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
SOUTH DAKOTA												
McGovern (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
Mundt (R)	W	W	R	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
TENNESSEE												
Gore (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	—	—	—
Baker (R)	W	W	R	—	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R
TEXAS												
Yarborough (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Tower (R)	W	—	—	W	—	—	W	W	—	W	W	W
UTAH												
Moss (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R
Bennett (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
VERMONT												
Aiken (R)	R	—	—	R	R	—	R	W	R	R	R	—
Prouty (R)	W	W	W	R	R	—	R	W	R	R	R	R
VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
Spong (D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
WASHINGTON												
Jackson (D)	R	—	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Magnuson (D)	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	W	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
Randolph (D)	R	W	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
WISCONSIN												
Nelson (D)	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Proxmire (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	W
WYOMING												
McGee (D)	W	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
Hansen (R)	W	W	R	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	R

Key to Symbols

R Voted Right or was Paired Right.
W Voted Wrong or was Paired Wrong.
— Absent and not paired.

THE 1968 ELECTIONS

SENATE

Democrats	23
Republicans	11
Total	34

HOUSE

Democrats	245
Republicans	187
Vacant	3
Total	435

GOVERNORS

Democrats	13
Republicans	8
Total	21

Incumbents		Challengers		Dem.	Repub.	State	Electoral Votes	Incumbents		Challengers	
Lister Hill (retiring)	D	James Allen Perry Hooper	D R	5	3	ALABAMA	10	—		—	
Ernest Gruening (lost primary)	D	Mike Gravel Elmer Rasmuson	D R	0	1	ALASKA	3	—		—	
Carl Hayden (retiring)	D	Roy Elson Barry Goldwater	D R	1	2	ARIZONA	5	John Williams	R	Sam Goddard	D
J. W. Fulbright	D	Charles Bernard	R	3	1	ARKANSAS	6	Winthrop Rockefeller	R	Marion Crank	D
Thomas Kuchel (lost primary)	R	Alan Cranston Max Rafferty	D R	21	17	CALIFORNIA	40	—		—	
Peter Dominick	R	Steve McNichols	D	3	1	COLORADO	6	—		—	
Abraham Ribicoff	D	Edwin May	R	5	1	CONNECTICUT	8	—		—	
—		—		0	1	DELAWARE	3	Charles Terry	D	Russell Peterson	R
George Smathers (retiring)	D	Leroy Collins Edward Gurney	D R	9	3	FLORIDA	14	—		—	
Herman Talmadge	D	Earl Patton	R	8	2	GEORGIA	12	—		—	
Daniel Inouye	D	Wayne Thiessen	R	2	0	HAWAII	4	—		—	
Frank Church	D	George Hansen	R	0	2	IDAHO	4	—		—	
Everett Dirksen	R	William Clark	D	12	12	ILLINOIS	26	Samuel Shapiro	D	Richard Ogilvie	R
Birch Bayh	D	William Ruckelshaus	R	5	6	INDIANA	13	Roger Branigan (Cannot succeed self)	D	Robert Rock Edgar Whitcomb	D R
Bourke Hickenlooper (retiring)	R	Harold Hughes David Stanley	D R	2	5	IOWA	9	Harold Hughes (in Senate race)	D	Paul Franzenburg Robert Ray	D R
Frank Carlson (retiring)	R	William Robinson Robert Dole	D R	0	5	KANSAS	7	Robert Docking	D	Rick Harmon	R
Thruston Morton (retiring)	R	Katherine Peden Marlow Cook	D R	4	3	KENTUCKY	9	—		—	
Russell Long	D	Unopposed		8	0	LOUISIANA	10	—		—	
—		—		2	0	MAINE	4	—		—	
Daniel Brewster	D	Charles Mathias George Mahoney	R IND	5	3	MARYLAND	10	—		—	
—		—		7	5	MASSACHUSETTS	14	—		—	
—		—		7	12	MICHIGAN	21	—		—	
—		—		3	5	MINNESOTA	10	—		—	
—		—		5	0	MISSISSIPPI	7	—		—	
Edward Long (lost primary)	D	Thomas Eagleton Thomas Curtis	D R	8	2	MISSOURI	12	Warren Hearnes	D	Lawrence Roos	R
—		—		1	1	MONTANA	4	Tim Babcock	R	Forrest Anderson	D
—		—		0	3	NEBRASKA	5	—		—	
Alan Bible	D	Edward Fike	R	1	0	NEVADA	3	—		—	
Norris Cotton	R	John King	D	0	2	NEW HAMPSHIRE	4	John King (in Senate race)	D	Emile Bussiere Walter Peterson	D R
—		—		9	6	NEW JERSEY	17	—		—	
				2	0	NEW MEXICO	4	David Cargo	R	Fabian Chavez	D
Jacob Javits	R	Paul O'Dwyer James Buckley	D CON	26	15	NEW YORK	41	—		—	
Sam Ervin	D	Robert Somers	R	8	3	NORTH CAROLINA	13	Dan Moore (Cannot succeed self)	D	Robert Scott James Gardner	D R

Fired Worker Wins Expense Of Job Hunting

An employe fired wrongfully for union activity is entitled not only to his job and lost pay but also to reimbursement for the reasonable expenses he incurred in trying to find another job, a National Labor Relations Board examiner has decided.

Trial Examiner Paul Bisgyer added the expense item to the usual reinstatement order in finding that Gamble's, Inc., steel fabricator in Montgomery, Ala., illegally discharged employe Glenn H. Hall last January for trying to help the Steelworkers organize the plant.

At the hearing into charges brought by the union, NLRB General Counsel Arnold Ordman's office requested Bisgyer to change the customary backpay order by adding Hall's expenses in his search for work "whether successful or not."

"I find such a remedy fair and equitable," the examiner said in his decision, and "a necessary corollary of the duty imposed on a wrongfully discharged employe to seek other employment in mitigation of his loss of pay." He cited a recent decision of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

In order to be entitled to backpay, that court said, an employe must "make reasonable efforts to find new employment which is substantially equivalent to the position from which he is discharged and suitable to a person of his background and experience."

Therefore, the examiner reasoned credit should be given Hall for his reasonable expenses in determining the backpay owed him by Gamble's. The examiner recom-

Abraham Ribicoff	D	Edwin May	R	3	1	CONNECTICUT	8				
———		———		0	1	DELAWARE	3	Charles Terry	D	Russell Peterson	R
George Smathers (retiring)	D	Leroy Collins	D	9	3	FLORIDA	14	———		———	
		Edward Gurney	R								
Herman Talmadge	D	Earl Patton	R	8	2	GEORGIA	12	———		———	
Daniel Inouye	D	Wayne Thiessen	R	2	0	HAWAII	4	———		———	
Frank Church	D	George Hansen	R	0	2	IDAHO	4	———		———	
Everett Dirksen	R	William Clark	D	12	12	ILLINOIS	26	Samuel Shapiro	D	Richard Ogilvie	R
Birch Bayh	D	William Ruckelshaus	R	5	6	INDIANA	13	Roger Branigan (Cannot succeed self)	D	Robert Rock	D
										Edgar Whitcomb	R
Bourke Hickenlooper (retiring)	R	Harold Hughes	D	2	5	IOWA	9	Harold Hughes (in Senate race)	D	Paul Franzenburg	D
		David Stanley	R							Robert Ray	R
Frank Carlson (retiring)	R	William Robinson	D	0	5	KANSAS	7	Robert Docking	D	Rick Harmon	R
		Robert Dole	R								
Thruston Morton (retiring)	R	Katherine Peden	D	4	3	KENTUCKY	9	———		———	
		Marlow Cook	R								
Russell Long	D	Unopposed		8	0	LOUISIANA	10	———		———	
———		———		2	0	MAINE	4	———		———	
Daniel Brewster	D	Charles Mathias	R	5	3	MARYLAND	10	———		———	
		George Mahoney	IND								
———		———		7	5	MASSACHUSETTS	14	———		———	
———		———		7	12	MICHIGAN	21	———		———	
———		———		3	5	MINNESOTA	10	———		———	
———		———		5	0	MISSISSIPPI	7	———		———	
Edward Long (lost primary)	D	Thomas Eagleton	D	8	2	MISSOURI	12	Warren Hearnes	D	Lawrence Roos	R
		Thomas Curtis	R								
———		———		1	1	MONTANA	4	Tim Babcock	R	Forrest Anderson	D
———		———		0	3	NEBRASKA	5	———		———	
								———		———	
Alan Bible	D	Edward Fike	R	1	0	NEVADA	3				
Norris Cotton	R	John King	D	0	2	NEW HAMPSHIRE	4	John King (in Senate race)	D	Emile Bussiere	D
										Walter Peterson	R
———		———		9	6	NEW JERSEY	17	———		———	
				2	0	NEW MEXICO	4	David Cargo	R	Fabian Chavez	D
Jacob Javits	R	Paul O'Dwyer	D	26	15	NEW YORK	43	———		———	
		James Buckley	CON								
Sam Ervin	D	Robert Somers	R	8	3	NORTH CAROLINA	13	Dan Moore (Cannot succeed self)	D	Robert Scott	D
										James Gardner	R
Milton Young	R	Herschel Lashkowitz	D	0	2	NORTH DAKOTA	4	William Guy	D	Robert McCarney	R
Frank Lausche (lost primary)	D	John Gilligan	D	5	19	OHIO	26	———		———	
		William Saxbe	R								
Mike Monroney	D	Henry Bellmon	R	4	2	OKLAHOMA	8	———		———	
		George Washington	AIP								
Wayne Morse	D	Robert Packwood	R	2	2	OREGON	6	———		———	
Joseph Clark	D	Richard Schweiker	R	14	13	PENNSYLVANIA	29	———		———	
———		———		2	0	RHODE ISLAND	4	John Chafee	R	Frank Licht	D
Ernest Hollings	D	Marshall Parker	R	5	1	SOUTH CAROLINA	8	———		———	
George McGovern	D	Archie Gubbrud	R	0	2	SOUTH DAKOTA	4	Nils Boe (Cannot succeed self)	R	Robert Chamberlain	D
										Frank Farrar	R
———		———		5	4	TENNESSEE	11	———		———	
———		———		20	3	TEXAS	25	John Connally (not running)	D	Preston Smith	D
										Paul Eggers	R
Wallace Bennett	R	Milton Wilenmann	D	0	2	UTAH	4	Calvin Rampton	D	Carl Buehner	R
George Aiken	R	Unopposed		0	1	VERMONT	3	Philip Hoff (retiring)	D	John Daley	D
										Deane Davis	R
———		———		6	4	VIRGINIA	12	———		———	
Warren Magnuson	D	Jack Metcalf	R	5	2	WASHINGTON	9	Daniel Evans	R	John O'Connell	D
———		———		4	1	WEST VIRGINIA	7	Hulett Smith (Cannot succeed self)	D	James Sprouse	D
										Arch Moore	R
Gaylord Nelson	D	Jerris Leonard	R	3	7	WISCONSIN	12	Warren Knowles	R	Bronson LaFollette	D
———		———		0	1	WYOMING	3	———		———	

Note: Electoral College votes total 538. They are apportioned on basis of one for each representative, one for each senator. Thus the House totals 435, the Senate 100, with 3 for District of Columbia. A simple majority of 270 is required to elect a President. Lacking this, the election goes to the House of Representatives.

Congress Takes First Step to 'Winterize' Jobs With Study of Fluctuations in Construction Work

The "age-old curse" of seasonal fluctuations in construction employment may be on its way out of existence as the result of action taken by the 90th Congress in its closing days.

Pres. C. J. Haggerty of the AFL-CIO Building & Construction Trades Dept. made that observation in hailing passage of legislation calling for a study of the problem and recommendations toward solving it.

He pointed out that while it's "only a start toward doing something about a national problem requiring a national solution," it is a start that building trades unions have been seeking for some time.

In testimony before Congress earlier this year, Haggerty said the pattern of sharp layoffs in construction in the fall and winter is as old as the weather—and though supposedly based on it—occurs in both cold and warm climates of the country.

The "unnecessary" fluctuations, he added, result from "obsolete" building codes and government planning that makes money available for construction only in summer months.

Elimination of the fluctuations, he said, would bring "more efficient use of skilled manpower" and also "reduce the cost of construction . . . to the great benefit of all our people."

Pres. Thomas F. Murphy of the Bricklayers noted that bricklayers are unemployed an average of 15 weeks a year due to "seasonality." Vice Pres. Maurice Fancher of the Laborers said members of his union were working only about five months of full-time employment annually.

Labor Under Sec. James J. Reynolds said that fluctuations in employment in construction "result in a steady drain on unemployment insurance trust funds, far in excess of contributions by the construction industry."

The study of "seasonality in the construction industry," as an amendment to a bill extending the Manpower Development & Training Act of 1962, would be made by the Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Commerce, and representatives of several federal agencies.

Focusing on the problem's "implications for a national manpower policy," the study would look into the application of modern techniques in building to reduce the influence of weather.

It would also seek resolution of technical problems, changes in procedures of allocating of government contracts and improved planning and scheduling of projects. A report and recommendations would be submitted to the President and Congress by Dec. 31, 1969.

Chief sponsors of the legislation were Rep. James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.) and Senators Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) and Winston L. Prouty (D-Vt.)

Screen Actors OK Industry Film Pact

Hollywood, Calif. — Members of the Screen Actors Guild, voting in a nationwide mail referendum, have approved a new industrial contract providing improved wages and conditions for acting work in industrial and educational pictures. The vote was 7,884-106 for ratification.

SAG Executive Sec. John L. Dales said gains include wage increases from $100 to $110 a day in the first year of the new pact, to $115 in the second and to $120 in the third contract year. Weekly players will go from $375 to $392 now and to $420 next July 1.

Steelworkers organize the plant.

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"I find such a remedy fair and equitable," the examiner said in his decision, and "a necessary corollary of the duty imposed on a wrongfully discharged employe to seek other employment in mitigation of his loss of pay." He cited a recent decision of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

In order to be entitled to backpay, that court said, an employe must "make reasonable efforts to find new employment which is substantially equivalent to the position from which he is discharged and suitable to a person of his background and experience."

Therefore, the examiner reasoned credit should be given Hall for his reasonable expenses in determining the backpay owed him by Gamble's. The examiner recommended also that the firm be ordered to stop illegal threats to other union members.

Air Engineers Stress Wages, Job Conditions

Miami Beach—Improving wages and working conditions must always be the union's "primary objective," Pres. William A. Gill, Jr. told delegates to the 20th annual convention of the Flight Engineers.

The convention also received reports on technical and labor activities of FEIA's units in Israel, Holland, Spain, France, Australia and Pakistan.

FEIA Sec.-Treas. Harry S. O'Brien was re-elected with out opposition to another two-year term. Gill was elected last year to a two-year term.

In stressing the importance of future collective bargaining efforts, Gill said the union will continue to be autonomous. Attempts to work out a merger with the Air Line Pilots have failed, he pointed out.

A convention-adopted resolution, condemning "hijacking" of aircraft, urged airline crews "to refuse to fly" to or from any state which fails to immediately release planes and crews pirated to within its borders.

The resolution was similar to one adopted by the Intl. Transport Workers Federation at its recent conference in Weisbaden, Germany, which brought the release of an Israeli aircraft from Algeria. A representative of FEIA helped draft the ITF statement.

The delegates also approved a resolution supporting workers involved in the strike-lockout at the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner and their "don't buy" campaign against advertisers in the Hearst scab-operated newspaper.

Election-1

Fight in House Rages for Rule On Presidency

By FELIX BELAIR JR.

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WASHINGTON — An outside chance that the House of Representatives might be called on to elect the next president has produced a struggle for partisan control of that body without parallel in recent political history.

Both major parties are spending as much time, effort and money to win a working majority in the House as they are on gaining the presidency.

Twice before the House elected the President—Thomas Jefferson in 1801 and John Quincy Adams in 1825—and the danger of a recurrence is always present when there is a strong third candidate for the presidency. If he can siphon enough popular votes away from the front-running candidate to prevent his getting the 270-vote majority in the Electoral College the election must be decided in the House, with each state delegation getting one vote. The Senate elects a vice president, with each senator having one vote.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

The Democrats now have control of the House, 245 to 187. There are three vacancies. The Democrats have a majority in 28 state delegations, Republicans in 18 and four delegations are evenly divided. But it is the House to be elected on Nov. 5 that would elect the next President if his selection falls to that body.

The shift of only a few seats could swing the balance of power in the House to one party or the other for presidential election purposes. To begin with, if the five states of the deep South that gave their electoral votes to Barry Goldwater in 1964 give them this time to George Wallace, the Democratic delegations favoring their party's presidential candidate could be reduced to 23.

All of these states are currently considered safe for Wallace—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. Candidates in these states have not said they would vote against Humphrey in a House contest but they would be under [illegible] from Wallace to lobbying and political deals are part of the legislative process has brought renewed demands for modernizing the electoral process.

One such scheme proposed by two House members asked that all candidates for election to that body pledge to vote for the presidential candidate receiving the largest popular vote, no matter what his party affiliation.

The purpose of the plan, advanced in August by Reps. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., and Charles E. Goodell, R-N.Y., was to freeze out third party presidential candidate, Wallace, from consideration in case the election were thrown into the House.

OPPOSITION

The plan was strongly opposed by House leaders of both major parties and received no support from advisers to Richard M. Nixon and Vice President Humphrey, the Republican and Democratic presidential nominees. Apparently, each party feels it will control a majority of the state delegations in the House and does not want to agree to a pledge that may cost its candidate of election.

The Constitution left it to the states to determine the method of choosing their electoral slates. Some do it by party convention, some by primaries and others by designation of the state committee of the party. It was left for Congress to decide when the electoral college should meet and ballot for President, the single condition being that all electors meet on the same day in the various state capitals.

Congress fixed the time of this meeting for the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December, on Dec. 16 in 1968. The date of election day—Nov. 5—also is fixed by Congress as is the day—Jan. 6—for counting the certified ballots of the elec-

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FOCUS OF BATTLE

Focus of the struggle for control of the House is on 10 pivotal seats that could give either the Democrats or Republicans a majority in the 26 state delegations needed to decide a presidential election in that body.

Once the election is thrown into the House a number of mathematical possibilities could tip the scales one way or another.

One extreme possibility is that 76 members of the House from 26 states with a population of 32 million could outvote the other 359 members from 24 states with a combined population of 150 million.

Another extreme possibility is that the House would be deadlocked—25 to 25—up to inauguration day on Jan. 20 and that the man the Senate elected to the vice presidency would take over the White House as acting President.

It is even conceivable that a deadlocked House would settle on a compromise candidate like Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York. But for this it would be necessary for enough electors to have disregarded their pledges in the Electoral College voting so that the New Yorker received the third largest number of votes in that body.

LIMITED TO 3

The number of eligible presidential candidates in a House election is limited to three under the 12th amendment to the Constitution. Prior to 1804 the choice could be from 5 candidates.

The possibility of imposing the responsibility of choosing a President on a body where part of the legislative process has brought renewed demands for modernizing the electoral process.

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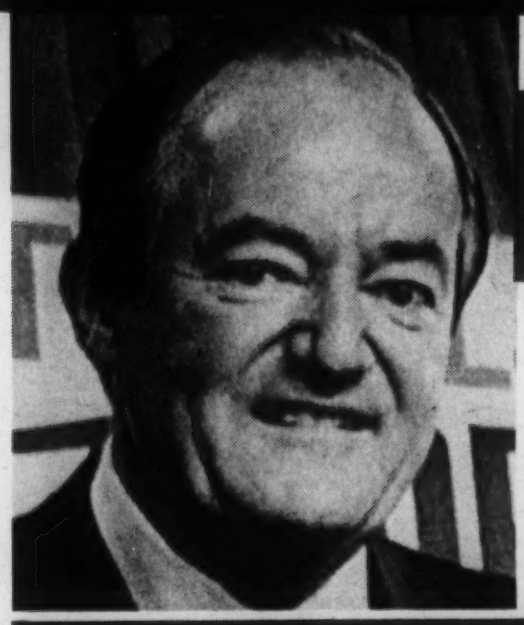
Congress fixed the time of this meeting for the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December, on Dec. 16 in 1968. The date of election day—Nov. 5—also is fixed by Congress as is the day—Jan. 6—for counting the certified ballots of the electors at a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives.

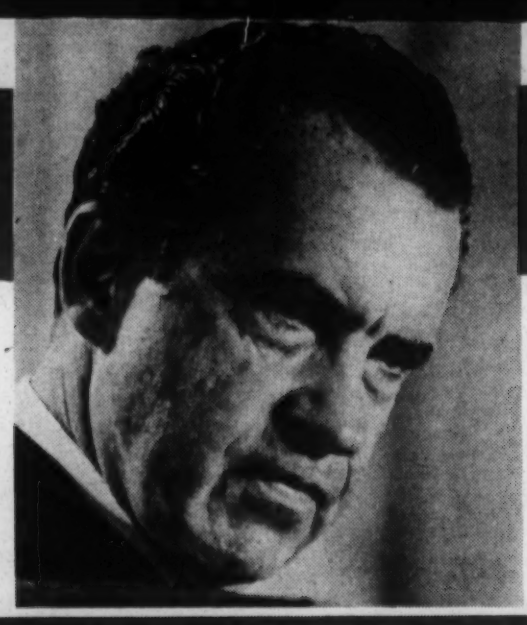
NET EFFECT

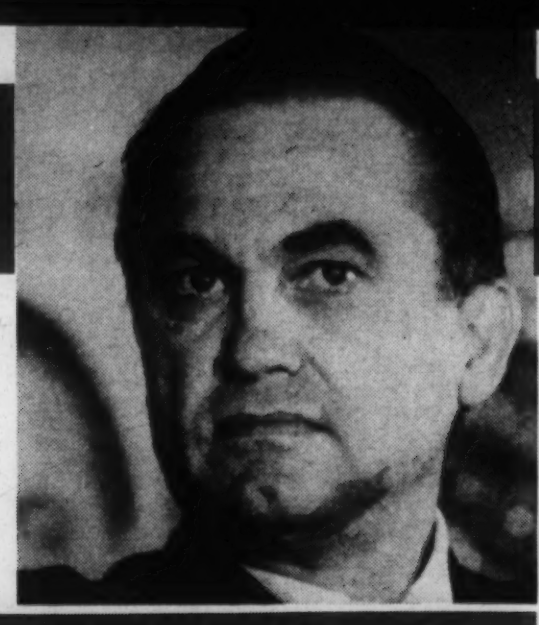
The net effect of the present arrangement of dates is to provide 40 days between the election and the meeting of the electors and another three weeks before their ballots are counted in the House.

It is the initial period that Wallace, in event of an electoral deadlock, might make an arrangement with one of the major party candidates for certain concessions in return for enough of his electoral votes to provide a majority. He has said he would pursue this course rather than allow the contest to be settled in the House by men unknown to him.

Among other things, Wallace has indicated that he would demand "a strong stand for law and order," abandonment of all civil rights legislation, and turning back to the states the right of decision on school and hospital integration, open housing legislation and congressional redistricting.



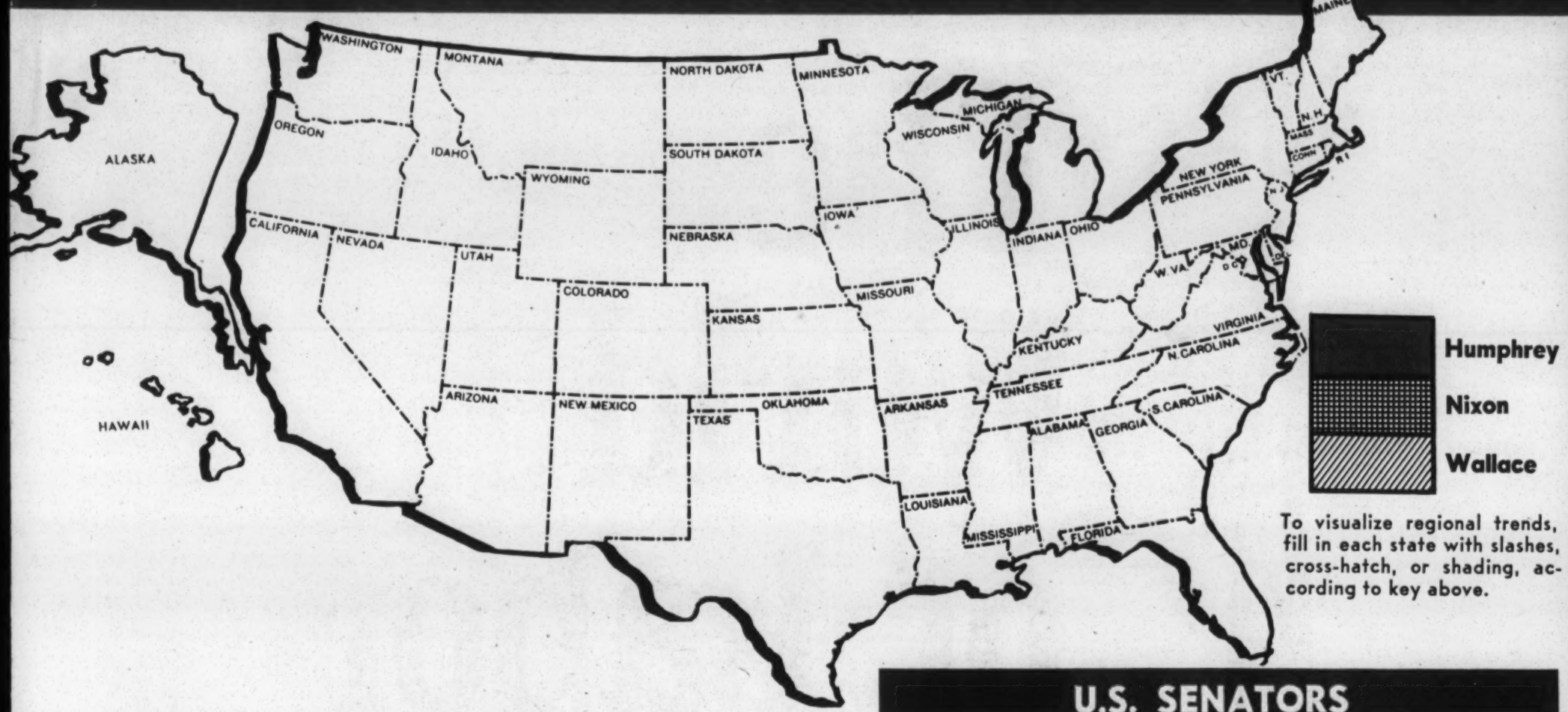




PRESIDENT

Electoral Votes	State	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	My Prediction (√ each state)			Returns 1968			Electoral votes		
							H	N	W	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace	H	N	W
10	Alabama	SR*	D	D	D	R									
3	Alaska				R	D									
5	Arizona	D	R	R	R	R									
6	Arkansas	D	D	D	D	D									
40	California	D	R	R	R	D									
6	Colorado	D	R	R	R	D									
8	Connecticut	R	R	R	D	D									
3	Delaware	R	R	R	D	D									
3	D.C.					D									
14	Florida	D	R	R	R	D									
12	Georgia	D	D	D	D	R									
4	Hawaii				D	D									
4	Idaho	D	R	R	R	D									
26	Illinois	D	R	R	D	D									
13	Indiana	R	R	R	R	D									
9	Iowa	D	R	R	R	D									
7	Kansas	R	R	R	R	D									
9	Kentucky	D	D	R	R	D									
10	Louisiana	SR*	D	R	D	R									
4	Maine	R	R	R	R	D									
10	Maryland	R	R	R	D	D									
14	Massachusetts	D	R	R	D	D									
21	Michigan	R	R	R	D	D									
10	Minnesota	D	R	R	D	D									
7	Mississippi	SR*	D	D	D	R									
12	Missouri	D	R	D	D	D									
4	Montana	D	R	R	R	D									
5	Nebraska	R	R	R	R	D									
3	Nevada	D	R	R	D	D									
4	New Hampshire	R	R	R	R	D									
17	New Jersey	R	R	R	D	D									
4	New Mexico	D	R	R	D	D									
43	New York	R	R	R	D	D									
13	North Carolina	D	D	D	D	D									
4	North Dakota	R	R	R	R	D									
26	Ohio	D	R	R	R	D									
8	Oklahoma	D	R	R	R	D									
6	Oregon	R	R	R	R	D									
29	Pennsylvania	R	R	R	R	D									
4	Rhode Island	D	R	R	D	D									
8	South Carolina	SR*	D	D	D	R									
4	South Dakota	R	R	R	R	D									
11	Tennessee	D	R	R	R	D									
25	Texas	D	R	R	D	D									
4	Utah	D	R	R	R	D									
3	Vermont	R	R	R	R	D									
12	Virginia	D	R	R	R	D									
9	Washington	D	R	R	R	D									
7	West Virginia	D	D	R	D	D									
12	Wisconsin	D	R	R	R	D									
3	Wyoming	D	R	R	R	D									
538	Electoral votes	D-303 R-189	D-89 R-442	D-74 R-457	D-303 R-219	D-486 R-52									
		* States Rights					H	N	W	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace	(270 wins)		

Election night, Nov. 5, 1968



To visualize regional trends, fill in each state with slashes, cross-hatch, or shading, according to key above.

This tally sheet will help union members keep a check on returns election night. The magic number in this election is 270. A candidate must receive 270 electoral votes to win. If no candidate receives 270 electoral votes, the House of Representatives will decide who will be the next President of the USA. Before the results start coming in Nov. 5, check the past records and make your own prediction on which states will go for Vice President Humphrey, for former Vice President Nixon and for former Governor Wallace. When the final vote totals for each state are announced, give that state's electoral votes to the winner, check the result against your prediction and then mark the map according to the key. This way you can see regional trends develop. Shade in the states which voted for Humphrey, cross-hatch those which go for Nixon and put diagonals in the states which vote for Wallace. In the races for Governor and Senator, circle the winners as they are reported. When all winners have been decided, figure up the totals for each party and see what the line-up will be in 1969.

GOVERNORS

Twenty-two states will be electing governors in November. Of these states 13 now have Democratic Governors and eight, Republicans. In the following list, candidates whose names appear in bold-face type have labor support. The 13 incumbent Governors seeking re-election are denoted by a single asterisk. Present party lineup among Governors: Democrats, 24; Republicans, 26. Use the boxscore below to figure the 1969 line-up.

State	Democrats	Republicans
Arizona	**Sam Goddard**	John R. Williams*
Arkansas	Marion Crank	Winthrop Rockefeller*
Delaware	**Charles Terry***	Russell W. Peterson
Illinois	**Samuel Shapiro***	Richard Ogilvie
Indiana	**Robert Rock****	Edgar Whitcomb
Iowa	**Paul Franzenburg****	Robert Ray
Kansas	**Robert Docking***	Rick Harmon
Missouri	**William Hearnes***	Lawrence Roos
Montana	**Forrest Anderson**	Tim Babcock*
New Hampshire	Emile R. Bussiere**	Walter Peterson
New Mexico	Fabian Chavez, Jr.	David Cargo*
North Carolina	Robert Scott**	Jim Gardner
North Dakota	**William Guy***	Robert McCarney
Rhode Island	**Frank Licht**	John Chafee*
South Dakota	**Robert Chamberlin**	Frank Farrar**
Texas	Preston Smith**	Paul Eggers
Utah	**Calvin Rampton***	Carl Buehner
Vermont	**John Daley****	Deane Davis
Washington	John J. O'Connell	Daniel Evans*
West Virginia	**James Sprouse****	Arch Moore
Wisconsin	**Bronson LaFollette**	Warren Knowles*
ELECTED		
HELD OVER	24	26
'69 LINE-UP		

Bold face—*labor support.* **Incumbent* ***Same party as incumbent.*

U.S. SENATORS

Thirty-four U.S. Senators are to be elected on Nov. 5. Of the 34 seats which will be filled, 23 are now held by Democrats and 11 by Republicans. On the list below candidates whose names appear in bold-face type have labor support. Incumbents seeking re-election are denoted by one asterisk. When a non-incumbent candidate of the party now in office is running, his name is denoted with two asterisks. The present U.S. Senate has 64 Democrats and 36 Republicans. Use the boxscore below to figure the line-up of the U.S. Senate in 1969.

State	Democrats	Republicans
Alabama	James Allen**	Glenn Andrews
Alaska	**Mike Gravel****	Elmer Rasmuson
Arizona	**Roy Elson****	Barry Goldwater
Arkansas	**J. William Fulbright***	Charles T. Bernard
California	**Alan Cranston**	Max Rafferty**
Colorado	**Stephen McNichols**	Peter Dominick*
Connecticut	**Abraham Ribicoff***	Edwin May
Florida	**LeRoy Collins****	Edward Gurney
Georgia	Herman Talmadge*	Oliver Bateman
Hawaii	**Daniel Inouye***	Wayne Theissen
Idaho	**Frank Church***	George Hansen
Illinois	**William Clark**	Everett Dirksen*
Indiana	**Birch Bayh***	William Ruckelshaus
Iowa	**Harold Hughes**	David Stanley**
Kansas	**William Robinson**	Robert Dole**
Kentucky	Katherine Peden	Marlowe Cook**
Louisiana	**Russell Long***	*No candidate*
Maryland	**Daniel Brewster***	Charles McC. Mathias
Missouri	**Thomas Eagleton****	Thomas Curtis
Nevada	**Alan Bible***	Edward Fike
New Hampshire	John W. King	Norris Cotton*
New York	Paul O'Dwyer	**Jacob Javits***
North Carolina	Sam Ervin*	Robert Sommers
North Dakota	**Herschel Lashkowitz**	Milton Young*
Ohio	**John Gilligan****	William Saxbe
Oklahoma	**Mike Monroney***	Henry Bellmon
Oregon	**Wayne Morse***	Robert Packwood
Pennsylvania	**Joseph Clark***	Richard Schweiker
South Carolina	Ernest Hollings*	Marshall Parker
South Dakota	**George McGovern***	Archie Gubbrud
Utah	**Milton Weilenman**	Wallace F. Bennett*
Vermont	*No candidate*	George Aiken*
Washington	**Warren Magnuson***	Jack Metcalf
Wisconsin	**Gaylord Nelson***	Jerris Leonard
ELECTED		
HELD OVER	41	25
'69 LINE-UP		

Bold face—*labor support.* **Incumbent* ***Same party as incumbent.*

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Wall St Jnl 11-7-68

15 CENTS

President Nixon

A Democratic Congress And a Fuzzy Mandate Pose Perils for Victor

Non-Republicans May Gain Posts as He Seeks Unity; Paris Talks Hold Pitfalls

But He May Get Way on Arms

By ARLEN J. LARGE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Four days before the voting, Richard Nixon said: "There's nothing wrong with America that a good election won't cure. Let's have one."

But it wasn't a very good election. Mr. Nixon's Presidential career begins with a mushy mandate from a deeply divided electorate and with a Congress still firmly controlled by opposition Democrats. A fuzzy national decision has produced a minority President who will be forced to place unusual reliance on the arts of compromise to govern the nation.

Still, it could have been much worse. Barring some surprise recount, Mr. Nixon has emerged with a clear-cut majority of electoral votes that allows a clean Constitutional takeoff. No bargaining with George Wallace over Southern electoral votes. No snakepit decision by the House of Representatives. No last-ditch Senate selection of Edmund Muskie as acting President. Mr. Nixon is, in legal fact, the one.

"I've lost," Democratic nominee Hubert Humphrey conceded at mid-day yesterday. "Mr. Nixon has won. The democratic process has worked its will."

So Mr. Nixon can begin immediate planning for taking command next Jan. 20. Among the earliest moves: Dispatching to Washington a budget task force headed by Maurice Stans, Budget Director under President Eisenhower, to monitor preparation of Lyndon Johnson's final budget. Mr. Stans' crew mainly will keep hands off LBJ's books during the transition but will be able to help the new President make early revisions after the Inauguration.

Healing Gestures

That's just mechanics; Mr. Nixon would be doing that had he won by a landslide. But other early moves by the President-elect are likely to reflect his near-tie in popular votes with Mr. Humphrey on the left and the presence of a large bloc of disappointed Wallace voters on the right.

In picking his Cabinet, Mr. Nixon may go further than he originally intended in making politically healing gestures. Even before Election Day the Nixon camp was talking of a "coalition Cabinet." What's expected to be an intensive post-election search to dramatize Mr. Nixon's yearning to unify the nation could include appointment of more Democrats and prestigious independents than if the Republicans had won big.

Mr. Nixon strummed the unity theme in acknowledging his victory yesterday, recalling to the television audience a "Bring Us Together" sign he spotted while campaigning in Ohio. "That will be the great objective of this Administration at the outset—to bring the American people together," he said. He spoke of bridging gaps between the generations, the races, the political parties.

But the unity crusade carries certain political risks for Mr. Nixon. His advisers insist that a desire to make the Vietnam war a less divisive issue at home and present a united front to Hanoi lies behind the Nixon offer to run peace errands for President Johnson during the next two months. While a united front obviously is desirable in the Paris talks, it could identify the President-elect more closely with a Johnson-devised settlement plan than he would wish. If the peace formula eventually made Hanoi appear a winner, Mr. Nixon would share the blame.

A Free Hand for a While

Of course, a peace deal may not emerge from the Paris talks until after the new President takes office. And in devising his own plan, Mr. Nixon—at least toward the beginning of his term—probably will be given a free Vietnam hand by the new Congress. For the outcome of Tuesday's Congressional races leaves lawmakers speaking with no clearer voice on war policy than before.

The voters dealt with Senate hawks and doves in seemingly random fashion. They defeated hard-liners Max Rafferty in California and incumbent Dan Brewster in Maryland. They elected hawkish Barry Goldwater in Arizona and Edward Gurney in Florida. They preserved the dovish careers of William Fulbright in Arkansas, Frank Church in Idaho and George McGovern in South Dakota, while rejecting like-minded Joseph Clark in Pennsylvania and perhaps also Wayne Morse in Oregon.

The new Congress also is likely to go along with Mr. Nixon's requests for stepped-up spending on missiles and other defense hardware. The pressures already were running strongly in the direction of more military spending in the old Congress, and all the key Democratic chairmen of defense-oriented committees—Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi, Rep. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina—will be back in January.

Giving Congress its head on military outlays—in contrast to the old "cost-effectiveness" checkreins of the Pentagon's McNamara era—may be one of the Nixon Administration's most visible bows to the Republican Party's conservative wing. Mr. Goldwater, Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Sen. John Tower of Texas all helped Mr. Nixon in his Southern Presidential struggles with George Wallace and California Gov. Ronald Reagan, and all have been demanding a more powerful U.S. military establishment.

Making Concessions

It's in the area of proposed reforms in domestic Federal aid to the cities and the poor that Mr. Nixon will feel most keenly the lack of greater GOP gains in the new Congress. A month ago Republicans talked of capturing 31 Democratic-held seats and organizational control of the House; instead, the GOP's net gain of only three or four seats leaves the House far more Democratic and liberal than anyone expected. The Senate, although more conservative and more Republican than before as a re-

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Continued From First Page

sult of Tuesday's voting, still doesn't offer the Nixon Administration a ready working majority on domestic legislation. In both Houses, therefore, Mr. Nixon will get his way only partially, by concessions and bargaining.

If his campaign speeches were any clue, Mr. Nixon won't propose any big frontal assault on Great Society legislation already on the books. The Job Corps branch of the war on poverty was about the only program specifically targeted for abolition, though some reshuffling of the antipoverty bureaucracy may be attempted.

Liberal Democrats figure the more likely prospect is Nixon budgeting that leaves most programs intact but more frugally financed than in the past. "Now the test for the country will be whether it can stand four years of Nixon regression," grumped a Humphrey aide yesterday after the Democratic defeat was evident.

In lieu of massive direct Federal spending for urban uplift, Mr. Nixon wants to give special tax incentives to business for training and hiring the poor, and this will be sticky. Democratic Rep. Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, who will retain his chairmanship of the House Ways and Means Committee, has been leery of such social-purpose tax schemes in the past, and enactment of Mr. Nixon's whole list of new credits and deductions is most unlikely. But a modified, shortened list is conceivable if the new President bargains skillfully; Mr. Mills, after all, finally relented and gave President Kennedy a tax credit for factory modernization after resisting for months.

Nixon crime-control ideas may encounter obstacles, too. Senate liberals may still be powerful enough to block or weaken any Nixon-proposed legislation to modify Supreme Court decisions on confessions by accused criminals.

Before the election, some Republican lawmakers were warning of what they asserted would happen if Mr. Nixon won the White House and Democrats kept Congressional control: A rash of petty partisan sniping, peaking in the 1970 and 1972 election years, with Democratic committee chairmen trying to embarrass the Administration with investigations and other irritants.

The extent to which this happens could well depend on Mr. Nixon's success in the nonlegislative, intangible task of rallying the nation behind his Presidency and "the system." High-quality appointments to Administration posts are an obvious early goal. Nixon aides predict another early move will be private meetings with Negroes, the young, the poor and other dissident groups to keep lines of communication open. According to one assistant, the President-elect now is in a "peculiarly good" position to bargain with the dissidents because he didn't woo them very hard during the campaign and isn't beholden to them for his victory.

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REVIEW *and* OUTLOOK

Mr. Nixon's Mandate

Finally it's settled; clearly enough Richard Nixon will be the next President of the United States. Yet it is equally clear that the American people have not yet settled their collective mind on what they really want.

In the end the decision came down to a few votes in Illinois. The picture is confused not only by the harrowing closeness of the outcome, but by a list of other factors: The split in the protest vote, the deep and obvious sectional divisions, the lack of meaningful issues differentiating the major candidates, the widespread dissatisfaction with all nominees.

So it becomes impossible to read any definitive mandate into this election. Especially so against the background of this political year, a year of wrenching developments. Candidates like Eugene McCarthy and George Wallace rose to surprising but momentary prominence. Primary outcomes and public opinion polls shifted mercurially. The only certainty was uncertainty.

The whole public mood has been one of vague but intense dissatisfaction. The votes for Mr. Nixon plus those for Mr. Wallace express this, passing a rather definite judgment against the record of the past few years. Presumably Mr. Nixon will move away from the approach that has failed in these years and toward its historical alternative, common-sense conservatism. In this, he will follow the only instruction the voters have given him—some sort of mandate for some kind of change.

This loose mandate, though, is probably less significant than the portrait the electorate has painted of itself. What emerges is a people uncertain and yet searching. They do not like the kind of foreign policies that involve us in Vietnams, but they find little appeal in a new isolationism. They enjoy their new prosperity but resent having it eaten away by inflation. They see that the vast Federal social welfare programs of the past years have produced little demonstrable result, but they are by no means resigned to abandoning efforts to solve very real social problems.

Thus the answers handed down from past decades no longer satisfy. The search for new answers, and new political alignments, is what creates the loud rumblings on both left and right, as well as the malaise in the center. Plainly, the search has not yet resulted in any agreement on what those answers or alignments ought to be.

In a real sense, moreover, this verdict applies not only to this election but to a whole political era reaching back to the end of the Roosevelt years. The essential indecision of this era has been obscured by three elections reflecting little in the way of lasting political sentiment—the two personal victories of Mr. Eisenhower and the personal defeat of Mr. Johnson's opponent. The Truman victory in 1948, on the other hand, was so astounding many forget that the outcome was still in doubt the following day. And in terms of popular vote, the 1960 election was the closest in history, at least until Tuesday's cliffhanger.

Continuation of this indecisive era will create difficulties for the incoming President. Mr. Nixon will suffer a Congress controlled by the opposing party, as both Mr. Truman and Mr. Eisenhower did before him. Elected by the narrowest of margins, he will be unable to invoke his victory as sure evidence of public approval for his ideas. No doubt, too, he will find himself buffeted by further sharp shifts of public attitudes expressing the very uncertainty that helped elect him.

Yet the same indecisiveness gives Mr. Nixon a rare opportunity. This is the year in which the turmoil in the public mind has reached dramatic pitch. In part it reflects the sharp stimuli of the war in Vietnam and the riots in the cities. Conceivably, though, it also means the era of indecision is ripe for resolution.

The nation seems to be waiting for a leader who can start to define precisely what it is the public wants. If the new President can rise to that unique challenge, he can reap the unique reward of putting his stamp on the political alignments and the political relevance of a new era.

How it will work out in history depends on the incoming President's vision, skill and luck, but a potential is there. The mandate the American people have given him is that most tentative but most powerful sort. It will be what Richard Nixon can make of it.

11-7-68

Presidential Election - 1968

Rowland Evans . . . . Robert Novak

Nixon's Lost Chance: Why Margin So Thin

Inside Report

WASHINGTON.—The inconclusive and disappointing nature of Richard M. Nixon's eyelash victory Tuesday had its roots in the Nixon high command's refusal to heed a deadly serious warning issued fully a month before the election.

The warning came in a personal letter to John Mitchell, Nixon's authoritarian campaign manager, written by a Republican political technician skilled in the art of interpreting polling results. Noting that Nixon's national and state polls had been stuck at around 43 per cent for weeks, this technician suggested that Vice President Humphrey was in the process of picking up dissident Democrats (both Wallaceites and McCarthyites) and that Nixon must broaden his appeal or risk a cliffhanger on election night.

The letter was never even answered. Nor were other danger signals heeded during October from such key industrial states as Connecticut, where Nixon had seemed well ahead on Labor Day. In vain, Connecticut Republican leaders tried to get word to Mitchell that Nixon had failed to move disgruntled Democrats who now were in danger of returning to Humphrey.

★ ★ ★

WARNINGS OR NO WARNINGS, tough-minded John Mitchell was sticking to his strategy of combining the perimeter states of the South with the West and the most conservative industrial states. Any deviation from that script in the direction of wooing errant Democrats was regarded by Mitchell as foolishly romantic.

Indeed, during the last full week of the campaign, Mitchell demonstrated the inflexibility of his strategy. During Nixon's visit to Michigan Oct. 29, Governor George Romney himself thought he had talked Nixon into a stop at a Republican work project at additional congressional seats in a year of Democratic crisis. Since the party in the 3500 Woodward Avenue in the heart of Detroit's black slums.

But in a last-minute schedule change, the stop was canceled — on direct orders of Mitchell. He was not about to tolerate a deviation from his strategy that might endanger Nixon's strength in the perimeter states.

★ ★ ★

THE MITCHELL STRATEGY paid off in one sense on Tuesday. Nixon surpassed expectations in the perimeter states, capturing them all with the exception of Texas (where Humphrey's slim lead is still threatened at this writing) for 67 electoral votes, one-fourth of the 270 needed for election. Mitchell's no-nonsense, hardheaded approach, it can be argued, has made his man president.

But there are limits to hardheadedness in the opinion of state party leaders.

Perhaps Nixon would have been unable to improve on his humiliatingly poor performance with Negro voters (possibly less than 10 per cent) even if Mitchell had countenanced such efforts as the Woodward Avenue appearance in Detroit. But there was plenty of opportunity for Nixon to gain ground among "peace" Democrats, blue-collar workers and other elements of what had seemed a crumbling Democratic coalition.

★ ★ ★

THE FEELING IS STRONG among major state party leaders that Nixon has muffed a golden opportunity that comes to a political party but once in a generation. Against a Democratic Party that was tattered, demoralized only two months ago, Nixon was far too ready to coast to cautious victory.

Furthermore, these party leaders blame Nixon's campaign for the ludicrously poor Republican showing in picking up only four White House tends to lose seats at mid-term elections, the long-range outlook for a Republican Congress is bleak indeed.

Perhaps Nixon still can be midwife at the birth of a new-styled Republican Party, but only if he adopts a bold political strategy and leaves a post-election version of Mitchell's perimeter strategy far behind.

Memphis Press-Scimitar
11-7-68

Presidential Elections
Electoral College

Wall St Journal
11-7-68

Electoral College System May Be Changed Due to the Narrowness of Nixon's Victory

By FRED L. ZIMMERMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The narrowness of Richard Nixon's victory may finally spell doom for the nation's archaic and potentially dangerous method of choosing Presidents.

A major political crisis, which many Constitutional experts had considered highly possible, was averted by Mr. Nixon's capture of a small but clear-cut majority of electoral votes. But through the long hours of vote-tallying that kept the result in doubt until late yesterday morning, the situation verged on a deadlock that could have sent the election into the House, where chaos probably would have ensued while the Representatives were trying to pick a President.

That danger having passed, Congress is likely to devote major attention next year to overhauling the system. The reform proposal that has the most support is to replace the present Electoral College mechanism with direct, popular election of a President.

Devised in 1787

The indirect, two-step selection process in use today was devised in 1787 by men who thought the choice of a President was too important to trust to ordinary voters. Thus, instead of picking a President, voters choose a group of "electors" from each state, the number to be equal to that state's Congressional delegation.

These electors were supposed to be the best and wisest men available but today are mainly small-time politicians given the pro forma positions as a reward for party service. They vote for President following the general election, with a simple majority in the Electoral College being sufficient for election. Their vote takes place on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December, this year on Dec. 16.

Unlike what was envisioned by the Founding Fathers, however, the electors don't make an independent choice but merely ratify the popular-vote decisions in their states. Thus, in most elections the vote in the Electoral College has been a pointless, but fairly harmless exercise that doesn't have any bearing on the Presidential outcome.

What engendered all the fear of chaos this year was the possibility, made strong by the third-party candidacy of George Wallace, that neither Mr. Nixon nor Vice President Humphrey would receive in Tuesday's balloting a majority of the 538 electoral votes.

Wallace's Hope

That would have plunged the nation into a confused period of maneuvering aimed at the Dec. 16 Electoral College vote. The two other candidates—especially the one placing third—would have been pressured to yield their electoral votes to the front-runner, giving him an electoral majority. Mr. Wallace always hoped that during this period he could assume a crucial role as kingmaker.

In the event that none of the candidates swung his electoral support to another, the choice of a President would have been dumped into the House, whose members are a lively group of politicians capable of a rousing fight even over something as mundane as whether to waive the reading of yesterday's Journal of Proceedings. Twice, in 1801 and 1825, the nation has watched in near-panic as the House, amid great wheeling and dealing, has chosen the President.

Intensifying the confusion in an election by the House is the fact that each state would have one vote and that 26 votes would elect the President. This would make the lineup between Republicans and Democrats in state Congressional delegations crucial.

Although Mr. Humphrey ostensibly would have had the advantage, because Democrats control more state delegations than Republicans do, it was by no means certain that Southern Democratic Representatives would have voted for Mr. Humphrey—who ran third in many of their districts. Beyond that, some state delegations would be evenly divided (Tuesday's vote deadlocked the Maryland and Virginia party lineups in the House) and that would have increased the difficulty of winning a majority of 26 states' votes.

Few Defenders

Not surprisingly, hardly anyone defends the Electoral College system. But although reform proposals have kicked around Capitol Hill for years, the inertia that is endemic to the legislative process always has held them back. This year's widely publicized narrow escape, which some observers are calling a "civics lesson," may have made enough people familiar with the weaknesses of the present system so that Congress will be pressured into action.

Last year, the American Bar Association threw its considerable weight in such matters behind a proposal to junk the mechanism and provide for the election of the President on the basis of a direct, nationwide popular vote. Under the plan, a front-runner could be elected with at least 40% of the total popular vote. In the rare event that no candidate received 40%, there would be a runoff election between the top two.

Mr. Nixon previously has stated he favors the so-called "district vote" reform proposal, which would divide each state into electoral districts comparable to Congressional districts. The winner of the popular vote in each district would get its electoral vote, and two additional electoral votes would go to the winner of the state's popular vote.

IE WALL STREET JOURNAL, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1968

How the Crazy-Quilt Election Happened

By ALAN L. OTTEN

WASHINGTON—All year long—during the spring primaries and the summer conventions and the fall campaigning—the American electorate was given to doubt and confusion, characterized by spasmodic shifts in attitudes and opinions. It stayed that way right through Election Day.

The bulk of the nation cast its ballot for some sort of change, and in a generally conservative direction; the combined vote for Republican Richard Nixon and third party candidate George Wallace registered that feeling. Yet the last-minute surge in Hubert Humphrey's strength suggests that a surprising number of Americans finally decided they really weren't all that unhappy with the recent drift of national policy.

The Republicans gained a goodly number of Senate seats and governorships, again presumably a vote for change. Some of the GOP winners, however, were conservatives such as Senators-elect Edward Gurney of Florida and Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, while others were liberals such as Senators-elect Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania and Charles Mathias of Maryland. And there was almost no change in the lineup in the House of Representatives; the Democrats won a handful of GOP seats, the Republicans a slightly bigger handful of Democratic seats, and on balance the House results could be taken as a mandate for no change.

Contradiction

Mr. Nixon ran much more poorly than expected in the large industrial states of the Northeast and Midwest, but much better than expected in the border states. Mr. Wallace ran far below expectations in the border states and most Northern working-class areas, but still very strongly in the Deep South and in a good many rural and upper-income suburban areas of the North. Democratic machines performed miserably in some states, well in others; Negroes turned out in large numbers in the Northeast and South, but surprisingly poorly in some of the Midwest.

It was almost as though each state and each contest was unique, held in its own separate vacuum. The Vietnam war was surely a major issue everywhere, yet no one will ever be able to prove its impact very precisely. Notable Senate doves were defeated, such as Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania and, apparently, Wayne Morse of Oregon; notable doves such as William Fulbright of Arkansas, Frank Church of Idaho and George McGovern of South Dakota won handily.

Law and order was surely a major issue everywhere, yet again no one will ever be able to demonstrate exactly how it cut. It probably helped some candidates win—men like Mr. Gurney and Senator-elect Marlow Cook of Kentucky and Congressman-elect Lawrence Hogan of Maryland. But it didn't prove strong enough to beat Sen. Abraham Ribicoff in Connecticut, or to elect conservative Max Rafferty to the Senate in California.

Possibly the most surprising aspect of all the crazy-quilt results, though, is just how close they finally were—how far Mr. Humphrey advanced from the early September polls to the cliff-hanging finish at the ballot box. Factors behind this dramatic late surge help account for some of the other strange developments in Tuesday's voting; the closing Humphrey rush, for instance, served to save a good many Democratic Senators and Con-

impact for their anti-Wallace "enemy of labor" propaganda.

The fall-off in Wallace strength in Northern working-class precincts was "absolutely amazing," a top official of the Steelworkers Union says. He expected Mr. Wallace to poll between 18% and 20% among union members; he figures Mr. Wallace actually got 10% to 12%. A key United Auto Workers leader exults that "the Wallace thing really got clobbered among our people in Michigan. We really turned that around; he wasn't even in the ballpark."

But when all these credits are toted up to Mr. Humphrey's account, a few Nixon debits may have done more to bring about Tuesday's neck-and-neck finish.

For one thing, there was the early choice of Maryland Gov. Spiro Agnew as his Vice Presidential running mate. Politicians of both parties agree that Mr. Agnew's foot-in-mouth tendencies hurt the GOP ticket badly, particularly in the Northeast. Democratic speeches and TV and newspaper ads hit hard on the one-heartbeat-from the Presidency theme, and ridiculed the idea of "President Agnew." The contrast with the calm, rational style of Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Edmund Muskie tended to make the anti-Agnew effort all the more telling.

Mr. Nixon failed remarkably to stir any real enthusiasm among his own Republican supporters; reporters constantly noted that, beyond the first few carefully arranged rows of screaming high-school students, his audiences were stolid and unresponsive. Even the new Nixon may have seemed too mechanical and remote. Or perhaps too many citizens remembered his two previous losses, couldn't quite persuade themselves of his new-found electability, and hung back from too deep a commitment.

He was also damaged by an increasingly widespread belief among many voters that he was not discussing the issues, that he was talking only in vague generalities, that he was criticizing without offering answers. The belief may have been unfairly held—Mr. Nixon

was at least as specific on most issues as most Presidential nominees are—but it was discovered again and again by pollsters, and unquestionably hurt him. The refusal to debate Mr. Humphrey reinforced this impression.

In the final analysis, however, Mr. Nixon's biggest problem may simply have been the men and women who, when they finally came close to the voting booth, decided, "Dammit, I just can't vote for Richard Nixon." The Republican Party is, after all, a comparatively small minority party, and a GOP Presidential candidate must gain many Democrats and independents to win. For too many of these voters, the heritage of dislike and distrust of the "old Nixon" was too great.

A Tilt to the Right

Admittedly, Mr. Nixon didn't do too much to win them over. He apparently decided he had to tilt his campaign to the right to minimize Wallace inroads among Republicans and disaffected Democrats; particularly in the final weeks, he bore down hard on law and order, an arms buildup, and other themes hardly likely to win the votes of one-time Nixon-haters, however unhappy with Hubert. Mr. Humphrey and the Democrats worked hard to exploit this age-old animosity, with their "who can you trust" issue, and ads demanding, "Are you really going to sit there and let Nixon get elected?"

The anti-Nixon instincts may have been particularly important in gaining for Mr. Humphrey the lion's share of the workers deserting Mr. Wallace. While it might have been logical to assume they would merely transfer their protest votes from Mr. Wallace to Mr. Nixon, they apparently found their dislike of this Republican too deeply ingrained, and went all the way back to Democrat Humphrey.

So the confusion and contradictions continued right up to the very end. Now the question becomes whether President-elect Nixon, in the spring and summer and fall ahead, can begin bringing to the American political scene some measure of order and stability.

Midwest.

It was almost as though each state and each contest was unique, held in its own separate vacuum. The Vietnam war was surely a major issue everywhere, yet no one will ever be able to prove its impact very precisely. Notable Senate doves were defeated, such as Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania and, apparently, Wayne Morse of Oregon; notable doves such as William Fulbright of Arkansas, Frank Church of Idaho and George McGovern of South Dakota won handily.

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Possibly the most surprising aspect of all the crazy-quilt results, though, is just how close they finally were—how far Mr. Humphrey advanced from the early September polls to the cliff-hanging finish at the ballot box. Factors behind this dramatic late surge help account for some of the other strange developments in Tuesday's voting; the closing Humphrey rush, for instance, served to save a good many Democratic Senators and Congressmen written off for lost.

Certainly Hubert Humphrey had a lot going against him all the way. The nation was unhappy about the war, race riots and student protests and rising crime rates, high taxes and inflation. He had been the number two man in the widely berated Johnson Administration; the "time for a change" theme had instant appeal.

Traditional Democratic bread-and-butter issues were moving few people. Union workers and many other Democrats were talking about voting for George Wallace; many antiwar intellectuals were talking about not voting at all. The Democratic "Solid South" was surely lost either to Mr. Wallace or Mr. Nixon. The big-city organizations in the North were in advanced stages of decay (and Humphrey men were complaining bitterly yesterday about their poor performance Tuesday). Negroes were apathetic, still shocked by the Kennedy and King assassinations and urged by black militants to "Boycott, Baby, boycott."

The Chicago convention at which he was nominated was a public-relations disaster for Mr. Humphrey. The Democratic National Committee he inherited after his nomination was bankrupt and talentless, and he was slow in getting a new campaign structure organized and functioning. Right to the end, he ran a formless, disorganized campaign—wasting time at stops he should have skipped, lacking good men to whip state organizations into shape, dwelling on issues better avoided.

He had a particularly hard time figuring out just what to say about the Vietnam war and his own relations with Lyndon Johnson; his back-and-forth efforts to work out an answer merely built an image of a weak and vacillating politician. Early polls that showed him trailing damaged the morale of party workers and held down campaign contributions—and the latter in turn long limited Democratic spending for TV time, campaign literature, other essentials. To the very end, he stirred little real enthusiasm among his supporters.

The Dissidents

How, then, did Mr. Humphrey come as close as he did?

Almost alone among Democrats, he never gave up, but plowed happily ahead; eventually, his warm, extrovert personality began showing through the never-ending barrage of words. His Sept. 30 Salt Lake City television address, pledging a bombing halt if there were almost any hopeful sign from Hanoi, won back many dissident Democrats. The Wallace threat began stirring many Negroes from their apathy. As Mr. Humphrey picked up in the polls, more money started coming in, enabling newspaper and television advertising to be intensified in the closing weeks—and it was extremely effective advertising. The total bombing halt ordered by President Johnson last week won back most of the remaining peace-now holdouts.

The ebbing of Mr. Wallace's strength in Northern industrial areas was a major factor in the late Humphrey gains. Union leaders can't be sure whether the workers ever really intended to vote for the third-party candidate or were merely blowing off steam. But the pollsters back in September and early October were certainly reporting strong Wallace sentiment in Northern blue-collar areas—and the results simply didn't come in that way. Union leaders are inclined to take considerable credit for the turnabout, claiming strong

12-25-68

Pol - Ga (Election Returns)

Official Count Puts Wallace Total At 43 Per Cent in State-Wide Vote

American Independent Party candidate George C. Wallace wound up officially with slightly more than 43 per cent of Georgia's vote.

This was reflected in vote returns certified with the office of Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson last week.

The certified county-by-county returns are as follows:

County	Republican Party	Democratic Party	American Party
Appling	795	768	2678
Atkinson	268	666	1554
Bacon	586	279	1935
Baker	99	548	1067
Baldwin	2313	2102	2673
Banks	333	296	1434
Barrow	1372	1670	2731
Bartow	2045	2149	4052
Ben Hill	661	678	1833
Berrien	566	451	2810
Bibb	13490	10579	17308
Bleckley	756	396	2456
Brantley	237	317	1708
Brooks	589	787	2404
Bryan	381	560	1428
Bulloch	2113	1788	2953
Burke	1416	1676	1802
Butts	584	959	1490
Calhoun	234	697	979
Camden	751	1146	1938
Candler	552	507	1624
Carroll	3135	2326	6509
Catoosa	2013	901	6449
Charlton	332	455	1157
Chatham	16106	18201	17233
Chattahoochee	70	148	303
Chattooga	1087	1255	3024
Cherokee	2675	1434	3351
Clarke	5809	5543	2452
Clay	133	516	603
Clayton	8256	3502	11665
Clinch	304	334	1142
Cobb	18649	8755	17805
Coffee	1241	1331	3785
Colquitt	1882	1119	6325
Columbia	1636	165	2207
Cook	521	603	2438
Coweta	2142	1204	5791
Crawford	246	489	885
Crisp	535	1017	3271
Dade	613	282	2460
Dawson	50[illegible]	246	845
Decatur	749	1729	4576
DeKalb	52485	27796	23954
Dodge	1055	1230	2406
Dooly	454	879	1993
Dougherty	5611	3831	9317
Douglas	1843	1242	4159
Early	327	735	2797
Echols	53	56	533
Effingham	769	635	2561
Elbert	914	1216	3252
Emanuel	1297	1568	3397
Evans	543	492	1475
Fannin	3475	1529	1788
Fayette	867	551	1988
Floyd	7470	4103	10001
Forsyth	1389	647	2337
Franklin	716	766	2631
Fulton	64153	77847	30995
Gilmer	2074	690	1259
Glascock	185	47	733
Glynn	3725	3247	5341
Gordon	1815	1161	3077
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Twiggs	336	812	1167
Union	1221	974	906
Upson	1494	1480	3579
Walker	3664	1930	8725
Walton	1399	1552	4047
Ware	2047	2255	5895
Warren	406	582	767
Washington	1247	1443	2029
Wayne	1313	980	3422
Webster	72	147	494
Wheeler	251	488	934
White	762	435	1157
Whitfield	4848	2723	3954
Wilcox	381	465	1822
Wilkes	873	953	1709
Wilkinson	685	829	1870
Worth	602	719	3049
Totals	466611	334439	535550

Douglas	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Early	[illegible]	[illegible]	2397
Echols	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Effingham	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Elbert	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Emanuel	1397	[illegible]	[illegible]
Evans	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fannin	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fayette	[illegible]	[illegible]	1326
Floyd	7470	4183	10901
Forsyth	1389	617	2337
Franklin	518	763	2631
Fulton	64152	77637	36935
Gilmer	[illegible]	699	1350
Glascock	185	47	733
Glynn	[illegible]	[illegible]	5361
Gordon	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grady	561	[illegible]	[illegible]
Greene	652	1635	1223
Gwinnett	5350	3228	3999
Habersham	1641	1070	2065
Hall	4923	3174	5546
Hancock	381	[illegible]	1404
Haralson	1451	77[illegible]	3251
Harris	1021	1672	1851
Hart	586	979	3206
Heard	303	356	1153
Henry	2017	2317	3604
Houston	4235	2831	7339
Irwin	430	474	1955
Jackson	1139	1537	3473
Jasper	458	832	926
Jeff Davis	577	376	1953
Jefferson	1227	1890	2090
Jenkins	574	704	1240
Johnson	381	446	2041
Jones	693	1105	1770
Lamar	575	790	1440
Lanier	241	277	1024
Laurens	2738	3451	6649
Lee	386	673	1200
Liberty	592	1572	1365
Lincoln	408	491	1290
Long	156	574	1037
Lowndes	3073	2402	5679
Lumpkin	687	396	1048
Macon	598	954	1559
Madison	600	621	2529
Marion	186	247	849
McDuffie	1324	991	1709
McIntosh	315	943	341
Meriwether	1120	1769	2571
Miller	249	171	1362
Mitchell	731	1255	3647
Monroe	770	1028	1422
Montgomery	352	503	1433
Morgan	616	973	1391
Murray	1278	818	1750
Muscogee	11193	7591	15804
Newton	1660	1936	3017
Oconee	713	414	1405
Oglethorpe	383	483	1737
Paulding	977	1023	3054
Peach	904	1362	1638
Pickens	1659	677	1392
Pierce	579	507	2144
Pike	345	632	1442
Polk	1729	2007	4240
Pulaski	595	514	1569
Putnam	594	972	1177
Quitman	90	138	459
Rabun	680	590	1407
Randolph	502	1028	1433
Richmond	1493	11770	9532
Rockdale	1195	1213	2215
Schley	164	309	619
Screven	916	1411	1830
Seminole	201	369	1922
Spalding	3077	2949	4953
Stephens	1295	1035	2802
Stewart	233	489	932
Sumter	1383	1701	3489
Talbot	317	510	683
Taliaferro	232	678	508
Tattnall	852	957	3405
Taylor	393	691	1626
Telfair	720	1038	2502
Terrell	545	1275	1798
Thomas	2261	2583	5039
Tift	1692	1187	3942
Toombs	1397	896	3405
Towns	1492	770	539
Treutlen	474	341	1081
Troup	3239	2896	6232
Turner	419	412	1845

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Pres. Election - 1968

(Ga. final county vote)

Election - 1968

THEODORE H. WHITE

THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT 1968

NEW YORK
ATHENEUM PUBLISHERS
1969

But an even more formidable force than public opinion was coming to bear on the Wallace movement in October: the power of organized labor. Labor's support and labor's money had been essential to every Democratic national campaign since 1936—but never did those who

lead labor perform more effectively, more skillfully, with greater impact, than in 1968. In the near-miracle of the Humphrey comeback in October, no single factor was more important than the army of organized labor, roused to the greatest political exertion of its history.

In a sense, the challenge of Wallace had been a challenge to the leadership of labor itself. Their own membership polls had, as early as midsummer, shown Wallace picking up 25 percent of the labor vote in Pennsylvania, 32 percent in Connecticut, in Maryland even higher. By September, in Flint, Michigan, at the large Buick plant there, a poll of the 8,000 autoworkers in Local 599 showed Wallace outstripping both other candidates with 49 percent of the total; in Norfolk, Virginia, the Wallace challenge within the union was the springboard in an attempt to overthrow the local's internal leadership; in Pennsylvania, in Baltimore, in Gary, steelworkers were breaking to Wallace. Totally dismayed by the early confusion in Humphrey's headquarters in Washington, the AFL/CIO leadership considered its support of the Democrat and its drive against Wallace almost a mission of its own. "We had to do what we did," said Lane Kirkland, executive assistant of the AFL/CIO's president, "because the Party was bankrupt intellectually and financially. I reached the point where I said I'd never go into Democratic headquarters. I'd go in feeling good and come out feeling terrible. The only useful thing they did was television, in the last couple of weeks; and beyond that they didn't do a god-damned thing except cry."

Refusing to cry, the AFL/CIO set out immediately after the convention, therefore, for a classic exercise. The strategy was homely and time-honored: to register working people, then get them out to vote. But the results, effort and techniques were staggering. Volunteers card-punched names of union members across the country, by state, county and precinct. Computers in Washington digested names, spewed them out broken down by walking lists, arranged by street numbers; volunteers, trained by the Communications Workers Union, manned telephones; others rang doorbells. Appalled at the official Party's disarray, the AFL/CIO assumed responsibility for getting out the black vote—and set up special units, grinding out special literature and special appeals in thirty-one black communities across the nation. The dimension of the AFL/CIO effort, unprecedented in American history, can be caught only by its final summary figures: the ultimate registration, by labor's efforts, of 4.6 million voters; the printing and distribution of 55 million pamphlets and leaflets out of Washington and 60 million more from local unions; telephone banks in 638 localities, using 8,055 telephones, manned by 24,611 union men and women and their families; some 72,225 house-to-house canvassers; and, on election day, 94,457 volunteers serving as car-poolers, materials-distributors, baby-sitters, poll-watchers, telephoners.

Wherever an "unexpected" Humphrey surge developed, there, underbracing it, was the effort of COPE (the AFL/CIO's Committee on Political Education): in Pennsylvania, 492,000 voters were registered by COPE, 4,000 unionists were enlisted for house-to-house canvass detail; in Michigan, 690,000 voters were registered by COPE, and thirty phone banks with 275 telephones manned by 550 volunteers urged workingmen to vote Humphrey. One could trace labor's efforts all across the country: steel workers, packinghouse workers, auto workers in Illinois; auto workers, machinists and service trades in California; oil workers in Texas; garment workers, building trades and electricians in New York. (In New York, one of the afternoon rendezvous points of one group of union leafleters and canvassers was the front door of Nixon's headquarters on the corner of Park and 57th.) Though labor's expenditure of money was impressive—perhaps $10,000,000 for all political activity in 1968—more impressive, more useful for Humphrey were the manpower and the message.

By late October, labor's effort had begun to ravage the Wallace base in the North. Wallace as a "friend of the workingman" was a phony, ran the theme of the 20,000,000 pieces of specifically anti-Wallace literature distributed—his state was sucking off union plants from the North to fill them with non-union workers in the South; Alabama's child-labor laws were a mockery of decency; his Alabama was one of only sixteen states in the union with no minimum-wage legislation; his state ranked forty-ninth in the union in welfare payments to dependent children; his highway patrol was a union-busting outfit. If you're a bus driver, said the literature, you'd make thirty bucks less a week in Birmingham than in a Northern city; if you were a carpenter, you'd make forty bucks less a week; if you were a schoolteacher, you'd make $2,000 to $4,000 less in Alabama's schools than in the North. Thus, as Hubert Humphrey appealed to the consciences of white workingmen in the public squares and on radio and TV, labor's leadership drove home the split in conscience Humphrey's eloquence had wedged open by more direct appeal. A workingman could choose to go with racist George Wallace—but to do so he must desert all other traditional loyalties and his own interests; or he could choose to go with Hubert Humphrey and swallow Humphrey's attitude to the blacks. The argument began to tell on thousands; by the end of October even Flint's Local 599 had reversed itself and come out for Hubert Humphrey.

1-24-69
Presidential Election — 1968

Do The People Really Elect The President

By LEWIS HODGINS

During the last 144 years of our national history nine candidates for the office of President have been elected without receiving 50 per cent of the total national vote. This means we have elected nine minority Presidents — John Quincy Adams in 1824, Abraham Lincoln in 1860, Rutherford Hayes in 1876, Benjamin Harrison in 1888, Grover Cleveland in 1892, Woodrow Wilson in 1912, Harry Truman in 1948, John Kennedy in 1960, and Richard Nixon in 1968.

This last election is sharp in our memory, because the 1968 contest was a cliff-hanger down to the last bell. And when it was all over, out of a record total of more than 73 million ballots Nixon was the winner, but with only slightly more than 43 per cent of the national vote. To put it bluntly, almost 57 per cent of the voters didn't cast a single ballot for the Republican candidate.

In fact, Nixon defeated Humphrey by the insignificant margin of 449,704 votes out of a grand total of more than 73 million. But look at the electoral vote! Nixon received 302, Humphrey 191, and Wallace 45. Nixon carried thirty-two states, Humphrey won thirteen plus the District of Columbia, and Wallace triumphed in only five.

But in terms of the total, popular vote Nixon actually carried only fifteen states. This means that in thirty-five of our fifty states the new President failed to poll 50 per cent of the total vote in each state.

When we apply this equation to Humphrey, he had a clear majority of the popular vote in only five states plus the District of Columbia. As for George Wallace, he received more than 50 per cent of the total ballots in two states only — Alabama and Mississippi.

In other words, had the total popular vote been apportioned on the basis of the popular will Nixon would have received 79 electoral votes, Humphrey 39, and Wallace 17. Yet throughout the nation Humphrey was less than a half million popular votes behind Nixon, and he outpolled Wallace by a margin of more than three to one. Emphatically, it was a non-election. Nobody was elected.

As a matter of fact, you have to go back to the presidential election of 1912 to find anything comparable to what happened in 1968. In the 1912 presidential sweepstakes Woodrow Wilson ran far behind the combined popular vote of William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt. But Wilson won a stunning victory in the Electoral College where he collected a smashing 435 ballots. This is a clear example of the transparent fraud which is perpetrated on the American people by our electoral system for choosing the President.

Had George Wallace not entered the picture in 1968, who can tell where his votes would have gone? To Nixon? To Humphrey? That intriguing question invokes a very striking supposition as to what might have happened had Nixon and Humphrey faced each other in a run-off election.

So what is the lesson? It is that our archaic electoral system, no matter how hard you try to make it work, does not reflect the popular mood.

What is the answer? The popular choice must prevail. If no candidate can muster a clear majority of the total national vote, let the two highest vote-getters on the list compete against each other in a run-off election. Moreover, this formula should apply to every state, municipality, and township for any office whatsoever.

But even more important is the palpable injustice which permits a handful of professional politicians to hand-pick the nominees of each party. In a nation-wide presidential primary could Nixon defeat Rockefeller? Could Humphrey defeat Eugene McCarthy? For this is the only definitive way you can express the will of the people and thereby demonstrate genuine respect for the ideals of democracy.

This is not to insinuate that the Founding Fathers of this nation were scheming politicians who skillfully connived to deprive the ordinary voter of the full impact of his ballot. But it is wise to emphasize that they thought and acted within the context of their times when every condition of their national life was immeasurably different from the circumstances which prevail in America today.

The frustrating results of the election of 1968 imperatively demonstrate that the American people are sharply divided on many issues. A steadily increasing explosive situation could lead to some future political crisis of unimaginable proportions. So let this be such a warning to us that we insistently demand that nothing less than the will of the majority of the people shall be conclusive in the nomination and election of any candidate for any office anywhere in this country.

Unemployment Means Trouble

WASHINGTON, (PAI) — Retiring Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has warned that the "slums will explode" should there be a heavy increase in unemployment in the event of a slowdown in the economy.

In a talk with reporters who cover the Labor Department, Wirtz said that he was deeply concerned "about all this talk of cooling off the economy. With all there is to be done, a slowdown would be a confession that we don't know how to use our strength."

While acknowledging that the current rise of 4 per cent in the cost of living is a dangerous matter, he contended that price increases and even price controls if necessary would be preferable to a sharp rise in joblessness.

Missouri Teamster
1-24-69

Wall Street reports.

1-28-69 EV Protest — Student Study

CIA's Low Repute On Campuses Hinders Its Hiring of Scholars

* * *

Academic-Type Studies Account For Much of Agency's Work; Rules on Publishing Relaxed

By HERBERT E. MEYER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — "What the hell do they want—a stupid CIA?"

The outburst from an official of the Central Intelligence Agency expresses a growing Washington worry—that continuing opposition on American college campuses will impair the CIA's ability to provide the President with first-rate analyses of global developments.

It's widely known, of course, that reports of the CIA's clandestine financial aid to young people for travel behind the Iron Curtain, along with general anti-Government sentiment aroused by the Vietnam war, have made the agency extremely unpopular among college students. A CIA employe can expect rough treatment should his presence become known when he visits a campus to study or to brainstorm with faculty members. Less publicized but just as upsetting to some CIA officials is the increasing difficulty of recruiting high-quality thinkers from those faculties to serve stints with the agency.

That's what's behind the CIA policy reversal that now allows its agents to write books and magazine articles in which the authors' CIA affiliation is clearly spelled out. Let their prodigious academic prowess be displayed, the reasoning goes, and the agency's tarnished image among American scholars will be brightened.

CIA men deplore the unreal picture created by TV and paperback tales of espionage and derring-do. Though the real CIA has its moments of 007-style operations, they say, the bulk of its work would bore a James Bond type —yet is vital to the country.

Watching the World

Is the Soviet economy stagnating or booming, and will the trend continue? Are the nations of Southeast Asia apt to move closer to a China orbit or farther away? In what East European country is a liberal policy most likely to develop? The CIA is supposed to know what's going on in every country and what's likely to happen next.

You can't simply send in a spy and expect him to bring back the answers, the agency says. (In fact, "It's a safe bet that the Russians have their own people trying to figure out what happens next in Eastern Europe," one official remarks.) Instead, specialists comb through mountains of published material and

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first-rate analyses of global developments.

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You can't simply send in a spy and expect him to bring back the answers, the agency says. (In fact, "It's a safe bet that the Russians have their own people trying to figure out what happens next in Eastern Europe," one official remarks.) Instead, specialists comb through mountains of published material and transcribed broadcasts for scraps of information that might be pieced into an illuminating picture.

The work these scholars do at the CIA is not unlike the work they would do on a university faculty, except that their findings are passed along to the White House and State Department rather than to students and colleagues. Just as a businessman may go on leave from his company to work a few years for the Defense or State Department, so may a scholar take leave from his classroom to work for the CIA.

But the agency's bloody reputation for spying and revolution is deterring academic experts from taking the plunge. According to some university instructors (who prefer not to be identified), their administrators have passed the word that requests for time off to work for the CIA will be frowned upon. Says an instructor in Latin American affairs on a Midwestern faculty: "They've let us know we wouldn't be leaving with their blessings."

Under Suspicion

Going back to the campus after a CIA stint can be a problem, too. The feeling persists that there's no such thing as a former intelligence officer—that once a spook, always a spook. Thus, ex-CIA men are saddled with the suspicion that they're not entirely independent and that they may still have secret links with their former employer.

The agency's effort to erase these stigmata by permitting staff members to be openly identified when they write is already under way. One of the agency's China scholars, Charles Neuhauser, will soon publish, through Harvard University, a paper based on work he did while on a CIA study assignment at Harvard's East Asian Research Center. CIA Soviet experts William Hyland and Richard Wallace Shryock wrote the book The Fall of Khrushchev.

The agency says that these publications are in no way "official" CIA documents; they are independent work by employes and don't necessarily reflect the CIA's conclusions, just as publications by private scholars don't always jibe with university policy. The Khrushchev authors stress that they limited their source material to Russian newspapers and other journals—public information available to any private scholar with the time and talent to analyze it.

Universities are ideal sources of such talent, so the CIA tries to maintain close ties with the academic community. But it isn't easy. Says one bitter CIA official: "They kick us off campuses and tell us we're sick. But people afraid to work for their Government because they think it may hurt their careers—that's sick."

Wall St Jnl
Jan 28, 1969

Wall St Journal EV

Protest — Students

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1969

History's Lesson for Radical Students

By ELLIOT CARLSON

"The movement"—as today's youthful rebels like to call their loose federation—appears to have entered a new and self-destructive phase.

Lately, New Left youths at the University of Wisconsin denied lecturers the opportunity to speak on South Africa, and radicals at New York University refused the podium to a South Vietnamese minister. At Harvard, students denied the faculty the right to meet in private session. Black militants at Brandeis and Swarthmore seized and held university buildings.

Just a few days ago members of the Students for a Democratic Society, onetime champion of "participatory democracy," smashed a student placement office at Columbia University after they were blocked from halting military recruiting at the school. "We are showing the university that every time it helps the war in Vietnam we will exact reprisals," declared an SDS leader.

To young radicals, disruptions like these no doubt seem like innovative responses to a worsening political situation. But as its estrangement deepens and its tactics become more provocative, the youth movement itself, paradoxically, gradually seems less innovative—and, indeed, less novel.

The movement, to be sure, remains formless and elusive, a curious mixture of forces constantly in flux. Even so, it increasingly invites comparison with the ideological and emotion-charged youth movements of yesteryear that once shaped—not always for the better—European and Asian politics.

Pattern of Decline and Fall

Even though rebellious groupings of alienated young people seeking drastic change are new to America, they have been staples of European life. Such movements were frequently short-lived, suggesting a recurring pattern of decline and fall. Idealistic at the outset, they often gave way to disillusionment when youthful passions failed to correct the grievances of the ages. Many youth movements had profound effects, although they were often the opposite from those intended.

Generally, youth movements project a progressive and forward-looking appearance, and sometimes they approximate the stereotype. In the 1830s, students backed movements that helped win democratic constitutions in Greece, France and Belgium. At the same time there emerged "young" movements in Europe like Young Italy, Young Poland and Young Ireland—all aimed at expelling foreigners ruling their countries.

military successes in their country. To break down class distinctions and create a feeling of national unity, the Gymnasts wore gray shirts and emphasized physical regeneration. Rowdy and crude, they invaded and broke up lectures of professors they considered anti-national.

"The "gray shirts" were finally crushed after they collected the books of anti-nationalist writers and burned them in a huge public bonfire. But even though short-lived, they anticipated later youth movements that used the same techniques more effectively.

Though they may be influential for a time, youth movements seldom achieve their most cherished goals. The reasons are complex, but mostly they reflect the nature of youth revolt itself. For one thing, such groups are often unified by the naive faith that intractable problems—invariably identified with a morally suspect adult world—will yield in the face of youthful exuberance.

Despite their tender age, rebellious youths are perpetually in a hurry. They not only want freedom *now!*, they also seem to want perfection *now!* In their haste they sometimes recall the pitiful children's crusades of the early 13th century, when thousands of French and German youngsters converged upon the Mediterranean believing—incorrectly, as it turned out—it would divide and allow them to cross to proceed to the wars.

Unhappily, this impatience frequently breeds an intolerance and an indifference to the means by which change can be accomplished. When its "magic influence" fails to work, youth groups frequently yield to authoritarianism. In so doing, they often set in motion forces that contradict their own aims and speed their demise.

A case in point is provided by the Narodniks, the Russian youths who preached agrarian socialism among the peasants in the 18th century. For years the students were almost the only group to engage in demonstrations demanding freedom and economic reform. But in 1881 they sought to accelerate the process of reform by assassinating Alexander II. As a result they helped usher in a more extreme tyranny, that of Alexander III.

Apparently there is something in the chemistry of youth movements that militates against balance. Chinese students in the 1920s understandably viewed Confucianism, the classical language and family-arranged marriages as stultifying and out-moded. But they tended to limit the creativity of their impact with simplistic arguments. "The source of all evils is the force which destroys our personal individuality . . . and this force is our fam-

ries led by Benjamin Disraeli in the 1830s. Alarmed by the liberal spirit of the times, Disraeli and his followers sought to recreate in England a benevolent feudal system that never existed.

Later, the Wandervogel, the German youth movement of the early 20th century, modeled itself on the rambling scholars of the middle ages. Like youth groups today, the German movement was a protest against parents, commercialism and the allegedly dehumanizing effects of industrialism. Youths complained of sterile human relationships and the "atomistic individualism" engendered by industrialism and the growth of large cities.

As Peter Gay writes in "Weimar Culture," "Alienated sons sought out other alienated sons and formed a great 'confederation of friendship.'" To find haven from a fast-changing Germany, Wandervogel youths—equipped with rucksacks and guitars like today's hippies—took to the woods for long rambles and group singing.

More romantic than intellectual, "the movement" celebrated the simple life. One Wandervogel poster read, "All youth must combine to fight against everything that is rotten and corrupt in our society. . . . Come to our meetings as simple men and women; leave at home powder and paint and stupid fashions."

Rise of Militarism

But the easygoing Wandervogel groups were shattered by World War I, which deepened youth's disillusionment with the older generation. In the place of Wandervogel youths emerged the Bunde, a more disciplined set of groups that organized summer camps and war games and idolized the soldier. At the same time, post-war youth groups gave expression to the anti-rationalism and anti-Semitism that had been latent among the Wandervogel.

Despising liberalism as an alien creed, the German youth movement glorified the fatherland and national history. Emotional and confused, they were easily swayed by demogogues and "lofty missons" emanating from the lunatic fringe. Even while considering themselves superior, Bunde youths frequently conferred approval upon the Hitler youth, Nazi Party rowdies who broke up meetings of left-wing adversaries.

Boasted one youth leader: "German youth turns away from liberalism with nausea and especial contempt. . . . In the liberal man German youth sees the enemy par excellence." Longing for a herioc past, one youth journal noted, "We do not want to discuss any-

prisals," declared an SDS leader.

To young radicals, disruptions like these no doubt seem like innovative responses to a worsening political situation. But as its estrangement deepens and its tactics become more provocative, the youth movement itself, paradoxically, gradually seems less innovative—and, indeed, less novel.

The movement, to be sure, remains formless and elusive, a curious mixture of forces constantly in flux. Even so, it increasingly invites comparison with the ideological and emotion-charged youth movements of yesteryear that once shaped—not always for the better—European and Asian politics.

Pattern of Decline and Fall

Even though rebellious groupings of alienated young people seeking drastic change are new to America, they have been staples of European life. Such movements were frequently short-lived, suggesting a recurring pattern of decline and fall. Idealistic at the outset, they often gave way to disillusionment when youthful passions failed to correct the grievances of the ages. Many youth movements had profound effects, although they were often the opposite from those intended.

Generally, youth movements project a progressive and forward-looking appearance, and sometimes they approximate the stereotype. In the 1830s, students backed movements that helped win democratic constitutions in Greece, France and Belgium. At the same time there emerged "young" movements in Europe like Young Italy, Young Poland and Young Ireland—all aimed at expelling foreigners ruling their countries.

But youthful idealism is a capricious force that has been tapped by mountebanks as well as progressives. Guiseppe Mazzini, the Italian patriot who organized Young Italy, admonished: "Place the young at the head of the insurgent masses; you do not know . . . what magic influence the voices of the young have on the crowd. . . . Consecrate them with a lofty mission; inflame them with emulation and praise; spread through their ranks the word of ire. . . . Speak to them of country, of glory, of power, of great memories."

But not all the "lofty missions" with which youths have been consecrated have been progressive. Many youth movements have been downright reactionary.

Consider the Gymnasts, organized in 1815 by German students dismaped by Napoleon's face of youthful exuberance.

Despite their tender age, rebellious youths are perpetually in a hurry. They not only want freedom *now!*, they also seem to want perfection *now!* In their haste they sometimes recall the pitiful children's crusades of the early 13th century, when thousands of French and German youngsters converged upon the Mediterranean believing—incorrectly, as it turned out—it would divide and allow them to cross to proceed to the wars.

Unhappily, this impatience frequently breeds an intolerance and an indifference to the means by which change can be accomplished. When its "magic influence" fails to work, youth groups frequently yield to authoritarianism. In so doing, they often set in motion forces that contradict their own aims and speed their demise.

A case in point is provided by the Narodniks, the Russian youths who preached agrarian socialism among the peasants in the 18th century. For years the students were almost the only group to engage in demonstrations demanding freedom and economic reform. But in 1881 they sought to accelerate the process of reform by assassinating Alexander II. As a result they helped usher in a more extreme tyranny, that of Alexander III.

Apparently there is something in the chemistry of youth movements that militates against balance. Chinese students in the 1920s understandably viewed Confucianism, the classical language and family-arranged marriages as stultifying and out-moded. But they tended to limit the creativity of their impact with simplistic arguments. "The source of all evils is the force which destroys our personal individuality . . . and this force is our family!" raged one Chinese youth.

Rejecting China's past in toto, they helped undermine national self-confidence and, at the same time, any belief in the country's traditions. Student strikes and riots greatly weakened Chiang Kai-shek in the 1930s and aided the downfall of the nationalist regime after World War II. "Though the construction of a modern civilization was the proclaimed goal of the leading reformers, their efforts in this respect were overshadowed by their destructive activities," writes Ts'e-tsung Chow in his book, "The May Fourth Movement."

Some youth movements view the future with dread. Thus, a few groups mingled reform with nostalgia for an imaginary past, as did Young England, a coterie of dissident Today's hippies—took to the woods for long rambles and group singing.

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Boasted one youth leader: "German youth turns away from liberalism with nausea and especial contempt. . . . In the liberal man German youth sees the enemy par excellence." Longing for a herioc past, one youth journal noted, "We do not want to discuss anymore, we want only to act."

Even without a coherent philosophy, the movement helped shape the intellectual climate and contributed to the cynicism that undermined the Weimar Republic. Few youths were overt Nazis, but "nevertheless it remains true that the existence of the free youth movement greatly assisted the Nazis in their seizure of power," observes R. H. S. Crossman, the British writer and social critic.

He adds: "From Hitler's point of view, its vitally important function was to prevent the development of any concrete belief in freedom among the sons and daughters of what should have been the Weimar establishment."

Like radicals today, the German movement seemed trapped inside fatal contradictions. Suspicious of intellectual analysis, the German youths, like many New Left protesters, preferred romantic gestures and grand demonstrations.

Just as radical leader Tom Hayden today celebrates the New Left's "wariness of blueprints" and programs, a favorite slogan of German youth in the 1920s was "Our lack of purpose is our strength." Ultimately, both the New Left and German youths seemed to prefer the isolation of their own movements to the fashioning of realistic plans. As Walter Laqueur wrote of German youths: "Many members went through an emotional experience they believed to be incomprehensive to outsiders."

An End in Itself

New Left youths today seem to regard their movement with the same mystical reverence. The result is that "the movement" becomes an end in itself, from which it is a short step to the ethical nihilism and storm trooper tactics that are now familiar on campuses. Strangely, youth movements tend to transform themselves into what they fear most. In Germany, what began as a protest against an interest-motivated, atomistic and impersonal society, ended by smoothing the way for even worse evils.

In the U.S. today, New Left radicals seem similarly determined to belie their original slogans. Scorning police, New Left tactics brought the police to the campus. Practicing disruption, radicals have weakened the processes that protect the dissent they celebrate. Inadvertently, young rebels have helped move the country rightward.

Curiously, rebellious youths seem to be presiding over their own dissolution—and enjoying it. This perhaps wouldn't be such a bad thing if the young radicals did not insist on involving the entire society in their downfall. If the New Left rebels were less contemptuous of history, they would do well to heed Peter Gay's critique of the Wandervogel:

"Flight into the future through flight into the past, reformation through nostalgia—in the end, such thinking amounted to nothing more than a decision to make adolescence itself into an ideology."

4-67

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON POVERTY

PROTEST AS A POLITICAL RESOURCE

Michael Lipsky

DISCUSSION PAPERS

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WISCONSIN

New Republic KEN 12-16-67

challenge of the Draft Kennedy people in New Hampshire and the District of Columbia, to name two areas. Suddenly, in Chicago, a much broader effort surfaced. The New York drive has been extended to upstate metropolitan areas, which were well represented, and college centers. Forces are gathering in convention states such as Colorado, Iowa, Michigan and Minnesota, to name a few. In state after state, statewide meetings are being scheduled. Soon, the only part of the country left untouched will be the South, which had only a sprinkling of delegates at Chicago.

This brings me to another of those inevitable "ifs" that kept surfacing in Chicago – Senator McCarthy himself. Although he has been steadily escalating his campaign since the idea of actually running against President Johnson began to take root in his mind, a good many of his troops are, as I say, further down the road than he is. In fact, he still gives the impression from the podium (his Chicago speech was flat) that he is challenging President Johnson to a polite debate or, perhaps, a seminar instead of a no-holds-barred fight for the most powerful office in the world. Despite this, support escalates.

The problem is, Senator McCarthy doesn't seem quite prepared for it. His troops, already deeply committed, came to Chicago to get two things– marching orders and an idea of the funding they will have to carry them out. A couple of delegations went home disappointed because neither were provided. As of this writing, Senator McCarthy still hasn't selected a campaign manager (he's looking over a list of top echelon men), a fund chairman or a press secretary. This, of course, can be remedied easily. However, there is a danger that the nationwide organization put together by Lowenstein and his aides will be allowed to dissipate itself without proper leadership. This, considering the care with which it was assembled, would be unfortunate.

At Chicago, the delegates were acutely aware of one more thing. One issue – Vietnam – had brought most, if not all, of them to the Windy City. But other groups in the electorate are worried about other things – family farmers about the Administration's handling of the farm program, minority groups about the need for a greater commitment in the ghettos and along the migrant stream. These indigenous forces of radicalism must also be harnessed for the campaign. Wisconsin is a typical example. There, the McCarthy forces have real strength in three of 10 districts. Four more might be added overnight with the right appeal on the farm issue, thus giving McCarthy a real chance in the state.

In many respects, the Chicago weekend offered a study of the strengths and weaknesses of the McCarthy movement punctuated by a series of "ifs."

"If" the mood of the electorate is really such that a major effort can be made to deny renomination to President Johnson, a good start has been made.

This will be answered early – by the working-class Catholics in Massachusetts and, possibly, New Hampshire; by the farmers in Wisconsin and Nebraska; by the Negroes in the ghettos of Milwaukee and Boston; by the white-collar workers in the Boston suburbs.

If the answer is "yes, the mood is there," Senator McCarthy will assuredly return to Chicago next summer with a sizeable bloc of delegates inasmuch as the Democratic Party's structure, outside Chicago and a few machine-oriented states in the Northeast, is, at best, a shell. It wouldn't resist a massive, well-funded effort riding the crest of a voter mood. Thanks, in part, to the way President Johnson has run, or failed to run, the Democratic National Committee.

If that answer is "yes," one can expect top officials in the party to come forth as the months roll by.

Its long-range significance could be to recharge the batteries of a tired party structure and convert it in many areas into a vehicle responsive to the will of the electorate.

If Senator McCarthy accomplishes nothing more than this, he will have made a valuable contribution. Much now rests with him.

Even if all the "ifs" turn out right, he must still throw himself into a hard-hitting, personalized campaign that will arouse the interest of the voters if all this is to be translated into convention delegates.

The beginnings – but just beginnings – were to be found in Chicago the first weekend in December.

PAUL R. WIECK

Pol - 3P

Out West with Candidate Wallace

San Francisco

Puffing on a large cigar, George C. Wallace burst into the barber shop of the Sheraton-Palace Hotel. Two bodyguards rushed to cover the entrances. "The Governor" sat down in a marbled black and white swivel chair; a nervous Italian began snipping tiny ends off Wallace's black, greasy hair; a Swedish manicurist manicured his stubby hands; and an old Negro knelt before him to polish his shoes. Wallace talked:

"All these hoi polloi people who sit in their ivory towers strokin' their beards, what do they understand? I'll tell you these *folks* – workin' folks, barbers and manicurists – understand more about what's going on than any of these college professors. The barbers knew Castro before. They knew he was a com-

munist. Like this man. Didn't you know!"

"Yes, sir."

"Before it was in the newspapers."

"Yes, sir."

That evening, the man who four years ago said he meant to "determine in the next election who shall sit in the White House of these United States," met 1,500 people in San Francisco's Veterans' Auditorium. There was a church supper atmosphere. Folks were real friendly. Wallace arrived late, as is his custom. A huge Alabaman warmed up the audience ("We come to you with the slogan 'Stand Up for AME-R-R-RICA' "). Hand-lettered signs waved in the air: THROW THE RASCALS OUT. GOD BLESS AMERICA. GOD BLESS WALLACE. A preacher prayed "that we may hear and understand the great message we will hear tonight."

Fifteen Alabama Public Safety Department officers on state salary accompanied Wallace on this Western tour in late October and early November – all of them large men with their walkie-talkies and pistols strapped on shoulders or hips. There were demonstrators outside the Veterans' Auditorium, but two of the officers stood at the entrance screening arrivals. When the local police showed up, a sergeant ordered the Alabama guard to "let everybody in – you're in California, not Alabama." (Demonstrators don't bother Wallace. Bill Jones, his campaign manager, has written that during the 1964 presidential primaries, "They [pickets] were encouraged every way we knew how, short of endorsing what they were doing." Wallace needs them.)

"The Governor" opened up at about 20 minutes after eight. During the entire speech several bodyguards stood at far edges of the platform, their eyes running back and forth across row upon row of friendly supporters. Wallace, bent over the rostrum, a small pale man in a perfectly pressed suit, jabbed with his right hand as he addressed the crowd in that supercharged voice: "And so we see that the issue today in our country is that pseudo-intellectuals . . . don't have any confidence in the average man on the street." Then, his tongue curling around each syllable *"– the taxicab driver, the textile worker, the barber, the beautician, the little businessman, the big businessman."*

Pinpointed in a stream of light, Wallace could see only a vague field of upturned faces. There were few of *his* people – few taxicab drivers, barbers, or beauticians. Indeed, there were conservative church folk in solid-patterned suits and knee-hugging skirts; old people frightened by an America that has grown away from them ("I've been 46 years building up my home and I sell to who I want"); clean-cut kids; business people ("So many people are so wiped out after taxes"); and a few workers ("30 years ago the common man knew where he stood; I don't think he knows where he's standing today").

The villain in every Wallace speech is the "pseudo-intellectual." "Now most of these people don't even know what *pseudo* means," comments a Wallace aide. "But they'll get home, look it up in a dictionary, and remember." A good Wallace performance (his aides refer to each speech as a "performance") carries the audience to within an inch of action. "If the politicians don't watch out," he said in San Francisco, "you're gonna run over them. If they don't give you a choice I'm gonna come back to this fine state of California and we're gonna stir up something together!"

Almost before the last ripple of applause had died away, Wallace was in the back seat of a large sedan speeding for the airport. His car streaked onto the runway and stopped near the plane – an old DC-6 (rented in Texas), piloted by Wallace's long-time personal pilot (an Alabaman), and equipped with two gushingly hospitable former stewardesses (Texans). Silhouetted by auto headlights, Wallace walked up almost under the plane's belly, shook hands with the ground crew.

He was tired. At 48, he seems worn. He is hard of hearing – at press conferences, an aide usually stands behind him, repeating questions. As he entered the airplane an aide asked, "Governor, there's a policeman who'd like to come along for the ride."

"Why, sure, let him come along."

A dour-faced sheriff's deputy found himself an unwanted seat over the wing and looked ahead a dozen seats to where Wallace sat. "The Governor" was one of his heroes. Wallace greeted him, then turned to me.

"The little folks are sick of what's going on. All this rioting."

"Yes, I know," the policeman interjected. "I've got the hand to prove it," he said thrusting his open hand up before Wallace like an offering.

Wallace glanced at a pink palm with a festering cut, at the man's face, finally at me. "I know what this man thinks." He reflected for a moment, "Not his exact words but what he thinks." Then he headed farther down the aisle, not giving the policeman a chance to tell how he had been cut by bottle-wielding Negroes after a high-school football game.

In Sacramento, it was the same frenzied pace – morning television taping, noon luncheon address, afternoon TV program, an evening rally with an overflow audience. After the speech, the hotel switchboard was jammed as people called to ask how to switch registrations to Wallace's American Independent Party.

"The Governor" was elated the next morning; a local television station had announced that 68 percent of those voting in a telephone public opinion poll favored him for President.

But what would he do if elected? "Why I would first

stop foreign aid and I'd have a talk with our allies and say, 'If you expect us to be the first line of defense, you've got to be with us'."

"We don't think that freedom of speech gives one the right to advocate the victory of the Viet Cong," he said. That's the hypocrisy! If these anarchists would spend time fighting the Viet Cong instead of the police! I'm talking about Berkeley – big talk about open housing and then vote it down. Folks in our state don't understand a school system like Washington where there aren't any white people."

The conversation turned to demonstrations. What would he have done about the demonstrations at the Pentagon? Wallace, angry, raised a fist: "I'd take a billy club and I'd drive it two inches into their skulls!"

It proved a good morning for the candidate. An interview went well. The interviewer had scarcely time to phrase his complicated questions before Wallace was driving home his simple statements: "We have less nonwhite unemployment in Alabama than in California!" Fresno and a Rotary Club luncheon followed Sacramento. The Rotarians howled and applauded. When Wallace again appeared on television that afternoon, the commentator told him he was "doing the right thing."

At the Bakersfield airport about 60 greeters were on hand. It was turning out to be a real fine day for the Wallace crowd. Several aides commented on how friendly the town was. On reaching his hotel, Wallace hurried upstairs for the press conference. As he entered the room, he appeared somewhat taken aback. The place had the look of a theatre one hour before a performance. Fewer than a dozen reporters sat at several long tables before the podium. In the rear, a few cameramen fiddled with their equipment. An aide asked if they wanted to move up front. They didn't.

Finally, a reporter asked a question. Wallace's answer sounded as hollow as the question. Another reporter managed to phrase a question. Wallace replied. Long pauses. From the back of the room a woman reporter cried out: "What are the job opportunities for Negroes in Alabama?"

"Honey, you'll have to come a little nearer so I can hear you," said Wallace as he walked toward the girl. "What are the job opportunities for Negroes in Alabama?"

It was the question he needed. Wallace pivoted on his heels and hurried back to the podium repeating out loud, "What are the job opportunities for Negroes?" He was now the familiar, gutty, tenacious George C. Wallace, candidate for President, needing controversy as some men need liquor:

"We have more Negro college presidents in Alabama than you. . . ."

LAURENCE LEAMER

Alliance against Revolution

Training, Equipping the Latin American Military

by Zalin B. Grant

Seventy-two Green Berets parachuted last week into Panama's jungles. Their mission was to organize guerrilla forces for the deposed leader of Amanap, a mythical Latin American country. Amanap's pro-Western government was recently overturned by a military coup. When it turned out the coup leaders leaned toward Colonia, a nearby communist country, the old government took to the hills and called in the US.

That is the scenario from Seabreeze – Savage Follies I, an elaborate insurgency exercise involving the 8th US Special Forces and Air Force's 605th Air Commando Squadron now going on in the steamy jungles of Panama. In the face of the *real* war, the Special Forces' war games leaves one chillingly uncomfortable, especially the presumption that Green Berets would be called upon to organize guerrilla forces for a deposed Latin American government. In the past five years, nine duly elected civilian presidents have been deposed by military coups in Latin America.

Unfortunately, Seabreeze – Savage Follies I – illustrates the presumption that has marked foreign policy since 1961 when emphasis was shifted in Latin America from hemisphere defense to internal security. In 1959 an assistant defense secretary assured a congressional committee that the biggest threat to South America was "Submarine action in the Caribbean Sea and along the coast of Latin America." Under Kennedy, military aid and strategy abruptly shifted from the protection of coastlines to internal defense against Castro-type guerrilla warfare, and has been continued by President Johnson. Defense Secretary McNamara a few months ago told Congress: "The primary objective in Latin America is to aid, where necessary, in the continued development of indigenous military and paramilitary forces capable of providing, in conjunction with police and other security forces, needed domestic security."

There are at present three major areas of US military involvement in Latin America, outside the protection of the Panama Canal: (1) the US School of the Americas located in the Canal Zone, which turns out 1,400 Latin American military graduates yearly; (2) 8th Special Forces Latin American operations; (3) the

deed, rolled out the welcome mat for McCarthy. "It will get the blood racing a bit," chirped one. "Now, we've got some competition, some reason to get people to the polls."

THIRD PARTIES:

Wallace's New Math

Can a former truck driver who is married to a former dime-store clerk and whose father is a plain dirt farmer be elected President of the United States?

This soap-operatic teaser opens the latest in a blizzard of "position papers" that issue regularly from the headquarters of the American Independent Party in Montgomery, Ala. The putative rags-to-riches hero is, of course, George C. Wallace, and—with a stunning round-one victory in California behind him—there was no longer any need to tune in tomorrow to find out what the answer would be. George himself delivered it last week to a crowing band of followers at an oceanside Santa Monica hotel: "I think," he grinned, "that it's now a realistic possibility that I could be elected President."

And the ever-quixotic "assistant governor" of Alabama sounded a shade less implausible after scaring up more than 100,000 AIP registrations in a six-week, 120-speech blitz and thus plunking his backlashy third party on the California ballot. No one but Wallace himself and his hardiest followers really believe he might carry California. But then, hardly anyone thought he could coax the required 66,059 voters out of their regular parties and into the AIP either.

Louise? So Wallace and a claque of 250 converts turned his Santa Monica "press conference" into a victory party. He continued playing coy about whether he is really running or merely trying to whitemail one of the major parties into a states-rights conservative stance. "There are more chances that we will [run] than not," he deadpanned. ". . . Course, if one of the parties asked me to write their platform for them, that might be a good sign." Yes, he might hold a national convention, probably following the GOP in Miami or the Democrats in Chicago to "accommodate" the news media—and to make sure there are plenty of TV cameras around. No, he hadn't yet settled on a running mate (though there is talk in Montgomery that Louise Day Hicks, the Boston backlasher narrowly defeated for mayor last fall, may fill the bill).

Wallace's strategy—though always impromptu—was plainly evolving to suit his dreams of glory. Where once he planned some 1964-style mischief-making forays into the Democratic primaries, he insists now he will try to get directly onto the November ballot in all 50 states. (Or at least 49: not even Wallace expects to collect the impossible 433,100 signatures needed to qualify a third party in Ohio.) After that, the arithmetic becomes downright hypnotic. "With three candidates in the race," says that "position paper," "Wallace would need only 34 per cent of the vote in any single state if the other two candidates split the remaining 66 per cent." Or, failing that, he might at least win enough electoral votes to throw the race into the House of Representatives, where he could swap his holdings for a "solemn convenant" to ease up on Federal pressures for integration.

Ultras: A dreamer, indeed, could almost forget the minuses in Wallace's new math. His fifteen-man headquarters staff—plus the hired help he regularly conscripts out of the Alabama State Government—hardly amounts to a national campaign organization. Nor do the fringe right-wingers who frequently volunteer for his state committees. His California campaign took wing only after he jettisoned some extremist backers. But prominent among his supporters even now are some Minutemen in Missouri, a Ku Kluxer in South Carolina, a John Birch majority in the Washington State Wallace campaign committee. So thickly involved were the Birchers in Nevada, in fact, that one outraged lady volunteer burned a ballot petition with more than 1,000 signatures. In American politics, a man blessed with ultras for friends hardly needs any enemies. And for Wallace particularly, their presence suggests what the polls already seem to confirm: that George figures to steal most of his votes from the Republican right—and thus contribute richly to the re-election of his bête noire, Lyndon Johnson.

Yet Wallace clearly had the bug, and not even the chancy health of his wife and current employer (at $1 a year), Gov. Lurleen Wallace, seemed likely to keep him home. Lurleen, operated on twice for cancer in the past two years, disclosed last week that doctors have found yet another thumbnail-sized growth in her pelvic area and have ordered cobalt therapy. But Wallace has already begun assuring callers that Lurleen would want him to carry on despite her illness. The sometime Alabama truck driver can already hear the bands segue from "Dixie" to "Hail to the Chief," and he is not the sort to quit with that kind of music in his ears.

■ There was a crowning irony in Wallace's California triumph: it gave the state's New Leftists a bogeyman scary enough to fuel an eleventh-hour drive for signatures and, by unofficial tallies, put their Peace and Freedom Party on the ballot, too.

Associated Press

Wallace in California: Happiness is a place on the November ballot

DISSENT:

The Law and Dr. Spock

Famed pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock, one of the fixtures of the peace movement, has regularly been in the vanguard of recent anti-draft demonstrations and just as regularly taunted the Federal government for doing nothing about it. Last week, the government moved to take him off the protest line: a Federal grand jury in Boston indicted the 64-year-old baby doctor and four others on charges of conspiring to disrupt the operation of the draft.

The grand jury charged Spock and the others—including Yale University Chaplain William S. Coffin Jr., 43, and novelist Mitchell Goodman, 44—with committing several overt acts of conspiracy. Among them: participation in a Boston rally last October, when a number of draft cards were collected to be turned over to the Justice Department, and distribution in New York last August of a statement entitled "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority." If convicted, the men could receive up to five years in prison and $10,000 fines.

The action brought an immediate round of applause from the Selective Service's crusty chief, Lt. Gen. Lewis Hershey, an unabashed advocate of stern measures against resistance to the draft. "Certainly if anyone is counseling people [to evade the draft] that ought to be stopped," he said. The defendants themselves, who had regularly sought a

1-29-68 Pol. - 3rd Party

CALIFORNIA RUNS THE GAMUT

PHIL KERBY

Los Angeles

The day after it became apparent that the Peace and Freedom Party had qualified for the ballot in California, the party's youthful leaders held a press conference at their grubby, one-room headquarters on West Pico Boulevard in Los Angeles. As the session neared its end, a young volunteer edged his way over to the table where the party organizers were seated and suggested, "Why don't we tell the reporters what we think of them?" Amid laughter, one of the organizers answered, "That wasn't on the agenda, but as long as it has come up, maybe we should talk about it." And they did—impartially charging newspapers, radio and television with neglect of the Peace and Freedom Party and with consistent bias in favor of George Wallace and his American Independent Party (AIP). One party leader summed up to the satisfaction of his colleagues: "Look, you didn't know what was going on. You thought we were just another bunch of kooks."

The denunciation had a familiar ring to reporters who had covered another news conference ninety minutes earlier in nearby Santa Monica, where Wallace, celebrating the newly won legal blessing for his American Independent Party in California, taunted the newsmen for underestimating his strength, and one of his supporters yelled, "Tell *that* to Huntley and Brinkley." The prophets of journalism had offended both ends of the political spectrum—by predicting that neither had much chance of collecting the 60,059 registrations required under California law to get on the ballot.

Wallace's achievement was the less remarkable. His supporters had waged a campaign at an acknowledged cost of "hundreds of thousands of dollars." (Some estimates put it at $1 million.) A nationally known and controversial political figure, he got lavish news coverage

and appeared on numerous television programs. By contrast, the Peace and Freedom Party, lacking a "name candidate" or any candidate at all, and scrounging for nickels and dimes, was largely ignored. As late as mid-December, hardly anyone, including its organizers, expected the party to qualify, although several thousand students fanned out over the state during the Christmas holidays to pick up registrations. Then, ironically, the Wallace headquarters, by announcing in the last week of December that its drive had been successful, supplied the Peace and Freedom Party with vital, last-minute momentum. Thousands of dismayed liberal and left-leaning Democrats registered with the party.

These two dissident political movements, sprouting in the fertile soil of California, are now heading in opposite directions for the New Jerusalem, each confident that it has correctly linked its goals with the aspirations of the American people and both proclaiming eventual success. Extreme opposites in political and personal philosophies, they have in common a deep sense of alienation from the main current of events and a hatred of the Establishment, which they both define as the "liberal establishment." An ultraconservative member of the California Republican State Central Committee, who threatens to bolt to Wallace if the GOP nominates "some idiot like Rockefeller or Romney," put the proposition simply: "The real conservatives are sick and tired of the goddam left-wing liberals that run this country." Read "radicals" for "conservatives" and that statement accurately reflects the sentiment of the Peace and Freedom Party. Leaders of both parties label themselves "the wave of the future," and both factions are certain that if the news media would only deliver their messages, uncorrupted, to the public, the response would be immediate and favorable.

The Peace and Freedom Party, although now qualified for the California ballot, is an organization in name only. Contemptuous of the power structure, which inevitably it describes as "the white power structure," disdaining political organization and all forms of authority, the party must nevertheless create its own power structure if it is to have even short-term political influence. Its leaders, mostly under 30, recognize this and have issued a pronouncement remarkably like those from the two major parties. The party's immediate plans are to (*1*) solidify the state-wide organization that put the party on the ballot; (*2*) plan a state-wide convention, probably in San Francisco in March; (*3*) look for potential candidates prior to the convention; (*4*) approach groups with similar goals in other states, and (*5*) raise money to pay for these activities.

The party's first post-registration planning session, January 6 and 7 in Pasadena, demonstrated its free-floating character. On two days' notice, 200 persons hastily gathered in a Friends Meeting House, which proved to be an appropriate setting. Most of them spoke when the spirit moved them and many encountered the mysterious Robert's Rules of Order for the first time. They devoted the first two hours to a jumbled debate on a motion to exclude the news media. One earnest delegate from Marin County commented, "This is contrary to everything we stand for." But another, trembling with sincere animosity, said, "We should kick the press out and later give the reporters only what we want them to know." Finally, they reached a compromise whereby reporters were to be banned from the initial session, but admitted later. Except, that is, for TV: the delegates agreed that the presence of cameras inhibited frank discussion. As it turned out the argument was premature; the press ignored the session.

In the argot of the hippies, the temporary chairman said: "We'll just rap around for a while, get acquainted, and shed some of our hostilities." A sympathetic observer, evidently gifted with extrasensory perception, reported that the "rap around" interlude served "to define, clarify, sort out and give priorities to a multitude of issues," which nevertheless remained nebulous, unranked and unclarified. The problems of homosexuals got sympathetic attention. It was agreed they were discriminated against, along with students, women and the poor. Vietnam was scarcely discussed, perhaps because there were no differences to provoke comment. The session devoted several hours to "the movement for black liberation," but the only tangible result of the meeting was the appointment of a steering committee to prepare another planning session which, in turn, would work out the specifics of a state convention.

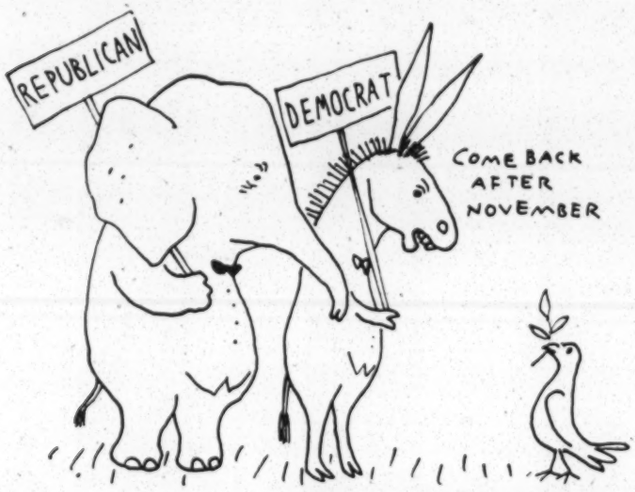
The Peace and Freedom Party totally rejects the war in Vietnam and strongly identifies with the struggle of the blacks, but it also represents a third impulse which may in the long run prove equally significant. That impulse is a flat rejection of conventional two-party politics and a disaffection with "liberal materialism." The movement has the potential to become the base of a new and revitalized Left in the United States to counterbalance the extreme Right. But despite its unexpected success in becoming a legal political party, the Peace and Freedom Party has today an aura of surrealism. It is principally white and middle class; it has no working-class base and its connection with the black community and other minority groups is tenuous.

The party's attitude toward the old Left is one of bored tolerance, but nothing succeeds like success, and since January 2 the handful of public Communists in California have been circling around the Peace and Freedom Party, offering their counsel as elder statesmen of political adversity and ostracism. They began with a *mea culpa* in the *People's World*. Last spring in California, talk of a third party on the Left had met with amused disbelief that anything much could be accomplished. "Among those who held these views," said the *People's World*, "were representatives of the Marxist Left, including members of the Communist Party." That was a mistake, the paper concluded, and explained that Communists, working fraternally within the Peace and Freedom Party, could have nudged the party along in the proper direction. They "could have pointed out to third party activists and Democrats alike the complementary nature—in the immediate future—of this third-party drive and the California Democratic Council-sponsored Peace and Equality slate." Briefly put, a united front against the war in Vietnam could have been formed with

anti-war Democrats, an echo bouncing across the years from the 1930s.

Peace and Freedom leaders, "doing their own thing," are tuned out to the message. When aging Communists and well-meaning liberals of FDR vintage attempt to talk coalition politics with them, their eyes glaze. The Communist appeal for cooperation with all anti-war movements brought this comment from one of the Peace and Freedom recruits: "To many who have participated in the successful Peace and Freedom campaign this will seem like the impossible riding of two horses going in different directions and may lead to a continued isolation of the C.P. from the peace party."

Shunting the Communists aside, not from any fear of association but because they see communism as square, Peace and Freedom leaders are regarded as a little square themselves by many of the black militants whom they court. The party wants to broaden its appeal by engaging



Abu, The Tribune (London): Ben Roth

the active support of the blacks, and they have had a limited success, despite their rupture with a black caucus last September in San Luis Obispo. At the party's first organizing conference, the blacks, following the example set at the New Politics convention in Chicago (see *The Nation,* September 25) demanded 50 per cent of the voting strength. When this demand was rejected, the blacks walked out. The few Communists who were present, accusing the peace party organizers of racism, also withdrew. Since then, the Peace and Freedom leadership has made continuous overtures to the blacks, joining, for example, in the defense of a Black Panther Party member accused of murder. While many militant Negroes spurn electoral politics, they are willing to cooperate with radical whites on the basis of Stokely Carmichael's dictum of specific coalitions for specific purposes.

If Peace and Freedom leaders, as surprised as anyone else by their recent success, have yet to devise a specific program, the American Independent Party, defining the central issue as "the power of government to compel social change," outlines a simple, four-point policy: defense of individual property rights, local control of schools, maintenance of law and order, and the right of labor unions to decide their own patterns of seniority. All this reduces itself to opposition to black demands for equality; in brief, racism. Property rights means the right to exclude blacks from owning property in white residential neighborhoods; local control of schools means segregation on the basis of color; law and order means suppression of black riots; union seniority means exclusion of blacks from equal treatment by unions. A strong current of neo-America First isolationist sentiment divides AIP supporters on the war in Vietnam. To them, the great issues are race and the power of the "liberal establishment," as they view it, to force social change.

Youngsters who will vote for the first time this year make up perhaps 30 per cent of the Peace and Freedom Party. Spin-offs from the liberal California Democratic Council and miscellaneous older radicals make up the remainder of the 90,000 registrations claimed by the party. The disgruntled and fearful middle-aged dominate the Wallace rallies in California, although all Wallace supporters cannot be put into this category or necessarily be labeled extremists. Many business and professional men of seemingly moderate views favor him, and he has been warmly received by several civic groups, including the prestigious Commonwealth Club of San Francisco.

Wallace has drawn heavily for leadership in California on ultraconservative Republicans, who have found even Ronald Reagan too liberal. A half dozen members of the Republican State Central Committee have defected to Wallace, and more members of other Republican organizations are likely to follow. Wallace's biggest concentration of strength is in Los Angeles County. When his party registration reached 71,000 in December, 33,000 signatures had been obtained in Los Angeles County and 17,000 in other Southern California areas. At that point, the AIP had 12,000 registrants in the Central Valley and mountain counties, but was weakest in the San Francisco Bay area, with 9,000 registrations. Wallace's total now approaches 100,000, but his relative strength in various areas of the state remains the same. In one small community of south central Los Angeles Co., Bell Gardens, the AIP outnumbers the major parties in registered voters. The figures are: AIP, 3,058; Democratic, 2,875; Republican, 1,291. Wallace scored his greatest success in white working-class residential areas adjacent to the black ghettos. Where Wallace is weakest, around San Francisco, the Peace and Freedom Party makes its greatest appeal, registering some 40,000 voters, a figure about equal to the number obtained in the more heavily populated Los Angeles Co. The Berkeley campus of the University of California, with 5,000 registrations, is Peace and Freedom territory. Aside from the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas, adherents to the party are scattered thinly about the state.

Wallace makes his greatest mass appeal in California to transplanted Southerners, who are Democrats in name only. They generally are more conservative than the average California Republican, and bring with them their conventional racial prejudices. In moments of optimism, Wallace supporters dream of a new political combination

in this country, an alliance of the South with the industrial workers of the North. While the writings of Walter Lippmann are infrequently displayed on the coffee tables of Wallace supporters, they have read with generous approval his recent article predicting the smash-up of the New Deal coalition of workers and minority groups (see also "The New Tide of National Politics" by Edward Schneier; *The Nation,* January 22). Wallace says his candidacy will hurt both major parties equally, but in California he is likely to take more votes from Republicans than from Democrats. A hard-line conservative Republican predicts that if his party runs a liberal candidate for President, Wallace "will take the entire right wing of the party and will run ahead of the Republican candidate" in California. The wish may be the father to that unkind thought, but there is no doubt that the Alabamian arouses a rumbling growl of approval from the right wing.

Neither the Peace and Freedom Party nor the AIP expects a large part of its following to defect to the major parties when the chips are down in November, and both discount the twenty-year-old precedent of Henry Wallace and the Independent Progressive Party. At the last moment, much of Henry Wallace's support flopped over to Truman. This history may not repeat, for today dissidents both Left and Right are more thoroughly disaffected from "the system," because of the war and racial rebellion, than were the progressives and the South two decades ago. Sighting from diametrically opposed positions, Left and Right nevertheless agree that they find great difficulty in detecting any difference between the positions of the major parties.

Wallace supporters will exert what influence they have solely through his candidacy for President. The Peace and Freedom Party will nominate a Presidential candidate, but also plans to enter candidates for local, county and state offices. This will probably require a court challenge of the state election code, which states that a party's candidate must have been a member of that party, and no other, for twelve months prior to filing for office.

Whatever difficulties they face, the two new parties have no monopoly on problems. Since 1964, California Democrats have groped, grouped and regrouped in wild confusion. The volunteer California Democratic Council has split from the regular organization and is about ready to announce its anti-Johnson peace slate of delegates for the National Democratic Convention. Last month, the CDC endorsed Sen. Eugene McCarthy. Attorney General Thomas Lynch, the only Democrat in a state-wide office to survive Reagan in 1966, will head the pro-Johnson delegation. If Lynch can fit together a happy group, including such feuding figures as former Gov. Pat Brown and Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, he will have accomplished one of the neater political tricks of the year. (The division in the Democratic Party is exemplified in the former Governor's family. While Brown will be on the regular delegation, his son, Edmund, Jr., is a member of the CDC peace slate.) It is not at all certain that the regular slate will be able to defeat the CDC delegation, particularly if McCarthy's campaign produces any enthusiasm.

On the Republican side, Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel has been running for renomination for the past year, and Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, has been pacing back and forth in his office, hooting at him. Reagan, intent on parlaying his 1966 triumph into the Republican Presidential nomination, wants to avoid a disruptive party struggle, but he has not had much luck in trying to quiet Rafferty. A Rafferty-Kuchel brawl will be a test of the ultra-Right's strength in California.

Theodore Roosevelt's old epithet, "lunatic fringe," is usually applied in this country to any departure from the political norm. But if splinter-party efforts, whatever their origin and philosophy, take on that quality, they may have come by it quite naturally from the lunatic Center, which usually shoves aside debate over great issues like war and race in favor of electioneering razzle-dazzle. The growing distrust of politics in American life, particularly among the young and the minority groups, is hardly evidence of mental instability.

Armed Forces

THE BLACK HESSIANS

CHARLES R. EISENDRATH

Mr. Eisendrath is a reporter on the Baltimore Evening Sun. *He has recently returned from army training in the Maryland National Guard.*

Along with new assault helicopters, new infantry tactics and new questions about victory and defeat, the "New Kind of War" in Vietnam has bred a new kind of American soldier.

He has been extracted from the urban Negro ghetto by choice, chance and policy, and is being psychologically custom tailored for his war. The result is a semi-mercenary, fighting a campaign characterized by critics and advocates alike as carrying overtones of colonialism, in effect, if not intention. And, like his war, the new kind of American soldier responds to analysis by shattering into paradox.

His family and neighbors of civilian life mount the most militant reform movement in recent American history—one which in annual, incandescent fury flattens whole precincts—but abroad he fights the most conservative of wars. He fights, moreover, as a volunteer—a professional—returning for more than his share of front-line duty in numbers proportionately far greater than his white comrades.

Consequently, he dies in greater numbers. Department of Defense figures indicate that he dies almost twice as fast in the army as he should, statistically. Twelve per cent of the army in Vietnam are Negroes. Twenty-one per

WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT

Pol · 3rd Party

History's Most Radical Major Campaign?

By REESE CLEGHORN Atl Journ 2/12/68

A STRANGE array of people on the outer fringes of rightwing political extremism was kept out of sight when George Wallace formally announced his third-party candidacy for president.

Wallace made his announcement in Washington. He went there to seek out the national press (which he constantly maligns) and because an announcement from Washington would lessen the sectional flavor of his candidacy.

He has worked hard to prevent this from looking like a Dixie "states rights" campaign of the kind that has always been inconsequential. (Strom Thurmond, running on a third-party ticket in 1948, made no impact at all outside the South). Wallace wants to persuade people he is popular in every state.

His particular brand of demagogic appeal does, of course, strike a response outside the South. He plays on fears and bigotry, and it should be clear to everyone now that the South is not the only part of the vountry where these are to be found.

So we must call this a major national presidential campaign.

* * *

AS IT MOVES ALONG, Wallace is going to be pushed to explain the extremists who are behind him everywhere he goes. Many are people Barry Goldwater would have been quick to disown, even with his reluctance to attack the extreme right. Wallace shows no interest at all in publicly disavowing them. In fact, in its early phase his campaign has been built upon them.

He could have rejected his Ku Klux Klan helpers, as any responsible candidate does if they begin to gather around him, but he has not. He will not reject, either, the collection of professional haters, anti-Semites and extremists of other kinds who have been playing important roles in his campaign.

They can be turned up by the score.

* * *

SOME OF HIS EARLY campaign planning was at a meeting on Nov. 8, 1965, in Montgomery with Ned Touchstone, Richard Cotton and John R. Rarick (then a Louisiana state judge and now a congressman). The Louisiana Citizens Councils publication, The Councilor, later reported the meeting was to "push Wallace as a realistic leader of pro-Constitution Americans."

Touchstone, whose plans for a "Draft Wallace" movement must have had either Wallace's approval or his acquiescence, is widely known because of the crude racism and anti-Semitism of The Councilor, which he edits. Cotton is a radio commentator whose views are far beyond simple arch-conservatism; he sees a "Zionist-Jewish conspiracy" behind every bush and works with some of the nation's leading hate peddlers. Rarick has interesting allies. His congressional campaign organization included such nationally-known extremists as Col. Curtis B. Dall and Lt. Gen. Pedro Del Valle.

* * *

A PROMINENT FIGURE in Wallace's campaign, as an aide, speech writer and organizer of Wallace-for-President clubs, has been "Ace" Carter. He was often in the news in the past as organizer of a Ku Klux Klan in Alabama and leader of a Citizens Councils splinter group there that made the main Citizens Councils organization seem mild. Carter moved, very simply, from being a professional race propagandist to being a leading Wallace helper.

Outside the South the story has been much the same, with some shades of difference in the kinds of extremists involved.

* * *

IN OHIO, THE GEORGE Wallace Christian Conservative Party was the first group to promote the Wallace candidacy. Its headquarters, and the offices of a statewide Ohio-for-Wallace group, were in a book store that distributed the most rancid propaganda of the radical right.

A key figure in the effort there has been a man who advocates sending Negroes to Africa and who believes all Jews are Communists. Racism of the wildest kind, rather than government and politics, is the chief interest of this band of Wallace supporters.

* * *

IN MISSOURI, ONE OF the leading Wallace people is the Rev. Bill Beeney of St. Louis. He sponsored the appearance of former Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma, Ala., when he was in Missouri as the campaign organizer. Beeney's splinter, the Counter Revolutionary Organization on Salvation and Service (CROSS), has promoted the distribution of weapons to be used to combat uprisings.

Representatives of the Patriotic Party, political arm of Robert DePugh's para-military Minutemen, also have had leading roles in the Wallace effort. Last year that party chose Wallace as its presidential candidate.

John Birch Society members have had the leading roles in Wallace organizations in many states.

* * *

WALLACE HIMSELF HAS seemed to have no hesitation in allying himself with the most extreme fringes. Last April he was keynote speaker at the annual convention of the Congress of Freedom. Other speakers included such professional extremists as Mrs. Opal Tanner White, who is Gerald L.K. Smith's secretary. (Smith himself, the country's best-known professional hate peddler for three decades, organized a Wallace committee in California.)

The list is endless. The motivation is as clear as Klan Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton made it: "We made him governor and we must make him president."

Wallace has not disavowed these campaign workers, and probably he cannot afford to. Despite his success in rephrasing extremism so that it sounds respectable to many, what all this adds up to at this point is, in many ways, the most radical major presidential campaign in the country's history.

T.R.B.

from Washington

Pol. 3rd Party

New Republic 2/17/68

The Spoiler

★ The husband of the Governor of Alabama has been in town preparing for his presidential run as a spoiler. We think you should take Wallace seriously. This fall the public is going to be jittery. The rising frustrations of the ghettos and the anti-Negro, so-what, attitude of the whites (*vide* Congress) are on a collision course. It's going to be a red hot election summer. Wallace may carry five or six states.

This means that one of the two conditions for throwing the presidential election into the House of Representatives is present. The first condition is for a strong third party. A Harris poll in January said Wallace would get 12 percent of the vote in a LBJ-Rocky three-man race. We don't for a minute believe that. Strom Thurmond got only 2.4 percent in 1948. But Thurmond carried four states. The shift of .6 percent of votes in two states would have put the election in the House.

We suspect the Wallace third party in 1968 is going to do better than that. So that fulfills the first condition.

The second condition is that the race between the two leading candidates is close. That's a *must*. The election goes into the House only if nobody gets an absolute majority of electoral votes (270 of the 538). If the winner gets an electoral landslide, of course, this won't happen. But if it is close, Wallace gets 50 electoral votes, say, (Thurmond got 39), then it's an unelection: the House gets it.

The public is slowly beginning to understand this and that if it goes to the House the vote is by states, one state, one vote – Alaska and California the same. Even many editorial writers begin to grasp this. But the crucial third point very few understand.

This is that the same circumstances that give the third party candidate (in this case Wallace) power to put it into the House *also probably give him the power to determine the outcome when it is in the House.* He has the marginal electors that prevent Messrs. Johnson or Rockefeller, say, from getting 270. And his possession of those electors automatically means that he controls, let's say, four to six states. Each state has one vote.

And that jolly joker, the US Constitution, plays its second funny prank; it requires, under Art. II, Sec. 1, that "a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice." In other words, *26 votes.* If Wallace controls four to six of them in a close contest (and if the electors are close, the distribution of states is apt to be close, too, though not necessarily), then Wallace sits pretty. If his states stay loyal he has the votes necessary. He can barter the Presidency. "No more civil rights laws, and you get the job!" he can tell LBJ or Rocky. (That bargain was struck in 1876, in the Tilden-Hayes contest.) What a joke it would be!

Who's for Crime?

★ This leads us to another subject, the President's attitude toward civil rights. Nowadays the annual January State of the Union speech is a kind of index for a series of special messages: a summary of all the goodies that are to come. Mr. Johnson has been getting these supplemental messages off at a great rate, Education, Economics, Travel Taxes, Consumer Safeguards, Crime and so on. The one big family resemblance is that they are long on promises short on cash.

We rather think Congress won't pass the travel tax; it is just one more of our freedoms which Vietnam is endangering. But what worries us is the so-called "riot control measure" in the crime program making it a federal offense, with punishment up to five years, for any person who travels across state lines with the *intent* (get that word, "intent") to incite or organize a riot. How in the world are you going to prove intent? Can you look into a man's mind? Except in a few cases we would regard this as patently unenforceable, and the Administration must know it when it proposes it. So why does it propose it? It's hard not to assume that it's for political purposes.

There are still some innocent people who believe in a crime wave. Most people by now know that you can cure crime the hard way, by improving social conditions – by supplying jobs so people can earn a living. There is also a very substantial amount of genuine crime, of course. And finally there are a good many nasty people who use the word "crime" to hide their racism.

If Nixon is nominated this summer he is more of a hawk than LBJ and the Vietnam issue might be cancelled out, in part. So the election could fall back on the secondary issue of civil disobedience, marches, riots and even ordinary crime. The big Detroit riot last summer turned into a squabble with Governor Romney in which the White House seemed more bent on making political capital than in sending assistance. Now this new interstate anti-riot proposal has a fine emotional ring to it and we suppose Congress may whoop it through. See, LBJ can say, I'm against crime! It strikes us as being meaningless or quite dangerous.

★ *Notes:* The new New Nixon has got off to a professional start, flexible, relaxed, humorous, self-deprecatory; it would be a great mistake, we think, to underestimate him. . . . Romney, with characteristic moral intensity, has been saying some fine things about Vietnam: "We are going right down the road to World War III." . . . It does seem strange that Rusk goes on TV to discuss the war but won't testify publicly to the Fulbright committee; now the committee asks LBJ to "direct" Rusk to testify on the record. . . . The world swims with "gaps": LBJ, the credibility gap; Nixon, the novelty gap; Bobby Kennedy, the Camelot gap; Romney, the naughtiness gap; McCarthy, the bargain basement gap; Vietnam, the General Nguyen Giap.

Incorrigible Optimism Department: *Chicago Daily News* (editorial Feb. 5): "Viet Cong Gamble Fails. . . . The broad and carefully planned attacks represent a serious loss for the Viet Cong." Joseph Alsop (Feb. 2, *Washington Post*): "Red raids on cities are sign of weakness, not strength." Ho-hum.

Politics

THIRD PARTIES:

Candidate Wallace

2-19-68 Newsweek

Up he stepped to the microphones in Washington's Sheraton-Park Hotel last week and declared himself in as a third-party candidate for President.

Then former Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace opened himself up to questions, and, in his answers, he told how he

UPI

Wallace: A salute for Kirk

would bring law and order to Washington's dangerous streets ("I'd make it possible to walk safely . . . if I had to bring in 30,000 troops") and how he would win the war in Vietnam ("I'd . . . lean on the Joint Chiefs of Staff"). Wallace also took a sharp dig at Florida's Republican Gov. Claude Kirk Jr., who has accused Wallace of being a "flaming liberal" in cahoots with the Johnson Administration. Asked how he felt about Kirk, Wallace gyrated his finger about his temple in the classic manner of suggesting someone is a lunatic.

Mathematics: Few took Wallace's Presidential prospects seriously, but there was an increasing amount of fascinated speculation about what might happen if his candidacy threw the election into the House of Representatives by depriving either major candidate of a majority of the electoral-college votes. Under the Constitution, the House would be obliged to choose among the three top candidates, with each state having but a single vote and 26 votes needed to win.

In the present Congress Democrats control 29 state delegations and could probably award the Presidency to their candidate even if Wallace took the five Dixie states he is expected to win. But a House ballot to pick a new President would be based on the line-up elected in November and seated in January. Thus if the Republicans hold onto their present eighteen state delegations and gain even as few as three more, the line-up would be 24 sure House votes for the Democrats and 21 for the GOP. Wallace's assumed five votes could then give him the powerful leverage that he dreams of to demand large and substantial rewards, indeed, from the party to which he pledges his votes. His price, he has made clear, would include total disengagement of Federal "interference" in the South.

3-2-68

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Pol. 3rd Party

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Wallace-Watching

George Wallace promised his ailing wife that if she ran for Governor of Alabama, he would run for President of the United States. The bargain has been kept, an exceptional demonstration of marital fidelity. How seriously are we to take his candidacy? Some think Mr. Wallace is sowing seeds for '72. Others believe that he means to be and will be a decisive factor this year: he may win enough presidential delegates to blackmail the Electoral College into tossing him some concessions, or he might even force the election into the House of Representatives. Either prospect seems preposterous, but so is the war in Vietnam. In this troubled year, it would be rash to count on a victory for restraint and reason.

Wallace knows his people. White and well-dressed, 3,000 of them came to cheer him in Pittsburgh last week. "Mixed with steelworkers were housewives and small business people," *The Baltimore Sun's* correspondent reported. Wallace offers himself as the leader of a fearful, newly-arrived middle class, which, having made its down payment on a new car, TV or suburban house, is seized by what Mr. Johnson calls "a certain restlessness." It is Wallace, ironically, rather than the militant blacks or the fed-up students, who is 1968's most forceful political exponent of disestablishmentarianism. "You can put both candidates in a cotton sack, shake them up and dump them out, and you couldn't tell them apart," he said in Pittsburgh. In contrast, he wants to "turn back to the states their control over their own domestic institutions," stop aiding nations that don't help us in Vietnam, slap some of these Vietnam dissenters in jail, "abandon any type of civil rights legislation," curb the Supreme Court. In short, get the country moving again . . . backward.

It's worth examining how Wallace thinks he might pull it off. Almost wistfully, he describes how he will sweep the Southern and border states' 145 electoral votes, and then, with popular pluralities as low as 34 percent, win enough other states away from the major parties to capture the rest of the 270 electoral votes needed for victory. In 1964, his brief, cut-rate primary battles got him 30 percent of the popular vote in Indiana, 34 percent in Wisconsin and 43 percent in Maryland. This year, he will have an anticipated $15 million, and more time, on his side – plus the war and the riots. His racism is surreptitious, not so blatant as to inspire guilt in those who are titillated: "I'm not talking about race but about philosophy." Then he adds: "Steelworkers in Fontana, Birmingham and Pittsburgh are

tired of being told who to take a shower with." His "solutions" for urban disorder, foreign dangers and "pseudo-intellectuals" are enticingly direct: kick the bastards in the head. By comparison, Barry Goldwater seems a philosopher of the Enlightenment.

Even conceding him the five leading Southern states that went for Goldwater in '64, however, Wallace's chances of getting to be President are extremely thin. His American Independent Party, as of last week, was on the ballot in Utah, California, Pennsylvania and South Carolina, and by election day it may be on the ballot in all but a few states. Yet in the final weeks, he will be eclipsed by the opposition's dollars, TV commercials and paid workers. And the voters will have been constantly reminded that bigotry is still a nasty word in America. George Wallace is convinced, nevertheless, that he can at least prevent any other candidate from getting a majority of electoral votes. If that proves correct, as TRB noted two weeks ago, he would then try to make a deal (he prefers the word "covenant") in the Electoral College – his blocking votes swapped, let us say, for an end to federal civil rights guidelines or the appointment of a segregationist to the Supreme Court. If neither national party's candidate could stomach blackmail of that sort, as we suspect they could not, the choice would be left to the new House of Representatives, elected this November. The possibilities of that are fascinating.

According to tabulations by Philip D. Carter of *Newsweek*, by gaining a majority of representatives in only nine new key states, the Republicans next January could elect their presidential candidate, though they would command only a minority of the total votes in the House. More ominously, were the national Democrats to lose five Southern congressional delegations to Wallace, and the GOP to pick up three pivotal seats, Wallace could be the kingmaker in '68.

The House itself might not be able to turn up a majority vote for any candidate; if so, and if the Senate is unable to select a Vice President to fill the vacancy, two-and-one-half traumatic months after the November election the Presidency would go to the incoming Speaker of the House. (Not necessarily John McCormack or Gerald Ford – each new House selects its Speaker.) The last time the House decided the Presidency was in 1825, after a four-way race between John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay and William Crawford tied the Electoral College in knots. Three months and countless intrigues later, Clay's backers swung behind Adams, the House voted, Adams won. Jackson, who had led in the electoral and popular balloting, denounced the "corrupt bargain" that made Clay the new Secretary of State, and four years later the issue was still potent enough to help put Jackson into the White House. The "corrupt bargain" of 1825 at least was made quickly. In 1801, it took 36 ballots in the House before Thomas Jefferson beat Aaron Burr.

Under present procedure, the newly-elected House will convene by January 3, 1969. Three days later, the House and Senate join for formal tallying of the electoral votes. If it is determined officially that no candidate has received a mandatory minimum of 270 out of 538 electoral votes, the House would immediately assemble to choose one man from among the top *three* contenders, voting by state rather than members; the majority principle would be relentlessly at work. A simple majority, at least 26 of the 50 states, must back the same man to elect him, but those 26 could represent a lopsided minority of the nation's voters. One party would need but 61 House seats to hold majority control of these smallest states.

Very slight changes in the House could have bizarre consequences. Today, Democratic representatives outnumber Republicans in 29 states, Republicans have a majority in 18, and three are evenly divided. With the whole process of presidential election skewed in favor of small states, and with the larger states now evenly divided, it is not hard to see how the GOP could run a poor second in the Electoral College but win the Presidency. Assuming the Republicans hold onto House delegations now under their control, they would need only nine new seats to elect the President. Those seats, to be sure, would have to come from eight delegations which are either evenly divided today, or that are no more than two men shy of Republican control. But there are 21 such delegations. Tipping the balance with one new seat in each of the divided states of Illinois, Montana and Oregon would raise the count of Republican-controlled delegations from 18 to 21. Only one more seat in Pennsylvania, Nevada, Kentucky and Tennessee would give the GOP four more state delegations, making 25. Those same gains would reduce the number of Democratic-dominated delegations from 29 to 24, two states short of a majority.

Further, there are 14 other states where the GOP is two men short of controlling the delegation: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Virginia, Washington and West Virginia. Granted no slippage elsewhere, the Republicans would require only two additional seats in any of those 14 states to win a House majority of 26 states.

That isn't all. Of the 14 states in which the GOP is short of a majority by two representatives, eight have Republican governors, four have at least one GOP senator, and two have both a Republican governor and at least one Republican senator. The four states in which the Republican Party is only one House seat behind show similar Republican tendencies: Tennessee has a GOP senator, Nevada a governor, Ken-

tucky two senators and a governor, and Pennsylvania has one GOP senator and a governor. In each of the three evenly divided states, even the most cautious Republican strategists hope to pick up at least one new congressman. The party is keenly aware of the importance of these closely divided states; it is channeling extra campaign funds into them.

This is the kind of intriguing arithmetic that is at the base of the Wallace strategy for '68. If the GOP falls short of its anticipated gains, Wallace need not necessarily lose. Winning the electoral votes of the five Deep South states would not automatically give Wallace control of their Democratic congressmen. But there would be strong pressures from back home to persuade those representatives to pull Wallace's way. If they did – and assuming the GOP could tip the balance in just enough states – national Democrats could count on only 24 delegations in the House; the Republicans would have 21; Wallace would hold the balance of power. Should Wallace then decide that neither major party's presidential candidate is acceptable, the House is deadlocked. It becomes the Senate's turn, and there the chances of ending the impasse would be more favorable. Under the 12th Amendment of the Constitution, if a President is not selected in the House, the Vice President-elect becomes President. But as opposed to the House, where the top three presidential candidates compete, the Senate is limited in its choice to the top *two* vice presidential (now presidential) contenders. A simple majority – 51 out of 100 senators – would elect.

So goes the numbers game. We don't think it will pay off for George Wallace this year or in 1972. But the threat is there, and as long as it is, "law-and-order" Republicans and Democrats will be tempted to pay homage to the mean sentiments the man represents.

course it is doubtful that such a posse would attract many men concerned about true justice. Such a posse would be a magnet for every sadistic bigot in the county who sought legal sanction for Klan-like acts of repression. We knew the sheriff had to be kidding because only a brutal black shirt would favor locking up in vermin-infested, partly flooded, poorly ventilated, windowless dungeons free American citizens awaiting trial. This sort of thing went out with the Middle Ages. The whole thing seemed a self-evident jest because only an unaware, immature adolescent could live in a fantasy world that would encompass so queer a plan as deputizing the ghetto so that one could arrest it.

You can imagine our dismay when it was pointed out to us that Sheriff Woods was for real, that he had meant every word he had said. We were left incredulous when he actually started recruitment of his posse. At present the posse plan is bouncing around in the courts in an effort to determine its legality. Should the posse be proved legal, its formation will constitute one of the worst political miscalculations since Vietnam. If Chicago blows up this summer, 1,000 part-time deputies will be worth next to nothing in quelling so massive an insurrection. But the very fact that such an outfit exists will serve to fan the flame of the black man's rage — and, we might add, the black man's curiosity. It would almost be worth starting a riot just to watch these Keystone vigilantes blunder into action.

Pol - 3rd Party

He's No Easily Dismissed Upstart

✦ GUESS WHO came to dinner at Chicago's prestigious Executives Club and received a standing ovation — something the club rarely extends to any guest speaker? None other than the little spoiler, former Alabama governor George C. Wallace. Though the third-party presidential candidate heralds himself as the champion of "the little folks" — "the barber and the beautician, the working man and the waitress" — it would seem that he has appeal not only for insecure, fretful lower-middle-class whites but also for members of the affluent upper crust. We do not share the sanguine conviction of conservative columnist David Lawrence that a third-party candidacy is "likely to prove irrelevant and meaningless." Lawrence's conviction is based on the facile assumption that if the people want a change, the Republican nominee will win by a big margin, and that "if they do not want to take the risk of a change, President Johnson is likely to wind up with a sizable majority." A recent Gallup poll found President Johnson and Richard Nixon in a dead heat, with Wallace siphoning off 11 per cent of the votes and hurting the major-party candidates about equally. It is entirely possible that such a situation could obtain come November — and that Wallace could take even more than 11 per cent. Should he win enough states to deny either major-party candidate a majority (270) of the electoral votes and thus throw the election into the House of Representatives — with each state having one vote — Wallace might very well end up in an excellent bargaining position. He might not gain all the concessions he would demand in exchange for his votes, but any of them would be damaging to the country: termination of "federal interference" in administration of the states (though of course no cut-off of federal funds, which states like Alabama are very much dependent on); repeal of the 1965 Civil Rights act and the 1967 Soviet-American consular treaty; incarceration of Vietnam dissenters; virtual elimination of the foreign aid program; increased prerogatives for the House Un-American Activities Committee; restrictions on the Supreme Court; an end to all busing of Negro pupils to predominantly white schools; abolishment of the poverty program; overturn of the one-man-one-vote reapportionment ruling. The fighting power of this former Golden Gloves champion should not be underestimated; he might one day be able to deliver some knockout punches to the nation.

Wage Legislation Creates Crisis For Goodwill Industries

✦ THOUGH we have generally applauded the gains made by organized labor, we are aware that such gains can occasionally have unfortunate side effects. Special circumstances, it seems to us, require special consideration. Goodwill Industries of America, now faced with a financial crisis, are a case in point. Goodwill workshops provide work, training and rehabilitation for more than 75,000 handicapped people each year, and about two-thirds of these people are employed in "sheltered workshops." Under minimum-wage legislation, sheltered workshops are permitted to pay less than the minimum wage — which increased from $1.40 to $1.60 per hour on February 1. Certifications to pay less than the minimum depend on the degree of productivity of each handicapped person. The new wage law requires that sheltered workshops provide the same percentage of increase as will obtain elsewhere — 15 per cent. But Goodwill Industries put into effect a 12 per cent increase just a year ago, so the new raise means a 27 per cent increase in wage payments in less than 13 months. Goodwill officials fear that a shortage of funds may result in an "undesired but unavoidable" reduction in the employment of severely handicapped persons with low productivity. Commented Eugene Caldwell, national president of the nonprofit Goodwill corporations: "The rise in wage rates is in keeping with the Goodwill In-

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Lexington Adv. Atty. Gen.

Through Hazel Eyes

Pol. 3rd Party

By HAZEL BRANNON SMITH

The Christian Science Monitor has tagged former Alabama governor George Wallace as "the spoiler." Wallace will hurt the Republicans in 28 states, the Democrats in five and cut into both parties in seven—according to the report.

Twenty-four Republican Senators have come to the conclusion Wallace has wiped out any hopes they may have had for registering gains in the South this year. So they have turned their backs on the coalition with conservative Southern Democrats and now plan to support the civil rights program and other measures designed to attract Negro votes. Thus Wallace through his candidacy is making it easier for laws to be passed by Congress which he professes to be against.

Though few of Wallace's friends and supporters will admit it, his candidacy is having a serious divisive effect upon the nation. And this division will be longlasting after the campaign is over. The harm he does may well be irreparable.

Admit it or not, Wallace makes a shrewd, calculated appeal to not only racial but "class" prejudice—and this is something thankfully we haven't had much of in this nation's history. The vote he wins will be an indication of the extent of white racism in America. His appeal to what he calls the "little people", his continous scorn of the "pseudo intellectuals", his slurring of big government and "bureaucrats"—all these are going to bear bitter fruit.

A few areas in Mississippi are making substantial progress in trying to establish communication and understanding between the races, we are happy to report.

Down in McComb, one of the main centers of racial tensions and strife in 1964, last Sunday there was a meeting between prominent McComb and Pike County officials and citizens and the National Treasurer of the NAACP, Alfred Baker Lewis. The latter, a white man, was accompanied by Curtis Bryant, local NAACP Chapter president who arranged for the meeting. Bryant's son also was present.

Lewis, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and a Phi Beta Kappa, told McComb's Mayor and Aldermen, among others, he was "gratified" over the progress McComb people have made in their efforts "to solve racial problems."

He said the McComb group was the largest white group with which he had met in the Deep South and that to him it reflected an understanding which was both "satisfying and significant." He said in his opinion McComb had done much to erase "the ugly image Mississippi has borne in other parts of the country."

Lewis emphasized to the group of McComb service club representatives, Chamber of Commerce members and the McComb Ministerial Association that economic justice for Negroes would pay off in the community for everyone. Better job-training, acquisition of employment and better jobs will in the end benefit all people in the area and state, he told them.

The NAACP official (a board member of 25 years standing) told the white group that Negroes should be represented on draft boards and other public boards which make decisions affecting their lives.

(There are no Negroes on Selective Service Boards in Mississippi. Two Negroes were named to draft boards in Alabama last week, he stated.)

The account of the meeting was printed on page one in the McComb daily, the Enterprise-Journal.

Politics - Demos + GOPs

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Rockefeller, or Else . . .

Nelson Rockefeller may now be the country's best bet, but for those who hope the "moderate-to-liberal" wing of the Republican Party will come out on top this year, there were ominous signs to be read at the February meeting of the Republican National Committee. Chairman Ray C. Bliss moved with dispatch to avoid a confrontation between the congressional (read "conservative") wing of the party and the gubernatorial (read "moderate-to-liberal") wing over the chairmanship of the platform committee at Miami. The governors, working through committee members from their states, had demanded an equal voice. They wanted Governor Raymond Shafer of Pennsylvania as one of two co-chairmen, along with Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R, Ill.). Bliss effectively sidetracked the demand by turning it into a vote of confidence in himself. Overnight, committee members, reluctant to tamper with their new-found unity, rallied almost to a man behind the chairman. He was given *carte blanche* to name the members of the temporary resolutions committee (the temporary chairman inevitably becomes permanent chairman, barring a nasty floor fight, which may be necessary at Miami if the GOP governors are to assert any kind of authority within the party).

When it was over, there was little doubt that Senator Dirksen is Bliss' choice. By itself, this doesn't seem too serious. But set against other factors, it presents a real problem for the moderates.

There is a prevailing sentiment, reported in this journal after the September GOP gathering, in favor of sending unpledged delegations, so as to avoid wrangling in the precincts and counties over the course the party should take. This leaves it up to the power structure in state after state to select its delegation, meaning, in many cases, a "conservative" delegation. Two states – Oklahoma and North Carolina – have already chosen a share of their delegates. They are pro-Nixon "conservatives," the major exception being two from Oklahoma City who prefer Gov. Ronald Reagan. This will be repeated in state after state unless the governors can stop it.

It was apparent also at the national committee meeting that many who would prefer a moderate-to-liberal candidate, preferably Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, had little confidence they could pull it off. One had to circulate among the committee members for only a few minutes to realize that they had counted Governor Romney out before he counted himself out. Governor Rockefeller's action in the garbage strike, still fresh in their minds because of the loud protests heard from the middle-class, predominately anti-labor, voters who make up the GOP in many states, discouraged them.

Without the stimulus of intraparty debate, without a hard-running, avowed "moderate-to-liberal" candidate, with the power structure throughout the Midwest, South and Rocky Mountain states quietly picking the delegates, what chance will modern Republicanism have? The answer lies with Rockefeller. His people are busy. Oregon is their first major testing ground.

Much depends upon whether the Republican governors can rally quickly and decisively around their colleague from New York. If they do not succeed, the GOP scenario for 1968 may resemble that of 1964, when it was said that "they won't let it happen." Except "they" weren't the majority at the convention.

Keep 'Em in Line

The determination of White House political operatives to prevent, if possible, a single voice of dissent from being heard on the floor of the Democratic convention in Chicago has surfaced in Massachusetts.

At stake was the composition of the state committee's "official" slate. Senator Edward Kennedy had tried to get out of the bind Eugene McCarthy's candidacy has put him in by arranging a three-way compromise. Senator McCarthy declined to bargain. The White House was equally adamant, fighting Mr. Kennedy's decision to name even one pro-McCarthy delegate (Richard Goodwin) and several listed as "doubtful" to the 72-man slate. However, Senator Kennedy won on a roll-call vote (36-27); 14 or 15 non-Johnson delegates were selected, including Mr. Goodwin, Adam Yarmolinsky and Samuel Beer.

Still unresolved after the "official" slate had been picked (McCarthy's supporters are running independently in some districts) was the problem of a stand-in candidate against Senator McCarthy. Mr. Johnson did not offer his name; indeed, he has yet to admit that he will be a candidate. But if Senator McCarthy wins the primary in Massachusetts, the entire delegation will be pledged to him on the first ballot, something the White House dare not let happen by default.

Elsewhere in the country:

The Johnson-controlled Democratic machine in Chicago passed over their best vote-getter, young Adlai Stevenson III, as a candidate for US Senate from Illinois. Mr. Stevenson, who was available, has been known to express some doubts about the Administration's handling of the Vietnam war, and anyway, the President's old friend Ev Dirksen's running and shouldn't be made to campaign too hard.

In New York, Morris Abrams, the progressive and internationally-minded head of the American Jewish Committee and the man who probably would have had the best chance of defeating Republican Senator Jacob Javits this year, withdrew as a possible candidate for the Senate. It was reliably reported that he had

tried to get White House approval for a compromise Vietnam statement, but it fell short of going all the way with LBJ. (The statement had the blessing of Senator Robert Kennedy.)

In the nation's capital, Johnson's men were pressuring the "Mayor," Walter Washington, to head up a pro-Johnson slate, even though as a presidential appointee Mr. Washington is barred under the Hatch Act from partisan activity.

In Minnesota, four prominent figures in the Democratic Farm Labor Party, including its second- and third-ranking officers and the congressional district chairman in St. Paul, have endorsed Eugene McCarthy. McCarthy supporters now see a "very good" chance of winning the precinct caucuses (to be held March 5) in the Minneapolis district and a "good" chance of doing the same in St. Paul and suburban Minneapolis.

Pol – Third Party

Answer to Wallace

The New Republic / March 9/68

The Bayh-Dirksen-American Bar Association proposal to abolish the Electoral College is supported – among other arguments – by a parade of all sorts of horrible things that can supposedly happen under the present system, most of which are extremely unlikely to happen, and wouldn't be all that horrible if they did. One nightmare, however, might just possibly come true, and – as anyone attending to the performance of former Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama can plainly tell – it would be horrible, all right. As noted last week ("Wallace-Watching") he could conceivably carry enough states to prevent either major party candidate from getting a majority of the electoral vote, and in that event the Constitution provides that the House of Representatives shall elect a President, each state, small or large, casting one equal vote. Wallace would then be in a very handsome power broker's position, and votes representing a good deal less than a majority or even a plurality of the American people could make a President. It is a prospect very much worth averting.

A constitutional amendment proposed by Rep. Jonathan B. Bingham (D, N.Y.) will do the job nicely, without stirring the controversy over the electoral college system as a whole. Mr. Bingham would keep the system, though he says he doesn't really like it. He would merely provide that if no one gets a majority of the electoral vote, there shall be a run-off between the two major candidates, one of whom is then certain to attain the requisite majority. Mr. Bingham would also seize the occasion to ensure that there can be no unpledged electors; the winner in any state – by a majority or plurality – simply gets that state's electoral vote, whether in the regular election or in the run-off. And Mr. Bingham would also, by separate legislation, move the election date into October, mercifully shortening the campaign, and leaving time for a run-off.

It is a wise, just about unanswerable proposal, which it is the duty of Congress to adopt, and of the states to ratify – promptly.

Home-Building

In more than four years as President, Lyndon Johnson has been responsible, by his own account, for three measures to deal with the "crisis of the cities." He created the Department of Housing and Urban Development to "give the American city the cabinet role it deserves." He has had enacted a program of rent supplements for poor families. And he has got through Congress a model cities program, "the first effort to attack blight on a massive scale." He describes these as "achievements," although it is difficult to explain how the quality of city life has improved or will soon improve because of them.

HUD brings together federal housing programs within one agency and, theoretically, bestows on cities the same prestige that farmers get through the Agriculture Department and workers have through Labor. But prestige doesn't build housing. Under the rent supplement program, 1,650 units for the same number of poor families had been built as of December 1, 1967. The model cities program is just off the drawing board.

President Johnson knows these achievements "are not sufficient," that they merely "provide a base" for more to come. But they do convey the hyperbolic impression that something real and hopeful is happening.

What the President proposes to do next, beyond the shuffling of agencies and demonstration projects is detailed in his February 22 message to Congress. Here was a promise of six million new housing units in the next 10 years – 10 times the number provided by urban renewal and other federal programs over the past decade. If realized, it would make available decent housing to 20 million ill-housed Americans, and would constitute about a quarter of all new housing.

When will this housing be there to be used? The answer, buried deep in the message, is: not for some time, if then. Just over 30 percent of the proposed construction would take place in the first five years of the 10-year effort. In the first year there would be 300,000 units built – five percent of the 10-year goal. This breaks down into 75,000 public housing units for poor people, 100,000 privately built and financed homes (with a federal subsidy taking care of all but one percent of the interest), 35,000 rent supplement units, 90,000 rental units for moderate income families.

In as many of the projects as possible, Mr. Johnson

3-11-68

NATIONAL REPORTS

Pol - 3rd Party

Tapping the Resentment Vote

By Steven V. Roberts

ALTHOUGH his roots are in the rural, red-neck South, George Wallace has a great opportunity to work his deviltry during this election year in the lower-middle-class white neighborhoods of the nation's large urban centers. For his Presidential candidacy promises to further provoke a frustration and restlessness which has thus far surfaced only sporadically, in incidents such as the fierce opposition to Martin Luther King's Cicero, Illinois, open housing campaign.

Of course, the ex-Governor of Alabama could seriously damage the nation's political process by winning enough states to deprive either major candidate of a majority in the Electoral College and throwing the election into the House of Representatives. The calamity would be even worse if he dealt away his crucial votes to the highest bidder for significant concessions on important social issues. But this nightmare is still a very long shot in the political future book. The significant fact now is that Wallace will probably be running in many of the 50 states next fall, and his mere presence could prove an enormously disruptive force no matter how many votes he wins.

Wallace's appeal outside the South was amply demonstrated in 1964, when he drew 30 per cent of the primary vote in Indiana, 34 per cent in Wisconsin, 43 per cent in Maryland. And that was a long time ago in American political history—before the urban riots, before black power, before war spending increased the threat of inflation and higher taxes.

GEORGE WALLACE

What is the Wallace attraction to the white working man, such people, to cite his list, as "barbers, beauticians, policemen, firemen, cab drivers, auto workers, glass workers, businessmen?" Why do his calls for law and order, for an end to "pseudo-intellectuals," for a curb on welfare programs stir so deep a response?

Racism—rarely invoked, always understood—is an obvious and important factor: The lower middle class resents the threat of the blacks to their jobs, their neighborhoods, and their tenuous scraps of status. But Wallace's appeal is also rooted in the very structure of our urban centers, a structure that is not much easier to change than the gut feelings of one man for another.

Essentially, the situation is this: City tax bases are being undermined by the emigration of industry to cheaper rural areas, and of middle-class residents to surrounding suburbs. At the same time the influx of poor non-whites, with its attendant social and economic dislocations, has placed an enormous strain on city budgets. Where formerly stable areas have collapsed under the pressure of racial change, the tax base has been especially hard hit, causing landlords to abandon property and tenants rather than meet unbearably high real estate levies.

New York City, a prime example of this dilemma, faces a budget deficit of $400 million in 1968. The city lost 1.2 million whites between 1950-65 and gained 1.1 million Negroes and Puerto Ricans, who now comprise 28 per cent of the population. Today the city's welfare program serves more than 800,000 people, adding 14,000 new dependents every month. Local government contributions for anti-poverty, housing, job-training and other programs have multiplied drastically.

While state and Federal allocations help to finance swelling city budgets, the heaviest burden still falls on the lower middle class, on the people who cannot escape their decaying neighborhoods. In other words, it falls on precisely those who are least able to pay the mounting taxes.

STEVEN V. ROBERTS *reports on local politics for the New York* Times.

The cities have not even begun to make the kind of effort the plight of the poor demands. Yet as Timothy J. Cooney, a former New York housing official, emphasized recently in his resignation speech, the whole middle class has very little patience left for even the miniscule programs that do exist. It is this bitter resentment which is fertile soil for the Wallace campaign.

The signs are everywhere. Ask a New York cab driver what he thinks of Mayor Lindsay. The answer is usually something like, "That bum! He's doing too much for them damn niggers." Now if you can afford many cab rides, you can probably afford the taxes you have to pay in New York. You might even think the taxes are being put to good use. But that does not make life any easier for the cabbie, or the fellow who pumps his gas, or someone who works on the assembly line that made his car.

Mayor Lindsay, for one, is aware of—and frightened by—this growing hostility to social welfare programs. As vice chairman of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders he pressed for a recommendation that the Federal government take over the nation's entire welfare program. One of his aides explained why: "The welfare issue has poisoned the atmosphere all around the country. People see their taxes going up, and they see them going for one main thing—welfare. We have to eliminate this as a local issue before it tears our cities apart."

According to this aide, Lindsay is convinced that whether or not the cities get more Federal help they must continue to devote much of their resources to helping poor blacks. But this view will draw only limited support from traditionally conservative ethnic groups, from Italians or Poles or Ukrainians. Lindsay is also deeply worried, the aide added, that he is losing support in the Jewish community, long a strong backer of welfare measures.

The frustration within the lower middle class, though, is not solely the result of higher taxes for increased government spending. Despite the higher taxes, it enjoys a far higher absolute standard of living today than 30 years ago. However, as Christopher Jencks and David Riesman note in the current issue of the *Public Interest,* the gaps between America's economic classes have widened considerably in this period. The poorest class is actually farther below the working or lower middle class now than in the 1930s; and this growing gap has exacerbated unrest among the poor. Similarly, the lower middle class is farther below the upper middle class than it used to be, and it is apparently feeling the same kind of resentment as the poor against those on the adjacent rungs.

This was clearly demonstrated during the recent New York sanitation workers' strike. The garbage collectors on the picket lines echoed all the concerns of prosperous America: mortgages, real estate taxes, car payments. These men are just as infected by the mass media and yearn just as heartily for the fruits of affluence as any other low-income group. But with a top salary of about $158 per week, they are not able to afford many symbols of prosperity without a great struggle. In a sense Wallace is right: They are the "forgotten little men" in this era of the highly visible and militant poor.

IN ESSENCE, then, George Wallace recognizes that the poor and the middle class are economic enemies. So he brings out the fears of the lower middle class by evoking the threat of riots and muggings, and by attacking the "pseudo-intellectuals" who would shackle the police, thwart the generals in Vietnam, and redistribute the country's wealth. In a recrudescence of Social Darwinism that is even more artful than the original, Wallace both challenges the manhood of the voter and plays on his deepest anxieties about his social, economic and physical security. Add a dash of corny sincerity and you have an extremely potent brew.

Politically, he benefits from the troubles of the two major parties. In the South, the polls agree, Wallace would probably hurt the renascent Republican party, which has thrived by shouting louder and more virulent conservative slogans than the Democrats. It is there that he has his best chance of actually winning the electoral votes that could shift the election to the House.

In the North, it is quite possible he would be a greater threat to the Democratic party. The lower middle class consists largely of hereditary Democrats who were weaned on the politics of labor unions, ethnic groups and big city machines. A Jewish cab driver in New York or a Polish steel worker in Gary who votes for Wallace has probably never voted for a Republican in his life. If a candidate like Nelson Rockefeller should hold Republican strength in rural and suburban areas while picking up support among dissident liberal Democrats, Johnson's simultaneous loss of lower-middle-class votes to Wallace could make the difference in states like Ohio, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

These prospects for November point up the massive shift taking place in the country's political alignments, led by the crack-up of the old labor-intellectual coalition. The union chiefs who quit ADA after it endorsed Senator Eugene McCarthy may well have trouble keeping some of their members out of the Wallace camp. On the other hand, it is not surprising that McCarthy was given a fund-raising party in Manhattan recently by one of the Vanderbilts.

Wallace's campaign, even if it does not ultimately succeed in upsetting the major parties, will be a troublesome phenomenon. He touches something deep and unhappy in this country, something that could threaten the fragile order of our cities if ever it explodes. George Wallace might be just the pyromaniac to set the match to the fuse.

Politics—3RD PARTY
3-18-68

THIRD PARTIES:

Collision Course

There was one thing about George Wallace friend and foe could agree on. The Presidential aspirant had developed the smoothest road show of the political year. In search of the nation's whiter pastures, he and his supporting cast cruised in and out of town clicking on all cylinders. Last week, however, the Wallace show hit Omaha—and promptly ran off the road. The Alabamian's states'-rights spiel set off a battle between cheering whites and jeering Negroes. And before he could get out of Nebraska, one young Omaha Negro lay dead, thirteen others were injured, and worried city officials around the country wondered if the Wallace show was inevitably set on a collision course with violence.

Alabama's assistant governor bounced off his silver and red DC-6 at Omaha's Eppley Airfield in search of enough signatures to place his American Independent Party on the Nebraska primary ballot. But he was met at the ramp by an aggressively angry anti-Wallace crowd of 200—most of them Negroes—and his security men had to extricate him from a taut throng chanting: "Black power . . . Sock it to me . . . Black power!" Again, at Omaha University, he was jeered during a classroom talk on political parties and his security men had to hustle him out a back exit. But these signs of a blacklash in Omaha were only a warning of what was in store once Wallace mounted the podium at the city's Civic Auditorium; in only ten stormy minutes, some 750 angry demonstrators turned the auditorium into bloody pandemonium.

The protest started conventionally enough outside the auditorium with a waving of signs ("If you like Hitler, you'll love Wallace," "Keep the white tornado out of Washington"). But then the protesters streamed into the hall and began tossing signs, coins, chunks of wood—even a tube of lipstick called "Orange Kiss." While his security guard attempted to form a protective screen, Wallace tried to make himself heard: "These are the free-speech people," he yelled derisively. Then, when the first metal chair sailed through the air, the police cordon at the foot of the stage went into action with billy clubs and chemical spray.

The counterforce broke the brunt of the demonstration, and though two Negroes hit by chemical spray remained behind writhing on the floor of the auditorium, order was shortly restored and the Wallace speech went on. But the escalating riot had only been shifted outside. Black militants first stoned cars near the auditorium. Then with electric swiftness the disorder began to spread into the predominantly Negro Near North Side district of town. Firebombs were hurled into at least five buildings—including a pawnshop where one Negro, 16-year-old Howard L. Stevenson, was shot and killed by an off-duty policeman who said he had caught the youth climbing into the window. A dozen other persons were treated for injuries.

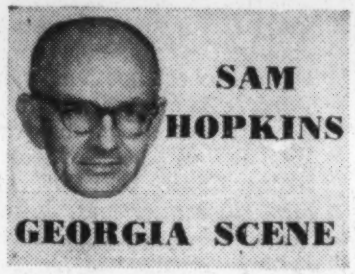
UPI

Stage presence: With missiles flying in Omaha, bodyguards protect Wallace

Tension: Deep tension gripped Omaha long after Wallace had flown back to Alabama. At midmorning next day students began walking out of classes at Horace Mann Junior High School (95 per cent Negro), and after some of these protesters began breaking windows officials closed the building for the day. Another night of disorders in the Negro district followed, and before the week was out officials had decided to shift a high-school basketball tournament to Lincoln.

When quiet finally returned, a group of Negro leaders in Omaha asked Attorney General Ramsey Clark to send "a cadre of observers" to investigate racism in the city. But an Omaha World-Herald editorial seemed much closer to the community consensus about the specific flare-up. "On this particular evening, at least," the paper said, ". . . it was not the white racists who invited disorder. It was black racists and their white allies . . ." On one point, however, there was no argument: doughty George Wallace and his political road show would not soon be invited back to Omaha.

Wallace (Laugh) Campaign Begins (Cringe)



It's official now. If you really want to vote for George Wallace for president of the United States — and somehow the whole idea still sort of makes a lot of people laugh, or cringe—you can start signing petitions to get him on the ballot for the November general election.

The kickoff drive for the former Alabama governor started in Georgia Thursday, and some of the old ex-warhorses—like Roy Harris and Peter Zack Geer and Marvin Griffin, the Little Giant's vice presidential running mate—were telling a jam-packed audience how well Wallace would run.

"If George Wallace don't stop this crowd dead in their tracks and turn 'em around," declared Ol' Marv, "I'll be the most surprised person in Georgia."

Griffin, who always could charm even his enemies with his funny story-telling, was in rare form and had them belly-laughing throughout his oration.

It was not a young crowd. More than half of them seemed to be in their 50's and 60's. But there was no doubt that they were a dedicated group for Wallace.

Although Gov. Lester Maddox, a great admirer of Wallace, did not show up, his youngest brother, Pat, did. Pat Maddox, chewing on a cigar, vigorously applauded the speakers and later said he was for Wallace all the way.

Randall Evans of Thomson, a former Speaker of the House and one of the prime movers behind the petition drive for Wallace, led the group in prayer and gave thanks for the "good sense . . . our forefathers instilled in us." He asked a blessing for all those "laboring in this hall" and added, "Help us to make the wise choice."

Geer, in his usual black suit and black tie, got a standing ovation when he rose to speak. speaking about law and order and was cheered when he told them there not only is a war in Vietnam but "we have a war in the streets" of the United States.

Roy Harris later commented, "Ol" Peter Zack, he's still clicking like he did on his last day at the legislature," when he presided over the joint session of the House and Senate when they elected Maddox governor.

N—I—G—G—E—R

Harris said Geer looked so good back then that "he would have been elected president in Georgia that day himself."

Although it was an obvious segregationist group, no one was saying "Nigger, Nigger." However, Harris earlier in the year had said the one big isssue in this year's presidential race—and he had litterally spelled it out—was "N-i-g-g-e-r."

But Harris finally did make it crystal clear what he was talking about Thursday when he said that the next president ought to have the same viewpoint as "the Southern white people."

When he said it, one man in the audience leaned over and whispered to another, "Roy never learned to use code words."

After Harris had said to mail all Wallace petitions to him in Augusta until an office could be set up in the Henry Grady Hotel in Atlanta, a woman in a red dress got up and warned that the petitions had better be sent by registered mail because "you can't trust the federal people not to burn them up." Which may come as a surprise to Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien

Harris was saying the country folk are going to be the deciding factor in the presidential race in Georgia this year.

"One-third of all Georgians live within 50 air miles of Atlanta," he said. "This is the battleground, within that 50 - mile radius. The metropolitan areas already are confused and we want to split them up more. Then the votes in the small counties will come in and take over."

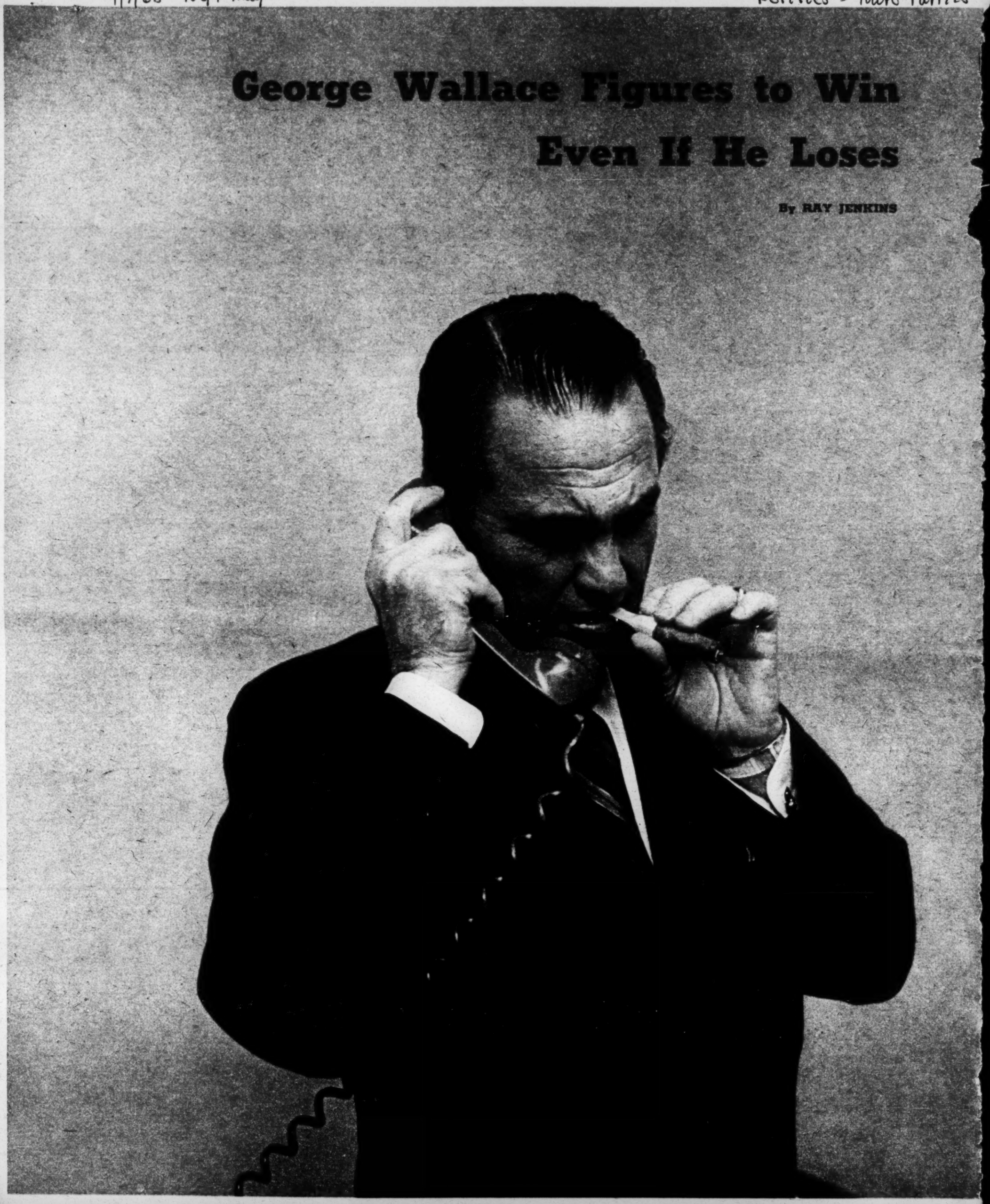
There were a number of "Maddox balloons" floating around in the air. And as the meeting adjourned a man began taking up a collection at the door with a hat, despite the fact that everyone had been told if they wanted to give donations for Wallace's campaign, envelopes would be furnished so they could be sealed and mailed to Montgomery, Ala.

4/7/68 NYT mag

Politics - Third Parties

George Wallace Figures to Win Even If He Loses

By RAY JENKINS



MONTGOMERY, ALA.

A LADY from Bell Gardens, Calif., was astonished to discover, as dusk approached one Sunday afternoon recently, a string band plunking out a country tune for a crowd gathered in the parking lot of the drab cinderblock town Legion hall. Sitting on the makeshift platform, of all people, was Chill Wills, the squeaky voiced character actor whom she had seen in half a dozen mediocre movies.

"What's this all about?" she asked.

"Ain'tcha heard, lady?" bubbled the response in warm Southern tones. "Governor Wallace is here, and he's runnin' for President. Come on over and get acquainted with George and sign up with us. It won't take but a minute."

The lady would not have given a second thought to this fanfare if she had lived in, say, Garden City, Alabama. Down here, the fiddle and the guitar and the gospel quartet are as much a part of politics as florid bombast. But this year, George Corley Wallace aims to give the nation a taste of that kind of politicking. In both form and substance, his campaign is altogether Southern, with a few disguises. Indeed, the basic assumption of this third-party movement is: if it worked in the South, it could work in the nation.

Many will look upon the Wallace venture as mere comic relief, fitting dark humor for an unusually somber election year. But the savants, both in politics and out, are genuinely alarmed that Wallace just might be the monkey wrench which could jam the election machinery and profoundly affect the outcome of this year's Presidential race.

WHAT makes Wallace run? "We intend to give the people a choice," goes the official line. "The two national parties are just tweedledee and tweedledum. There's not a dime's worth of difference between them."

But of course the real answer is much more complicated. It is to be found only in the man himself, and never is he more himself than he is before an outdoor rally in a suburb of Los Angeles, before a veterans' convention in Escanaba, Mich., or before a crowd of 3,000 who have turned out on a bitter cold night in Pittsburgh to cheer their champion on to victory. . . .

The luxurious grand ballroom of the hotel is overflowing long before the appointed hour. As the organ plays "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," the audience waits patiently —an audience composed of a few brave Negroes, a few more youthful non-conformists, still more teen-agers with simply nothing better to do with their evening, but mostly just average folks cutting across the age spectrum.

The organist suddenly shifts to "Dixie," and a few restrained whoops go up. But the church-like tone of the occasion is restored moments later by the strains of "God Bless America."

A hush falls over the ballroom as a white-haired minister approaches the podium. In a quavering voice, he addresses "our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, thanking thee and praising thee for this great turnout. . . ." He calls the occasion "a revival" and thanks God for "this man who has been raised up in this emergency."

The lights are lowered, a spotlight focuses on the American flag onstage, and the audience rises for the pledge. The organist plays the National Anthem. No one sings; they simply listen reverently.

Now the mood changes. There is an anticipatory flourish as the magic moment approaches. The chairman for the evening, a well-groomed young man with a name that suggests Eastern European ancestry, introduces local dignitaries onstage. "You'll notice they're all sitting on the extreme right."

Now "The Wallace Girls," pretty local belles dressed in Confederate Gray, pass the hats — replicas of Uncle Sam's. "Put in your twenties and fifties and hundred dollar bills," the chairman admonishes good-naturedly. "Just small change." While the collection is being taken, he tells a joke about a leading portrait artist who wanted to paint the Supreme Court, but upon further reflection decided "a whitewash would do better."

TO introduce the speaker, the chairman calls upon John Noble, who is presented as a man who endured "nine and a half years as a slave under brutal Communist oppression." Mr. Noble says a few words about his own endeavor, something called "The Trial Against International Communism," and introduces the man of the hour.

Somewhere in the audience a diminutive figure pops up. A thunderous roar drowns out the few boos and catcalls, and George Wallace strides brisky down the aisle and up the stage steps. For a few moments he holds his arms aloft acknowledging the adulation. Then he begins.

"I bring you greetings from my wife, the Governor of Alabama, who, as you know, has been under the weather in recent weeks. But she has given me a job to do—appointed me head of the highway beautification program. And you have no idea how boring it can be to go planting magnolia trees up and down the road."

A heckler shouts something from the back of the room. "Hey, fella," the speaker shoots back, "you got a boll weevil in your beard?" A roar of approval goes up. Confederate

(Continued on Page 66)

RAY JENKINS is editorial-page editor of The Alabama Journal in Montgomery.

Third Party Man. *Left, Alabama's Presidential candidate George Wallace calls his ailing wife, Gov. Lurleen Wallace, during his recent speaking tour in Pennsylvania. Mrs. Wallace's illness casts a shadow over what is otherwise a spirited, heckler-squashing, opposition-baiting, Old-Dixie-style campaign, as he demonstrates at a rally, below.*

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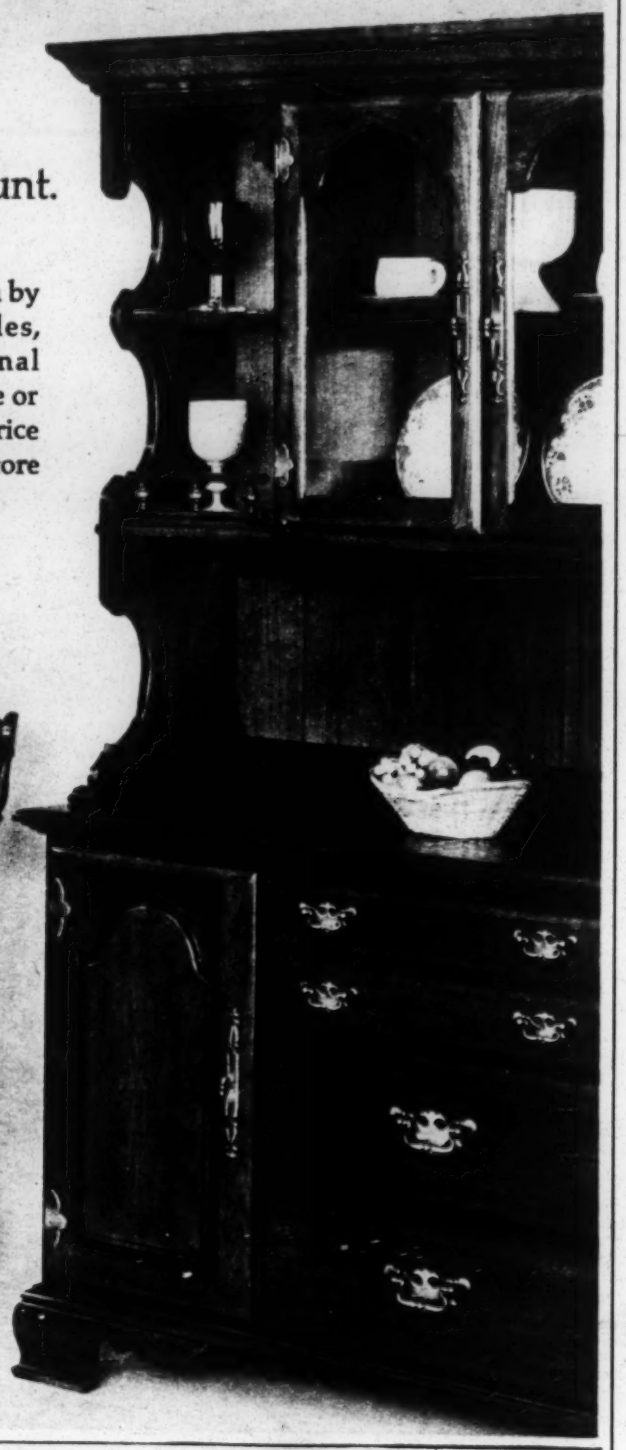

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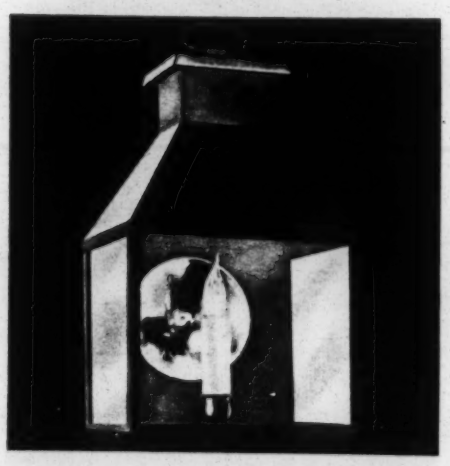

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George Wallace (Cont.)

(*From Page 27*)

flags wave here and there. "That's right, George. You tell 'em, George."

AFTER a few more jokes, he turns serious. "Now, what are the real issues that exist today in these United States? It is the trend of pseudo-intellectual government, where a select, élite group have written guidelines in bureaus and court decisions, have spoken from some pulpits, some college campuses, some newspaper offices, looking down their noses at the average man on the street, the glassworker, the steelworker, the autoworker, and the textile worker, the farmer, the policeman, the beautician and the barber, and the little businessman, saying to him that you do not know how to get up in the morning, or go to bed at night, unless we write you a guideline. . . ."

The "pseudo-intellectual" begins to take form as a kind of catch-all phantom who is monkeying with our liberties. "Joan Baaaaz—that's a pseudo-intellectual." So is "a bearded professor who thinks he knows how to settle the Vietnam war when he hasn't got sense enough to park a bicycle straight." Washington is full of pseudo-intellectuals writing guidelines which Federal judges use to destroy local institutions throughout the country. "When I get to be President, I'm gonna call in a bunch of bureaucrats and take away their briefcases and throw them in the Potomac River."

Congress itself is suspect. "You've got 535 big-talking members of Congress, and only six of them have got their children in the public schools of Washington. And yet they tell us how to run our schools. . . .

"I don't care what you people up here decide to do with your children. You can put your li'l children on a bus every morning and send them all the way across the state—if that's what you want to do.

"But when is it that the people of Pittsburgh don't know what they want to do without some pseudo-intellectual bureaucrat—usually with a beard—to write them a guideline?"

Now the delivery becomes rapid-fire and combative, fists thrusting into the air for emphasis. Both parties, Wallace says, supported the "so-called open-occupancy bill that would put you in jail without a trial by jury if you don't lease or sell your property to who they say."

But there'll be some changes made come January of 1969. "We're going to put through a legislative act that will do away with that Court decision that says a Communist can work in a defense plant without a security clearance." The strongest applause yet responds. When it dies down, he continues: "Frankly, I wouldn't trust a Communist *with* a security clearance."

He recalls that "some scum" tried to lie down in front of the President's car in California. "The President is entitled to personal respect, no matter how much you may disagree with him politically. But we can tell you this. When we get to be President and some anarchist lies down in front of our car, it'll be the *last* car he'll ever lie down in front of." This brings many to their feet in laughter and applause.

The number-one issue in this election is Vietnam, coupled with the breakdown of law and order. "And they are coupled. Those people who advocate a breakdown of law and order eventually wind up in Havana and Hanoi and Moscow."

The policeman won't be any "second-class citizen" in the next Administration. "If we were President today, you wouldn't get stabbed or raped in the shadow of the White House, even if we had to call out 30,000 troops and equip them with two-foot-long bayonets and station them every few feet apart." No one is safe any more since the courts have had their say about the right of criminals. "If you walk out of this hotel tonight and someone knocks you on the head, he'll be out of jail before you're out of the hospital, and on Monday morning, they'll try the policeman instead of the criminal."

NOW shifting to infinite sarcastic mockery, he continues: "But some psychologist says, 'Well, he's not to blame—society's to blame. His father didn't take him to see the Pittsburgh Pirates when he was a little boy.' Well, I was raised in a house that didn't even have an indoor toilet. My mama couldn't even buy me a dollar and fifteen cent cowboy suit that I saw in the Sears, Roebuck

window. But I didn't go and bust the window out to get it."

Now he goes into a complicated yarn which he builds with considerable dramatic skill. The President and Governor Romney got into an argument over sending troops to Detroit. Romney didn't ask for them in the right way, it seems. "He was supposed to fill out a form in duplicate, triplicate, and quadruplet . . . and in quintuplet, sextuplet, and septuplet . . . and even in *octopooplet*. My little wife said to me, 'You know, George, this is amusin' and confusin'. We got troops down here in Mississippi and Alabama and we didn't even ask for them.' "

A young man in the back of the room shouts, "Heil Hitler!" He is ignored.

Now the target becomes an old favorite. "There's a professor out in California that advocated revolution. Said, 'We ought to burn the town down.' Well, I can tell you this, if any professor in Alabama advocates burning the town down, my little wife's gonna see to it that he's a *fired* professor."

Professors are running around all over the place advocating a Vietcong victory. "I know there's good people here tonight who sincerely believe we should not be involved in Vietnam. I respect their opinion, I believe in the right of dissent. But when somebody advocates a Communist victory, he's advocating the killing of American boys, and that's treason. He ought to be drug before a grand jury and put *under* a Federal jail."

SUDDENLY there is a flourish on the floor. A dozen young men and women, acting on some unseen cue, stage a walkout. For a moment there is an edgy crisis, which Wallace senses. "Let's let 'em leave in peace. Please. Please do. Let's all be in a good humor tonight. You made me lose my place, anyhow."

Once the offenders have gone, he tells a funny story to restore the good mood. It goes back to 1964 in Maryland when he got 43 per cent of the vote in the Presidential primary. "In fact, we were

(*Continued on Page 72*)

ANTI-PSEUDO-INTELLECTUAL — Wallace campaigning in Pittsburgh. Among his favorite targets are "pseudo-intellectuals" who, he says, tell average citizens, "You don't know how to get up in the morning unless we write you a guideline."

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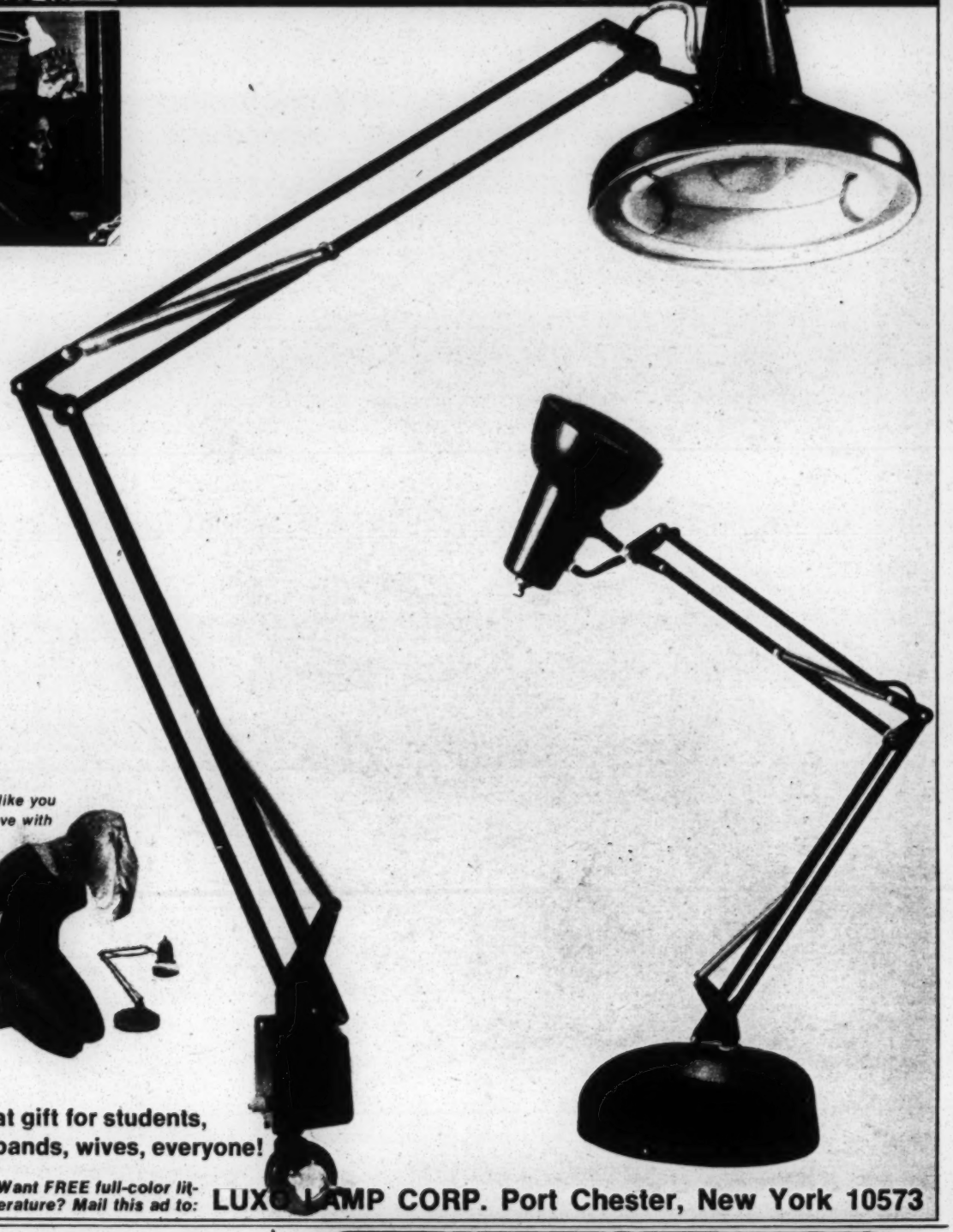

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(Continued from Page 69)

leading early in the night. But then they announced they were going to have a recapitulation. And when they recapitulated, we wound up behind. Well, I don't know what recapitulation means, but if anybody ever tells you 'I'm gonna recapitulate on you,' you better watch out, because they're gonna do something dirty to you."

Now he ends on a buoyant note, confidently predicting victory in November "for this people's movement." It has been a good rally. The response was so good that he went on much longer than usual — an hour and 11 minutes, to be precise. Now the throng surges down around him, and his short frame is soon swallowed up. Shouts of "President Wallace" are heard. Others gather around tables where pretty girls sell such campaign oddments as buttons, bumper stickers, tie-clasps, recorded speeches and the like for prices ranging from 10 cents to $2.

Outside the ballroom, by odd coincidence, a convention of biophysicists has brought a large number of professors to Pittsburgh from all over the nation. Many had lingered to watch the evening's affair. Some wore buttons which read "McCarthy" or "Peace." Some even wore beards. A young professor from California stood between two exhibits with the exotic titles of "zonal pump and gradient former" and "sw²dt" and watched the enraptured people stream out of the ballroom. "It's fantastic," he murmured. "They look just like ordinary people. It's what they respond to that's so startling."

NOW, the nationalization of George Wallace's politics requires a degree of shifting here and there. It was easy enough to convert his slogan from "Stand Up for Alabama" to "Stand Up For America"—although the latter signs do appear a little incongruous emblazoned across the wall of the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery.

The New York Times and The Washington Post are convenient substitute targets for The Montgomery Advertiser and The Birmingham News. "The New York Times calls me a racist. Well, it's a sad come-off when you can't favor law and order without somebody asking if you're a racist. Anyway, who writes their editorials? It's just one man, and his opinion is no better than mine — not as

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ANTI-WALLACE OUTBURST—Wallace's candidacy arouses high feelings, pro and—just as often—con. Speaking last month in Omaha (top), he was stopped by civil-rights demonstrators flinging signs and debris at the platform and had to be shielded (bottom) by plainclothes Alabama state troopers, who always travel with him. Later, he was able to resume his speech.

good, in fact. Why, they even said Mao Tse-tung was a good man, and they called Castro the Robin *Hood* of the Caribbean."

Somewhat more difficult is the development of policy on such matters as the balance of payments, our attitude toward de Gaulle, or a policy for the Middle East—all matters of scant interest in Alabama.

But in the main this conversion requires no more than a few artful redefinitions. For instance, when reminded that a few years ago he shouted "segregation forever," he now says that all he really meant was "local government forever." On his up-North trips, he can now get away with statements that would have been political suicide in Alabama only 10 years ago. He once spoke admiringly of Roy Wilkins, and even said, "I have no objection to white and colored children going to school together"—hastening to add, "but I do object to courts and bureaucrats telling them they've *got* to go to school together." His celebrated "stand in the schoolhouse door," he now says, would have been made even if it had been a white student instead of a Negro who was ordered admitted to the University of Alabama by a Federal judge.

Being away from home also allows him to take the usual political liberties with history. In his out-of-state speeches, he speaks of the freedom-of-choice device to facilitate desegregation as if it were his own idea rather than a decree of a Federal court. And he never misses a chance to point out that his wife, in her race for Governor, "carried 87½ per cent of the Negro vote in Selma"—without bothering to recall that those same Negroes voted overwhelmingly against Mrs. Wallace in the only crucial race, the Democratic primary, and that in the general election, she was merely the beneficiary of straight-ticket voting encouraged by Negro leaders who were desperate to beat the repressive Sheriff Jim Clark, who was waging a fervent write-in campaign against the Democratic nominee, Wilson Baker.

He can even boast that Negroes live "within 75 feet of the Governor's mansion in Montgomery" — not adding that they occupy barely visible side-street shacks put up decades ago as servants' quarters for resplendent antebellum mansions like the Governor's official residence.

To get maximum exposure, Wallace schedules as many press conferences and televi-

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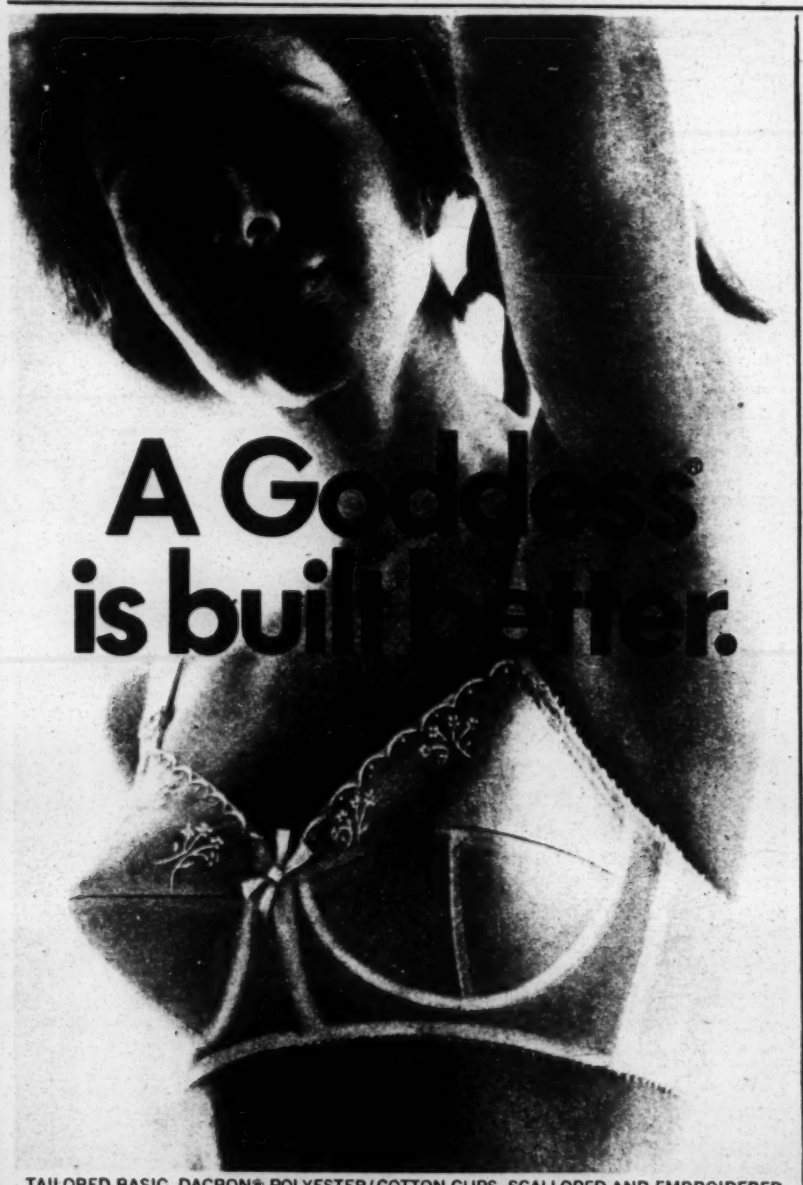

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sion interviews as possible between rallies. These exchanges rarely develop any new information, but Wallace relishes the battle of wits and usually comes out on top.

If someone questions him about Ku Klux Klan support, he responds that "the Communist Daily Worker supported President Johnson, but that doesn't make the President a Communist." Does he accept the support of the John Birch Society? "The Birch society is anti-Communist, and I have no objection to anyone who is anti-Communist."

Is he cultivating the backlash vote? "The only backlash in this country is the backlash against government for allowing a breakdown of law and order."

Such conferences are usually attended by Wallace partisans who, to the dismay of reporters, burst into vigorous applause when their man scores a telling point.

WALLACE travels by plane, even though he is genuinely horrified by flying. "It's the worst thing about running for President." He is always the first to detect any unusual noises in the engine, and a mere bump in the air will cut him off in midsentence to rush to the window and peer out. He was the first to detect an oil leakage which forced a quick return shortly after take-off from Montgomery in late February.

He usually travels in a four-engine DC6 provided by Henry L. Seale, a wealthy Dallas aviation executive and a political sympathizer. Seale once told a reporter the plane was being provided free of charge, but later he revised his statement—apparently at the urging of Montgomery—to say that a fee was being charged.

The traveling entourage usually includes a few politicians and staff aides, a couple of personal friends (such as Dave Silverman, bass-voiced cigar-smoking Montgomery jeweler), two pretty girls out of Wallace headquarters to serve as hostesses, some newspapermen, and a varying number of Alabama State Troopers, both in and out of uniform, some equipped with walkie-talkies and all equipped with firearms.

On one California trip, Wallace brought along no fewer than 16 state police officers, and before some audiences he delivered his speech from a bulletproof podium which covered him from three sides, his head barely visible above the massive walls.

These elaborate precautions raise a good deal of anxiety at home and puzzlement elsewhere. When questioned Wallace will pass off the matter lightly, saying there are "just too many anarchists running around the country" to take any chance. Or he might respond with a wisecrack: "We brought 'em along to keep me from biting myself," he said in Pittsburgh—his answer to Senator Hugh Scott's remark the day before that if Wallace bit himself, he might die of blood poisoning.

But police departments and local campaign headquarters in some places where he speaks do not look upon the security matter as a joke. His appearance is frequently preceded by convincing anonymous telephone threats of assassination or indiscriminate bomb-planting. Even at so sedate a place as Dartmouth College, there was a risky moment when hostile students surrounded his car after the speech—an episode which brought an official apology from the college.

The threat of violence also bedevils the campaign in another way; local officials are often afraid to have Wallace in their community. Two nights of tense disorder followed his appearance in Omaha early this month, and on at least three other occasions local police officials have asked him to cancel speeches because the climate appeared dangerous. He always feels compelled to honor such requests.

IS Wallace serious about winning?

He sounds increasingly so in public and private. As early as last fall, he was heard to murmur as he peered out of the plane's window over some remote plain of the Far West, "Just think! Someday I'll be President of all that!"

Winning, however, involves a certain amount of mathematical legerdemain. This is discussed at great length in a "position paper" emanating from the florid pen of a press

If all else fails, Wallace will treat the '68 race as a warm-up for '72

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functionary in the Wallace campaign. It begins: "Can a former truck driver who is married to a former dime store clerk and whose father was a plain dirt farmer be elected President of the United States?"

The answer is an unequivocal "yes," since the hero described is George Wallace. "With three candidates in the race," this paper proclaims, "Wallace would need only 34 per cent of the vote if the other two candidates split the remaining 66 per cent. With four candidates running, Wallace could conceivably win with only 26 per cent of the vote. It is even possible for a candidate to win by carrying 12 of the larger states with only 25 per cent of the vote."

A little history is cited to underscore the point. In 1824, Andrew Jackson led John Quincy Adams in electoral votes, but since neither had a majority the election went into the House of Representatives and Adams won. In 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes trailed Samuel J. Tilden by a quarter of a million popular votes, yet won the Presidency by one electoral vote.

SUCH examples as these provide a clue to Wallace's secondary strategy: He sees the possibility of bringing about some kind of 20th-century version of the Hayes-Tilden compromise which signaled the end of military reconstruction in the South 92 years ago. In a really close election, Wallace might nail down only a handful of Southern electoral votes and still prevent a major candidate from getting a majority. Matters would then be open for negotiation. He might release his electoral votes to either candidate who was willing to make "a solemn covenant with the American people." This covenant would bring about "a kind of coalition Government like they have in some other countries."

To get the Wallace electoral votes, a Presidential contender would be expected to promise faithfully and publicly that the Federal Government would abandon such obnoxious schemes as open-housing proposals. Apportionment of the State Legislatures and control of schools and hospitals would be turned back to the states, exclusively. Foreign aid would be terminated to such countries as Yugolsavia and to any nation doing business with the North Vietnamese. "Different oriented" men would have to be appointed to the Supreme Court. "That's the kind of covenant they'd have

(*Continued on Page 82*)

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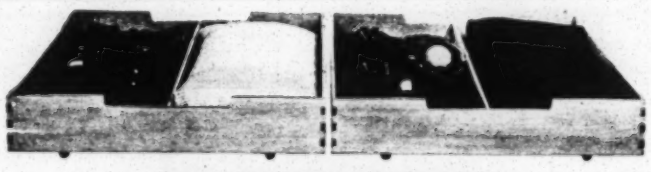

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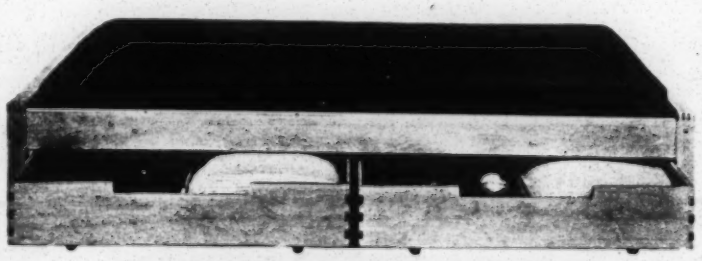

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(*Continued from Page 79*)

to make," Wallace says exultantly.

Even beyond the Electoral College, of course, might be the ultimate deal-making opportunity that would come if the election were thrown into the House of Representatives —an eventuality which would be brought about by the failure of any candidate to get the necessary majority of 270 electoral votes. In the House showdown, each state would have one vote for President and a stalemate would be entirely within the realm of possibility.

WHAT is missing from this wishful speculation, of course, is the possibility suggested by most reliable polls that Wallace would take more votes away from the Republican nominee of moderate or conservative persuasion — Nixon or Reagan — than from a Democrat, thereby making it possible for the Democrat to win crucial states with pluralities rather than outright majorities. When confronted with this thesis, Wallace argues that we would wind up "no worse off" since all the major candidates are equally unacceptable — even Reagan. Besides, his own polls — conducted by television studios which solicit telephone calls expressing preference — show him winning over all challengers by margins of 60 per cent or better.

There is still a final Wallace strategy. If all plans this year go haywire and the President is re-elected, the 1968 campaign can be regarded as a "warm-up race" —a standard practice in Alabama gubernatorial contests. (Like most Alabama Governors, Wallace ran an unsuccessful race in 1958 before being elected in 1962.) Wallace has long contended that the nation is ripe for a cataclysmic realignment of politics which will mean the death of one of the national parties. He envisions himself as a prime influence in this realignment of liberals and conservatives.

It does not seem to trouble him that he is selling a novel brand of conservatism, and so far he has been successful to a degree. The president of the local John Birch Society and the president of the local trade union can sit down side by side at a Wallace rally and each find something to cheer.

Wallace speaks of Senator Barry Goldwater as "a good man, but a poor candidate. He didn't have the massive support that we have among the working people."

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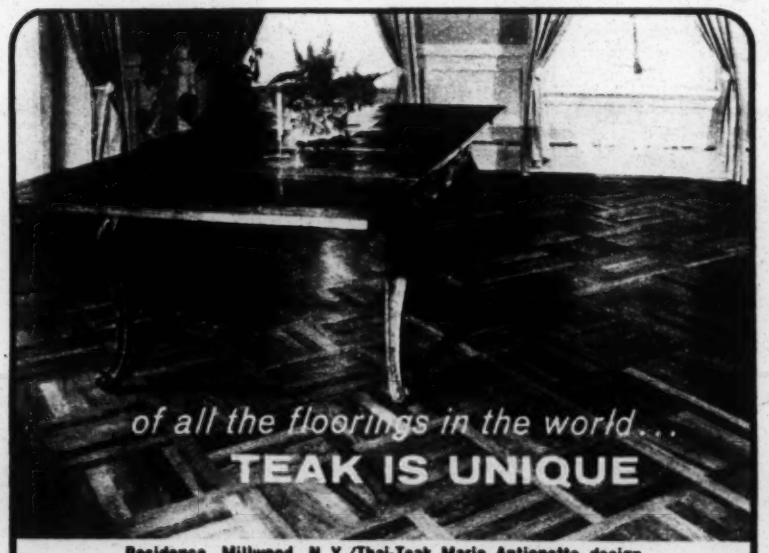

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conservatism, Wallace gave a definition boiled down to this: Federal activity is "liberal" but states' rights progressivism is "conservative" because it "conserves our resources."

Some traditional conservatives are concerned enough over Wallace's candidacy to attempt to expose the Governor's tax-borrow-and-spend policies which have prevailed in Alabama for the last five years. Since he was inaugurated in 1963, Wallace has tripled the state debt to finance education, road-building, hospitals, and other services. His tax programs differ from his Populist predecessors' only in that he tends to hit the consumer rather than "soak the rich." In five years of two Wallace administrations, the sales tax has gone from 3 to 4 per cent, an extra three cents has been levied on cigarettes and beer, and $10 has been added to the price of automobile tags. This money has been used to provide free textbooks to school children, locate junior colleges and trade schools within easy schoolbus reach of every community, and build new hospitals for the retarded and mentally ill.

THE conservative weekly newsletter, Human Events, has given wide distribution to a detailed exposé of Wallace's liberal state policies. But when Human Events polled 220 leading conservative writers, politicians and organization heads, 30 per cent responded that they believed Wallace to be a fiscal conservative and 25 per cent said they did not believe he was appealing to race prejudice — figures which suggest an unawareness of Wallace's state programs on the part of conventional conservatives.

Wallace is also under conservative attack from a former Alabamian, Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida. Kirk has appointed himself as a "one-man truth squad" to go about the country exposing what he calls "the Johnson-Wallace plot" to get the President re-elected. Adapting an enemy ploy, he calls Wallace a "pseudo-conservative."

(By one of those curious ironies that permeate Southern politics, Governor Kirk's father was appointed by Wallace to a high state position — the state's adviser on how to get money out of Washington. Governor Kirk once observed that he hoped his attacks wouldn't get his father fired. Wallace snapped back that of course they would not, because the senior Kirk was more attuned to Wallace politics than his son's.)

GEARING up a national organization to run for President has proved to be no simple endeavor. In some states — notably Ohio and Idaho—it is so difficult to get on the ballot that the Wallace forces are challenging the qualifying laws in court. But campaign aides are confident Wallace will be on the ballot in at least 36 states.

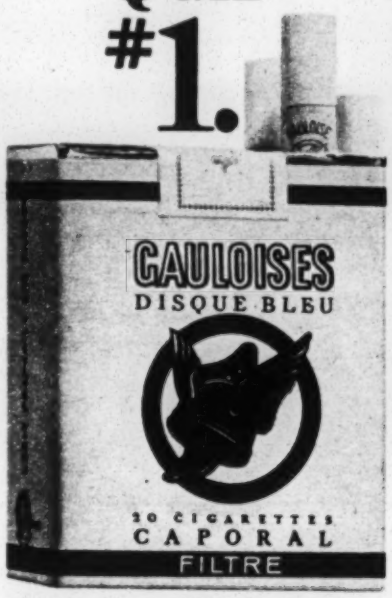
As things now stand, the vehicle for running — the American Independent party —is largely a formless, memberless, *ad hoc* organization. California is the only state where it has any appreciable membership (100,000).

Wallace has picked up the support of a political bigwig here and there, such as the Arkansas segregationist Jim Johnson, and Plaquemines Parish's redoubtable Leander Perez. Former Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia, whose scandal-ridden administration prevented him from making a political comeback, agreed to serve as an interim Vice Presidential candidate, necessary to meet certain legal requirements in some states until someone better can be found. Other assorted celebrities, besides the movie star Chill Wills, include a retired Marine general and a 1964 Goldwater elector from California.

But in the main Wallace is obliged to rely upon political amateurs to carry the ball in local organizations. The John Birch Society has been a particularly fruitful source of local talent; in Washington, for instance, more than half of his 40-member state campaign committee are said to be society members.

Also, spontaneous, unauthorized organizations of dubious pedigree keep horning in on the act. At one time or another, freelance Wallace organizations have been put together by a Ku Klux Klansman, a Minuteman, an American Nazi. In South Carolina, two well-organized groups of Wallace backers are feuding for leadership, one claiming to represent

The Gauloises 2-minute French Quiz #1.



(Answers upside down at the bottom of the page)

1. Gauloises (pronounced "Goal-waz") won fame as:

a. A dancer at the Folies Bergère
b. Builder of the Eiffel tower
c. France's favorite cigarette

2. In France, Gauloises are enjoyed by:

a. Goateed French diplomats
b. Inscrutable Japanese diplomats
c. Roving-eyed Italian diplomats

3. In France, you would expect to say "Gauloises" to:

a. A tobacconist
b. A gendarme
c. A man who just sneezed

Answers

Quiz #2 was in a pa

—Three out of five French smokers insist on Gauloises.

a, b, c—In France, enjoying Gauloises is just the diplomatic thing to do.

a—But if there's no tobacconist handy you could try to filch one from a gendarme who has just sneezed. After all, they are France's favorite cigarette.

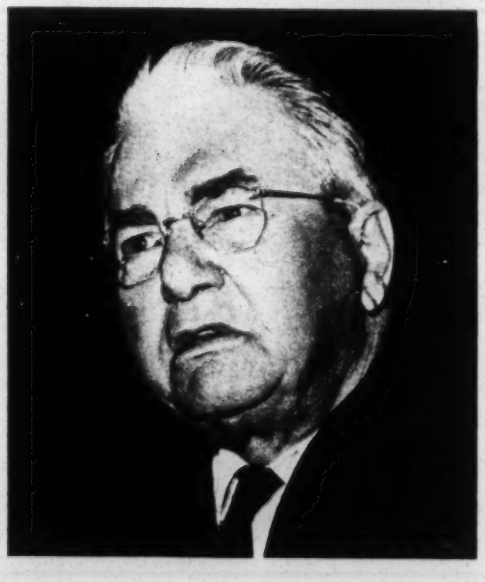
"the little man" and accusing the other (the officially recognized one) of representing "big business."

The California party was hardly in business before its leadership fell to bickering. An insurgent group held a rump session of the party's board of directors and wrested the leadership from the state chairman, William K. Shearer, a Los Angeles publicist who has been involved in a number of successful right-wing endeavors. Shearer responded by filing a million-dollar suit against the challengers and obtaining a court order recognizing him as the official party leader. Thereupon, Wallace fired Shearer, who refused to accept his discharge and still proclaims himself loyal to Wallace.

Similar intrafactional difficulties have developed in Virginia, where Wallace's genteel conservative backers have been appalled at the unwillingness to disown unequivocally the Klan, the Patriotic party, and other

ON THE BANDWAGON

Four who have announced for Wallace are: former Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia (left); Chill Wills, the Western character actor (below left); Jim Johnson, the Arkansas segregationist defeated for Governor in 1966 by Winthrop Rockefeller (below); and Leander Perez (at bottom), boss of Placquemines Parish, La. Griffin is filling, at least temporarily, the role of Wallace's candidate for Vice President.



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such elements. When questioned about support from such elements, Wallace usually minimizes their importance and will only disavow in general terms the backing of any organization that advocates violence.

THUS, what professional tone there is in the Wallace campaign is supplied almost exclusively by Alabama. Seven top state officials — including such old political hands as State Finance Director Seymore Trammell and gubernatorial aide Cecil Jackson—have left the state payroll to put their talents into the Presidential venture. The campaign headquarters now takes up most of the space in a new spic-and-span five-story building which affords visitors an excellent panoramic view of the few crumbling mansions which have thus far escaped the wrecking ball on the edges of downtown Montgomery.

"When we get to be President and some anarchist lies down in front of our car, it'll be the last car he'll ever lie in front of."

The operation is manned by a staff of 25, and one rates low in protocol if his office floor is not carpeted or his wall is not adorned with a map of the country peppered with colored pins. One lady even has four large clocks behind her desk — one for each time zone. The office bulletin board is plastered with campaign schedules, cartoons casting L.B.J. in a ludicrous light, and a campaign button which reads "Lyndon for Emperor."

The Wallace campaign has been bedeviled by embarrassing ineptitude. For instance, elaborate plans were made to hold the Wallace "national convention" at Miami Beach immediately following the Republican convention in order to take advantage of the television equipment already on the scene. But the whole deal was blown when someone neglected his reservation duties and allowed a convention of car dealers to grab off the hall.

A half-hour TV program boosting the Wallace cause was scheduled to be shown over WMET-TV in Baltimore, but was urgently canceled when word got back to Alabama that the station beams mostly to the Negro community. Even Wallace's reliable supporters have contributed their share of gaucheries. Former Governor Griffin, asked if he would remain loyal to the cause even if he had to step aside as the Vice Presidential candidate, responded with an innocent, but profoundly inappropriate metaphor: "I'll be there when we tree the coon."

CAMPAIGN financing is one of the murkiest areas of the Wallace Presidential venture. Ask where the money's coming from, and the answer is, "from the little people all over the country who support the movement."

These mail contributions do add up to an appreciable sum. Campaign headquarters reports that an average of 2,000 letters a day arrive with donations ranging from two dimes Scotch-taped to a laboriously scrawled message of support on tablet paper, on up to three-figure checks from businessmen in such unlikely places as Wichita. The average contribution, Wallace aides say, is $5. This source, therefore, can be expected to produce less than $2-million between now and November.

There is a so-called "dollar-a-month" club, and the campaign has leased a computer which can disgorge more than 21,000 names of pledged donors on a moment's notice. But obviously this kind of financing cannot raise the kind of money which the campaign's financial managers feel will be necessary—estimated variously from $9-million to $15-million.

Many suspect that a source of campaign funds is H. L. Hunt, the Texas multimillionaire who has talked privately with Wallace on occasion. But Hunt insists he isn't bankrolling the campaign, and Wallace once observed ruefully that the only thing Hunt ever gave him was a "bunch of pamphlets."

More likely lucrative sources are the standard suppliers of political funds within the state of Alabama — contractors doing business with the state, upper-level state employes who owe their jobs to the administration, and the like. Wallace, in what may

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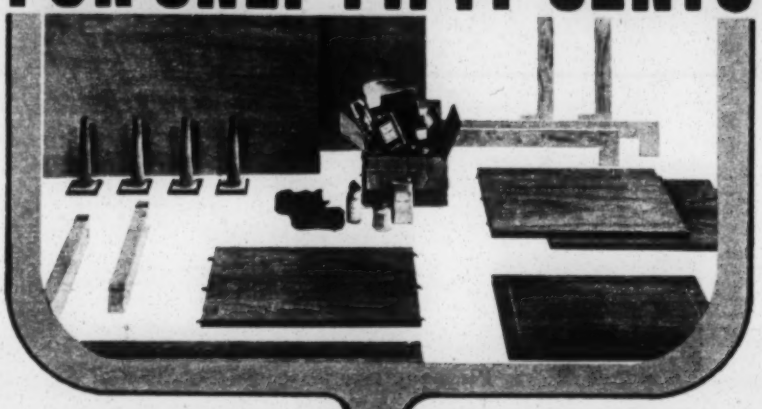

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Wallace sees himself as a prime influence in a realignment of liberals and conservatives

have been a slip of the tongue, recently blurted out at one press conference that "the good people of Alabama raised $350,000" for the do-or-die effort to gain a ballot position in California. Candidates for various statewide offices have grumbled that "there just isn't any political money in Alabama this year. The well has been pumped dry."

THE precarious health of Gov. Lurleen Wallace continues to becloud the whole campaign. The decision has already been made that the race will go on even if Mrs. Wallace is unable to continue as Governor. She has already sanctioned as much by saying the decision to run was "a joint decision, made by the two of us. . . . It is exactly what we told the people of Alabama we would do . . . of course, it has my blessings." Once she even interrupted her radiation treatments for cancer and flew to California to spend Thanksgiving with her husband and to make a few encouraging remarks at one of his rallies.

Nonetheless, her illness has a severely limiting effect on the movements of the candidate, who remains near his wife's bedside during the most critical moments. Already she has undergone surgery for cancer three times in the short span of two years, and has received radiation treatment for more than 10 weeks as well. Her last surgery was an emergency case, performed only two days after her husband returned from a campaign trip in Pennsylvania in late February and on the very day that he was supposed to make an important appearance in Florida. The crucial Florida trip, billed as "a major address" before 2,000 well-heeled supporters, had to be canceled while Wallace stood by in the Montgomery hospital.

Under Alabama law, only the Governor herself can determine whether she is physically incapable of carrying on the duties of office, thereby turning the office over to the Lieutenant Governor. When asked if such a step was contemplated, even temporarily, a top Wallace aide snapped without hesitation, "No, sir!"

The Lieutenant Governor is Albert Brewer, 39, who has been aligned with Wallace in the State Legislature. He is, nevertheless, an independent progressive who has long yearned to be Governor and it is regarded as inconceivable that he would function in the manner of a housewife who happened to be elected Governor. "Albert figures that if he will have to bear the responsibility," one of his close friends said, "he will make the decisions."

Should Wallace lose his status as the *de facto* Governor (although he holds no official position, he routinely occupies the Governor's office and functions as the state's chief executive), needless to say he would suffer not only a loss in prestige but in his ability to command support of the home folks in the Presidential effort. His current power is illustrated by the six out of the state's seven top elected officials who answered the call to serve as Wallace Presidential electors in Alabama. Also on the ticket are the wives of the two leading candidates for the U.S. Senate.

MEANTIME, Wallace sets a killing pace for his associates both at home and on the hustings. He can drive himself for 18 hours a day, stopping only to wolf down a sandwich here and there. His energy stems partly from the fact that he is a nondrinker (although he chews and puffs incessantly on cheap cigars) and that his political interests are totally consuming.

It is difficult for him to cut off the campaign spiel in his private conversations, even when he is talking to sophisticated people. His words usually just get tougher. "The way to control a riot is to shoot the first person that throws a brick. Bop 'em on the head." He likes to describe, complete with shadow-boxing gestures, how his fans gave the bum's rush to a noisy critic at one of his rallies.

He seems to yearn to win over even his most intractable critics. "Bigots, you call our people," he once sneered at a newspaper critic. Then he went on in a curious and uncharacteristic outburst of compassion: "Well, no matter what they are, they're *people*, and they don't deserve to be kicked around for their beliefs." ■

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ALABAMIANS AGAINST

JOSEPH N. LANGAN

"A man like Wallace, who insists on fighting both the Democratic and Republican parties, is not the best man to serve Mobile's needs."

BY WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE

As a resident of Alabama, I invite you to visit my state during 1968 and meet the *other* Alabama—the anti-Wallace Alabama. You will be heartened to see how much of the state is not represented by George C. Wallace.

Wallace tells everybody that he represents an Alabama Movement. You will find that there is a movement in Alabama *against* Wallace, and that it is dramatic and inspiring.

If you enter Alabama from the east, go first to Tuskegee, in Macon County. On the square, park your car near the Alabama Exchange Bank. Go in and meet the bank's president, a friendly Rotarian, 56, J. Allen Parker. He will explain to you:

"Of Alabama's sixty-seven counties, we are one of four in which Negroes outnumber whites. Prior to 1963, under the doctrine of white supremacy, we restricted Negro voting, and whites held all positions of power. We maintained a dual school system, and we spent three times as much public money on the education of a white child as on that of a Negro child. In 1963, when the Federal court ordered our county to enroll Negroes in our white schools, Wallace sent troopers not to help us comply with the court order but to close our schools. Some of us didn't want our schools closed. We questioned Wallace's right to close them. Our Alabama constitution guarantees *local* control of schools, not *state* control. So we decided to save our schools. Wallace is always exhorting us to stand up and fight, so we stood up and fought him. We found a school superintendent who would stand with us. We reopened the schools for the 1964-65 term; and they have improved each year despite the handicap that some of our whites, aided by Wallace, maintain a private white school."

Fighting Wallace can be expensive. Some of the Wallaceites are terrorists. One white member of the school board in Macon County saw two of his barns burn. Another lost $3,000 worth of cattle when his ponds were poisoned. Many anti-Wallace white families have been called "liberal nigger-lovers" over the telephone. (To Wallace and the Wallaceites, "liberal" means "nigger-loving." The Wallaceites, even illiterates in junk-heap cars, call themselves "conservatives." They call their white opponents, even bankers, "liberals.")

"Yes," Mr. Parker concedes, "people have suffered here. Some families have suffered more than mine. My wife and children have suffered more than I. We have lost old friends, but gained new ones. My daughter attends a high school in which half her classmates are Negroes. Her science teacher is a Negro man. Girls who were once her friends attend the private school, and they call her a nigger-lover. Wallace attacked the bank. He jerked out state deposits, pressured other depositors to leave us. But the bank's statements show that we have improved our position each year. We are the youngest of the three banks in Macon County; now, we are the largest."

Macon County is governed by a Board of Revenue. The voters elect four members of the board, then these four choose a fifth member to be the chairman. Negroes now outvote whites in the county, so two board members are now Negroes, two are whites. The new chairman is Mr. Parker.

On December 7, 1967, at the Torch Cafe, the Lions Club of Tuskegee met for dinner. Thirty white men. Their guests were four members of the Macon County Board of Revenue. Each member, including the two Negroes, spoke on the problems of his section of the county. Then Mr. Parker spoke for the whole county:

"Our county is rural, so we need in dustry, more jobs, better educated peo ple to fill the jobs. Disunity remain our gravest problem. Our people ar divided into three groups: the Ne groes, the whites who want to im prove the public schools, and th whites whose interest is in the priva school. The two white groups displa more malice toward each other tha toward the Negroes. We are neverth less making progress. We are correcti old injustices. I congratulate you men bers of the Lions Club on your effor toward unity. We can make progres we can avoid strife, if we can persua our embittered whites again to ser the community, and if we can co vince each of our Negroes that he b longs here, that he is valued and equ and that he is as responsible as a white man for the development Macon County and the United States

You can find men like Mr. Parker every Alabama county. They are school-board members and super tendents who have fought Wallace five years and defeated him. They ha ignored his demands that they surr der the schools to him and done w had to be done. They have preser "local control of education." T

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WALLACE

have defended "constitutional government." They are dismantling the dual school system, integrating classrooms and faculties. Wallace himself has declared: "The school people of Alabama are in a state of insurrection against me."

If you enter Alabama from the south, stop at Mobile. Go to the City Hall and call on Commissioner Joseph N. Langan, 55, a Roman Catholic. His family was in Mobile before the Civil War. He is serving his fourth consecutive term on the City Commission. He will tell you:

"A man like Wallace, who insists on fighting both the Democratic and Republican parties, is not the best man to serve Mobile's needs. Mobile is a great port city. Our interests are national and international. We look toward Africa and South America. We have had no Negro riots; we expect none. We have moved rapidly to encourage, not suppress, Negro aspiration. The City of Mobile employs Negro police, firemen, secretaries, data processors, tunnel guards, toll collectors, equipment operators in our parks and streets: we have no job that is not open to Negroes. Mobile is a city of opportunity for both Negroes and whites. Mobile's needs include the building of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Canal and further development of Alabama's vast river system. Only the United States, represented by the Democratic and Republican parties, can fill such needs."

Commissioner Langan has seen crosses burning in his yard. Still, of Mobile's three commissioners, he's the one who gets reelected.

While in Mobile, you can examine Wallace's loudest claim: that in 1966, when, in effect, he ran for reelection in Alabama, he got half the Negro votes in the state and nearly all the Negro votes in Dallas County (Selma). You will find that while this claim is factually true, its implication that Negroes *support* Wallace is untrue.

You can learn the truth in the Mobile office of Alabama's most articulate Negro leader, John L. LeFlore, 59, a retired postman. He will explain:

In Alabama, only the Democratic party has a primary and a full ticket in the general election. To have a part in choosing candidates for every office, one *must* vote in the Democratic primary. Usually, it's the decisive arena: this is why Negroes were excluded from it for decades. Under the Alabama constitution, no incumbent

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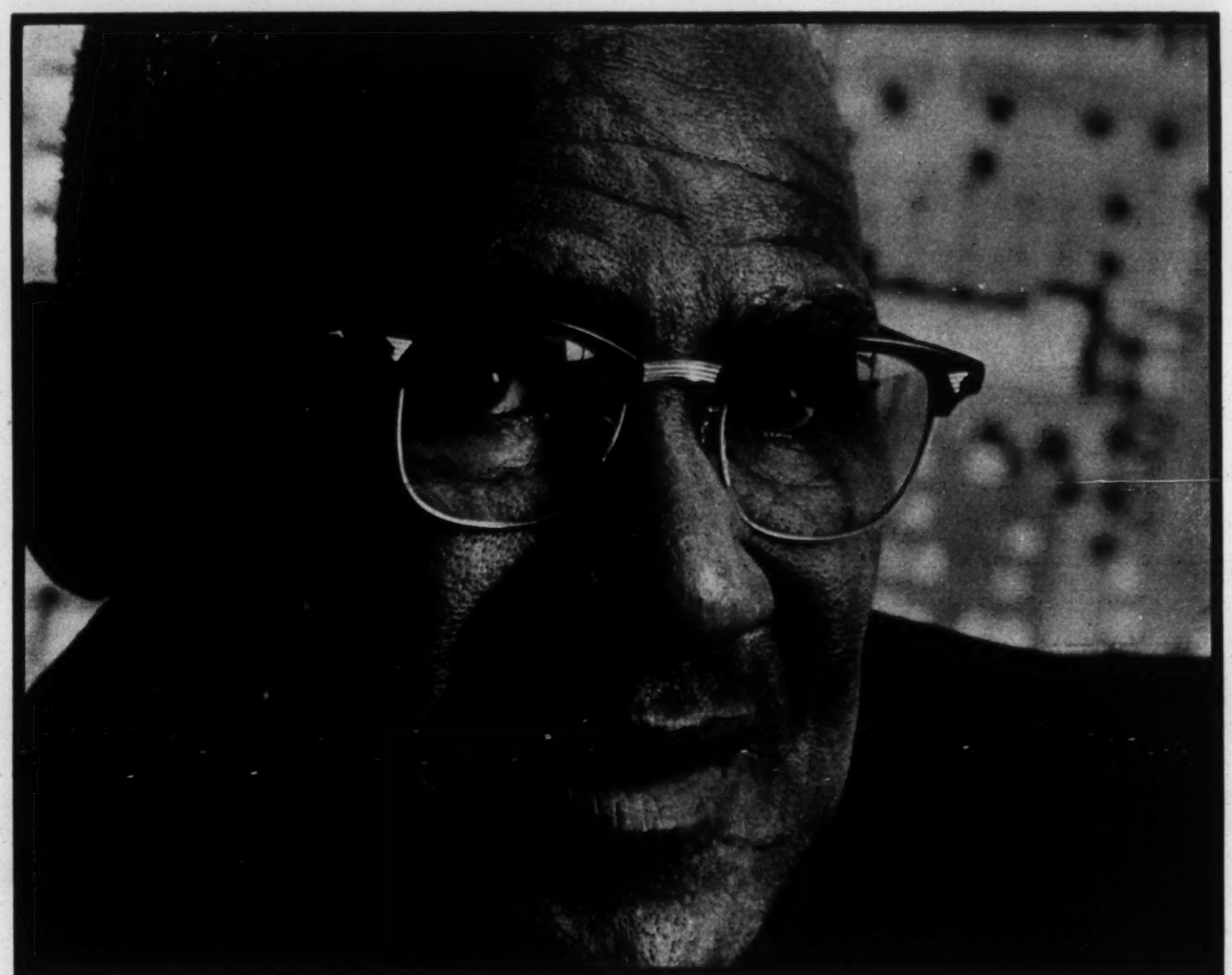


JOHN L. LEFLORE

"Wallace has no Negro support in Alabama. What is it in Wallace's soul which makes him want to boast that he has Negro support?"

PHOTOGRAPHED BY AL CLAYTON

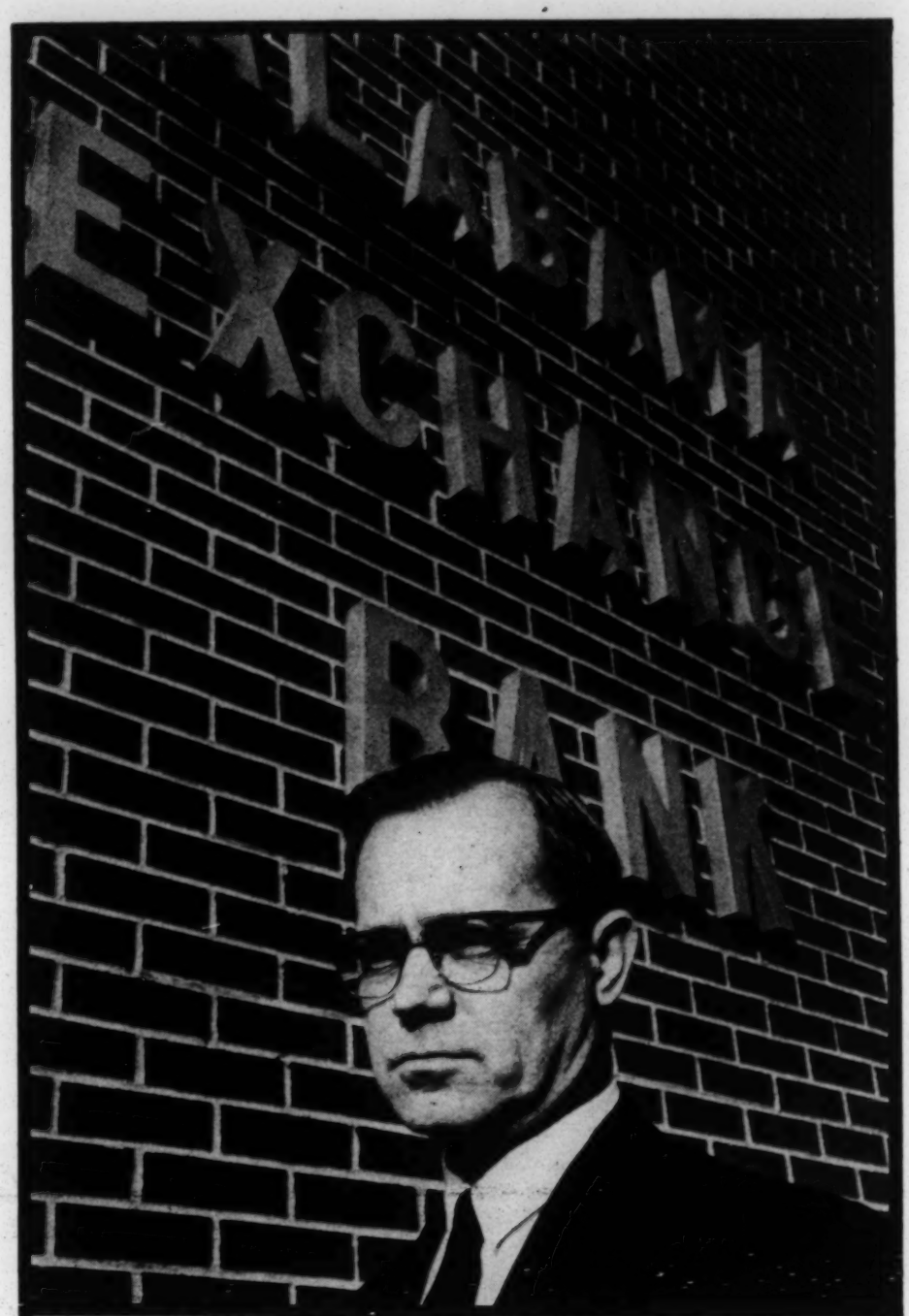
governor can try to succeed himself, but in 1966, Wallace tried it under his wife's name. In the primary, he was opposed by several men, only one of whom had a statewide organization, and that one died in a plane crash. Wallace, with all the money-raising advantages of an incumbent, spent much more than his opponents could spend. Whites who would vote against Wallace in the general election voted for him in the primary. Moreover, Wallace was backed by the terrorists: voting against him was dangerous. (Alabama's rural areas still use paper ballots that are not secret: the sheriff can know how everybody has voted.)

On voting day in the primary, Negroes cast 20 percent of the votes; whites, 80 percent. Few, if any, Negroes voted for Wallace. Sixty-five percent of the whites voted for him, giving him 52 percent of the total. Five percent more white votes against Wallace could have defeated him.

In the general election, in the governor's race, there was little reason for Negroes to vote. The Republican candidate tried to "out-nigger" Wallace. But in the U.S. Senate race, Sen. John Sparkman, on the Democratic ticket with Wallace, wanted Negro votes. Sparkman is no soul brother of Negroes, but he is no Wallace, and he needed Negro votes to defeat his Republican opponent, who was supported by thousands of Wallaceites. To "Save Sparkman" from defeat by the Wallaceites, almost every Negro leader in Alabama urged Negroes to "pull one big lever or mark one X" and vote the straight Democratic ticket. (Most were voting for the first time: they didn't know how to split a ticket.)

In Dallas County, there was an impelling reason for Negroes to "pull the one big lever." Negroes there had banded with whites and defeated Sheriff Jim Clark in the primary. The winning candidate, Wilson Baker, went on the Democratic ticket in Dallas County, along with Wallace for governor and Sparkman for senator. Then Clark, as an independent, ran against Baker in the general election. So almost every Negro voter in Dallas County pulled the Democratic lever, first, to beat Clark again, and second, to save Sparkman from being defeated by the Wallaceites. Apparently, no Negro in the state voted Republican. So, in the general election of 1966, about the only Negroes whose votes were not counted for Wallace were those who knew how, after pulling the big lever at the rooster [Alabama's Democratic-party symbol], to pull a little lever and blank their vote for Wallace.

This is how Wallace got a "landslide" of 66 percent of the votes in the general election. The landslide also included the votes of thousands of anti-Wallace whites who pulled the big lever for Sparkman and other Democratic nominees, then neglected to blank their votes for Wallace.



J. ALLEN PARKER

"Wallace is always exhorting us to stand up and fight, so we stood up and fought him."

(Note: Not all voting machines in Alabama are alike. Jefferson County, which includes Birmingham and the surrounding area, has abolished the "one big lever.")

When Mr. LeFlore completes this explanation, he will say: "I hope I have made clear to you that Wallace has no Negro support in Alabama. Now, I'll ask you to explain something to me. What is it in Wallace's soul which makes him *want* to boast that he has Negro support? And what sort of American is it who can *believe* that Wallace has Negro support?"

At 1:20 a.m., June 28, 1967, Mr. LeFlore and his family were asleep in their $12,000 home. Dynamite exploded: "And there I was," he says, "lying in my bed looking right out into space. Walls had vanished." Members of the Mobile Chamber of Commerce, the newspapers and TV stations, hundreds of whites, quickly raised $18,000 and built him a new home.

In Birmingham, you can examine Wallace's claim that he represents "the little man—the workingman." A fifth of Alabama's workingmen work around Birmingham; there, you find the leaders and lawyers of organized workingmen. These leaders are cautious: Wallace has hurt them. Wallace has fragmented their organizations by telling their members: "I could do so much more for you workingmen if you'd just get rid of them nigger-loving leaders you got." The labor lawyers and leaders will tell you:

. . . Back in the late forties, when Wallace was a legislator, he talked like the workingman's best friend. He cussed the sales tax. He was for reapportionment. (The Alabama constitution says the legislature must be reapportioned every ten years. It had not been reapportioned since 1901.) Wallace wanted to reapportion the legislature and reduce the power of rural, anti-labor legislators.

. . . When he ran for governor in 1962, we asked him how he stood on the sales tax, reapportionment, minimum wage, equalization of property taxes, workmen's compensation, anti-union (right to work) laws. In writing, he hedged. Then, he'd telephone us and say, hell, you fellows know how I stand on them issues. I always been for the workingman.

. . . We went along with him. But his speeches made us nervous. Nothing but nigger-nigger-nigger. We'd call him and say, George, how about giving us a little less nigger-nigger-nigger, and a little more talk about how you're going to help the workingman? He'd say, hell, I'm gonna help the workingman first by taking his part against the nigger: That's all folks want to hear me talk about. And we'd say, well, Negroes are workingmen, too, and what all workingmen in Alabama need is a governor to take their part against the big employers and the big property owners. The sales tax is already up to three percent, and the rural legislators want to make it four percent. Tell us again that you'll hold the sales tax at three percent. Tell us again that you'll reduce the power of rural legislators.

. . . Of course George double-crossed us. Show me a politician who's "taking the white man's part against the nigger," and I'll show you one who'll never take the workingman's part against employers and big property owners. Why should he? He gets the poor white man's vote by yelling nigger, then steals bread from his pocket. The minute George got elected, he and his gang raised the sales tax to four percent. The Supreme Court of the United States came to Alabama's rescue and compelled reapportionment of the legislature. Then Wallace killed the effect of reapportionment by stacking the legislative committees with his gang of rural legislators who take orders from the Alabama Mining Institute, Associated Industries and the big landowners.

. . . Wallace is perhaps the most anti-workingman governor in the United States. In no other state of the Union is the tax structure so rigged against the urban workingman and in favor of the man who owns a thousand acres of pine trees or pastureland in a rural

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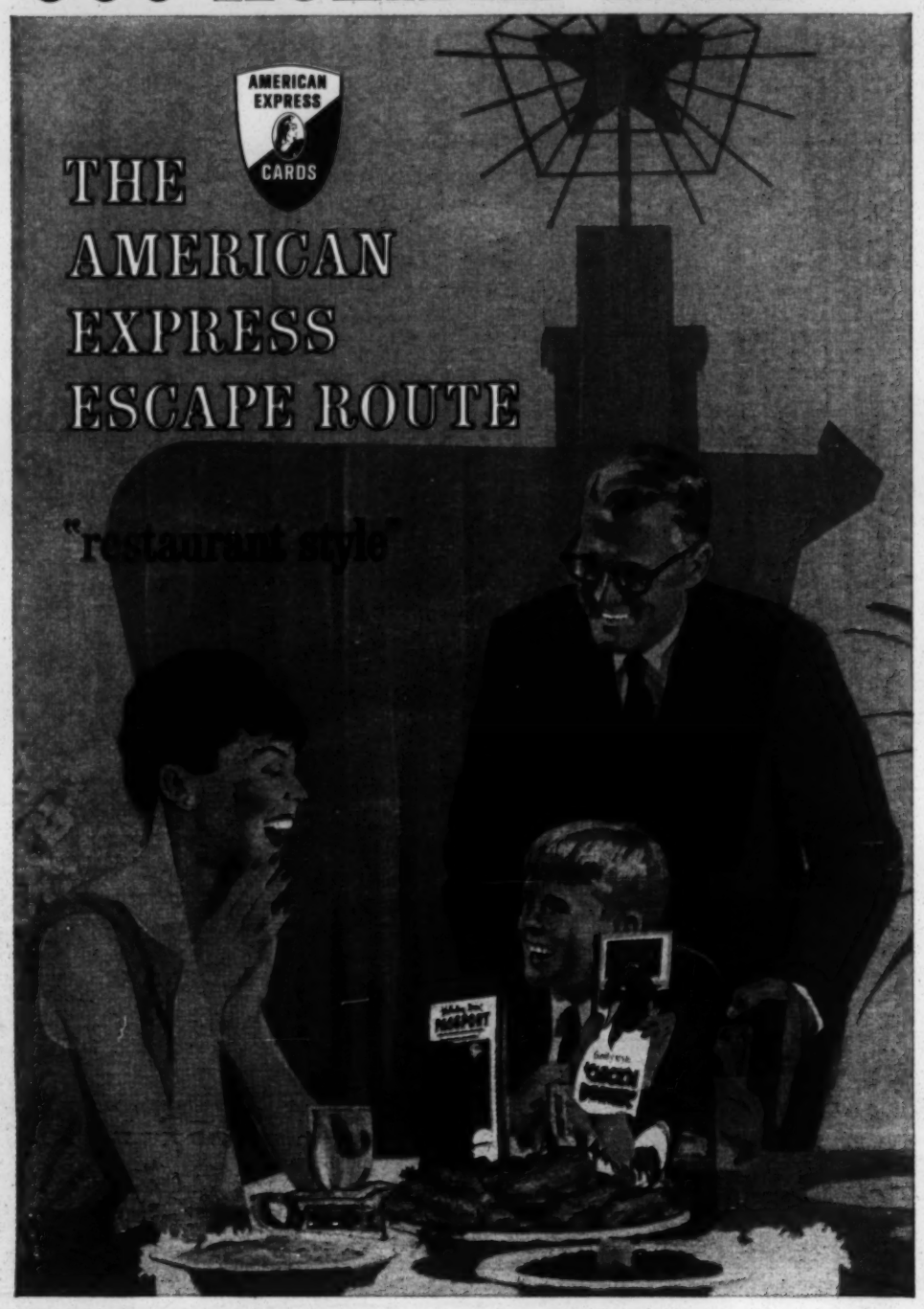

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WALLACE CONTINUED

county. The workingman pays up to six percent taxes, counting local taxes, on his food. This hurts the little man, not the big-income man. If he owns a little property, the urban workingman assesses it at 30 percent. The rural landowner assesses his land at five percent. Alabama has the lowest property tax of any state. Wallace blocks all efforts to raise property taxes. He blocks all efforts to equalize property-tax assessments, as required by the state constitution. So Alabama's workingmen must again ask the Supreme Court of the United States to compel the Wallace gang to quit violating the constitution of Alabama.

. . . Before workingmen in other states start supporting Wallace for President, they should come to Alabama and see workingmen paying Wallace's new taxes on bread, beer, tobacco, auto tags and driver's licenses. They should inspect a state which has no minimum-wage law, but which has an anti-union law and an inadequate workmen's compensation law. They should discover that the largest contributors to Wallace's campaigns are people who want to abolish the Federal income tax.

When you question a Wallaceite workingman in Birmingham, he won't listen to how Wallace is exploiting him. He'll only tighten his jaw and snap: "I'm fer George all the way. He's the only hope the white man's got against the nigger!" But not all of Birmingham's workingmen are Wallaceites. Some of them helped elect the new mayor, George G. Seibels, Jr. He is no Wallaceite. He is a Republican. He made speeches and raised money for the Republican who ran against Wallace in the 1966 campaign.

In Birmingham and Montgomery, you can learn how many ministers have stood against Wallace, how many have joined him and how many have tried to keep quiet. Wallace has split more churches than labor-union locals; and preachers who have stood against him have suffered. The ones with the best record of opposing him are the Methodists.

Alabama has two Methodist conferences, but one bishop presides over both. Under the bishop are 21 district superintendents: 13 in North Alabama and 8 in South Alabama. Under the district superintendents are ministers in 1,738 churches.

Methodist property, like Catholic property and unlike Baptist property, is owned by the conference, not by the churches. When a new church is built, its trustees deed it to the conference. When the national Methodist Church began taking "nigger-loving" positions, portions of some Alabama congregations wanted to secede, not only from the national church but also from their Alabama conference. So the Alabama legislature passed the Dumas Act, under which a Methodist congregation, by a vote of 65 percent of its members, could wrest church property from the conference.

The Dumas Act could destroy the Methodist Church as a conference in which preachers are transferred from one church to another. The act is "class" legislation in that it excepts the Catholic Church and aims only at the Methodist Church.

With this gun at his head, every Methodist preacher, under Wallace, is said to pray each night: "O Lord, help me to know how much I can say against Wallace and still have my church, and how little I can say and still sleep." Now, apparently, the Dumas Act is to be ruled unconstitutional.

DR. FRANK A. ROSE

The watershed that divides Alabamians is whether they support Frank Rose's movement or George Wallace's movement

The leader of what Wallace calls "the insurrection of Alabama school people" against him is Dr. Frank A. Rose, president of the University of Alabama. The Birmingham *News* announced on April 6, 1967, that the "Rose-Wallace feud" was now in the open and that "one of these strong figures will have to go." The *News* quoted Wallace's legislative leaders as saying, "Rose has served his usefulness; he should resign."

When this story appeared, the Methodist bishop of Alabama was meeting with all 21 of his district superintendents. The bishop telephoned Dr. Rose and said: "We want you to know that the Methodist Church is behind you one hundred percent."

If you enter Alabama from the west, stop at Tuscaloosa and talk with Dr. Rose. Learn how many professors with national reputations, particularly in physics and surgery, are now working at the university's campuses in Tuscaloosa, Birmingham and Huntsville. Progress under Dr. Rose is the movement with meaning in Alabama. The watershed that divides Alabamians is whether they support Rose's movement or Wallace's movement. No one can support both movements. They lead in opposite directions.

The Rose-Wallace feud is rooted in the Alabama constitution. The men who wrote that constitution wanted the university to be free of political control, so they vested control in a Board of Trustees that is self-perpetuating. The governor does not appoint them. The trustees support Dr. Rose.

The feud began in 1963 when Wallace prepared to "stand in the door" of the university and prevent the admission of qualified citizens of Alabama because they were Negroes. The Board of Trustees had voted to comply with the court order and admit the Negroes. Wallace had no more right to assert control over the University of Alabama than he had to close the schools of Macon County.

The most respected constitutional authority Alabama has produced was the late Forney Johnston. He was portrayed in the television series *Profiles in Courage*. He stood with Oscar Underwood against the Ku Klux Klan in 1924. He was a conservative. He represented railroads, mineowners and the Alabama Power Company. He examined Wallace's claim that he had a legal right to stand in the university's door, and his verdict was: "This man Wallace is a usurper! He must be stopped by the people of Alabama!"

In 1965, Miss Vivian Malone, against whom Wallace had stood in the door, was graduated with honors. She was presented to the press by the dean of women, who expressed the university's pride in her accomplishment. Now, you will find that the University of Alabama is the "most Negro" previously white university in the United States. It has more Negro students than the University of Texas or the University of Wisconsin, and it has relatively more Negro students than the University of California.

In 1967, the university honored Mrs. Lurleen Wallace on Governor's Day. A woman of charm and dignity, she was treated courteously, but no one remembered to play *Dixie* or fly the Confederate flag. So the Wallace legislators resolved that henceforth *Dixie* must be played on such occasions, and the Confederate flag must be flown at the university.

If you enter Alabama from the north, stop at my home in the Tennessee Valley: the area of Florence, Decatur and Huntsville, which owes so much to "Federal intervention" against erosion, poverty and ignorance. In my county (Morgan), Wallace threatened our school leaders, trying to prevent their closing Negro schools. But within ten miles of my home, I'll show you three Negro schools that were closed last year. Now, at the nearest elementary school, we can watch a Negro woman successfully teaching 30 white children. Florence State College, last December, became the first Alabama "white" college to sign a Negro to a grant-in-aid football scholarship.

Here's how the Huntsville school board handled Wallace. In September, 1967, as schools were opening, Wallace, over his wife's signature, ordered all Alabama school systems to poll parents and let them approve one of two statements: 1) I want my child taught by a white teacher; or 2) I want my child taught by a Negro teacher. Many school systems ignored this order. The Huntsville board conducted the poll, but only after adding a third statement: I want my child taught by a competent teacher selected by the Huntsville school board. More than 60 percent of the parents approved the third statement. This result was forwarded to Wallace, after which no more was heard from him.

Does all this opposition to Wallace mean that in 1968, or in 1970, he will be defeated in Alabama? Come and judge for yourself. The unknown factor is fear. It's hard to judge the popularity of a governor who claims the support of "little" men, and among whose followers are men who will dynamite homes, burn barns and poison ponds. You can't tell how many little men admire the governor, and how many are only afraid of him. But when you meet Wallace or a Wallaceite, and they tell you how overwhelmingly popular Wallace is in Alabama, ask them one question: If Wallace is so popular in Alabama, then why is he so afraid to lower the voting age to 20? Or 19? Or 18? END

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HAPPY HOME VALUES SALE SPRING HARDWARE/ HOUSEWARES WEEK

Pol- 3rd Party

America." In the meantime, Mr. Johnson emphasized that Federal wiretapping and eavesdropping would continue to be confined to national security cases.

One of the foremost reasons he finally signed the bill was because it contained a gun-control provision, the President said. But he reiterated his belief that, applying as it does only to the sale of handguns in interstate commerce, it was "only a halfway step" toward tighter firearms control. Already, he noted, he had asked Congress to extend the Federal regulation to the sale of shotguns and rifles in an effort to "stop mail-order murder."

And by last week it seemed that Congress might at least comply with this last request. For the first time the House Judiciary Committee approved a bill to prohibit interstate mail-order sales of rifles and shotguns and regulate traffic in ammunition. And the Senate Judiciary Committee postponed action on the same Administration measure only because the absence of three key senators momentarily left the pro-control forces without enough strength to send the bill to the floor. The Senate committee scheduled a new vote this week. Though there would doubtless be other delays, it appeared increasingly likely that the Administration measure would clear the Congress, perhaps even by the July 4 recess as Mr. Johnson has asked.

UPI

Wallace on tour: Hymns, hellfire—and a hunt for every loose nickel

THIRD PARTIES:

That Old-Time Religion

Election year 1968 has already spawned one overburdened pop phrase: The New Politics. Whatever the elusive term means—and each candidate seems to have his own definition—one thing about it is certain: nobody has ever accused George Corley Wallace of Alabama of practicing it.

Far from it. To many, in fact, Wallace's Presidential campaign seemed more than ever to have taken on an old-time revivalist flavor. The bantamweight was on the road again for the first time since the death of his wife, Lurleen, and was winding up a meandering eight-state Southern foray last week religiously preaching against Federal bureaucrats, integrationists and pseudo-intellectuals. Appropriately, one of the string bands that warmed up his big handclapping crowds in Memphis, Chattanooga, Jacksonville and Richmond proudly touted its twangy rhythms as the "most exciting sound in gospel music." And at every stop one unvarying routine conjured up comparisons with an anachronistic evangelical show: Wallace was sending his bucket-toting minions through the crowd begging and dunning for every nickel that could be shaken loose.

Money was the whole unabashed object of the current drive, and the Wallace organization let no one forget it. In Charleston—where Wallace arrived in time for a meeting of the Southern governors—the Alabaman's aides were, as elsewhere, huckstering a variety of gimmicks (a 45-rpm record of Wallace's talks for $1.50, a thin metal "Alabama Gold Piece" bearing Wallace's pugnacious profile for 10 cents) and missing no commercial chance. To a man with a request for a rendition of "Dixie," the Wallace bandleader replied: "Give us a $5 contribution and we will." He did, and they did.

The reason for Wallace's suddenly urgent quest for money was plain. At Lurleen's death seven weeks ago he had lost control of the Statehouse and the patronage machinery that, by all signs, had helped him keep his campaign kitty purring. With aides figuring his American Independent Party campaign costs at some $50,000 a day, Wallace had no choice but to go scrounging for funds. How much he was getting by passing the plate and throwing $25-a-plate banquets everywhere he went, remained a mystery. In Richmond, Wallace put off questions about his finances with an intriguing evasion. "I picked up four suitcases of money in Memphis but haven't had time to count it," he said.

Strength: The little judge's fortunes with Southern voters were showing more clearly last week, however. Though largely snubbed by the Southern governors in Charleston, Wallace by all the signs has developed impressive strength in his native region. A new Gallup survey last week indicated that he would now win five Southern states with 47 per cent of the vote in a three-way race with Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon. These states alone—Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina—could have sufficient electoral votes (47) to throw the Presidential race into the House of Representatives in a close contest; Gallup noted that just such a third-party drain would have thrown the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon race into the House.

Other observers gave Wallace even greater strength than Gallup found. Georgia's ex-Gov. Carl Sanders, who was serving as legal counsel to the Southern Governors' Conference, warned last week that Wallace and his brand of old-style politics might sweep the South unless the region's quiescent politicians swiftly rallied against him. "He is gaining momentum every day," Sanders said. "If we continue to stay silent . . . I think he has a chance to carry the whole South."

STATESMEN:

Ailing Ike

Just last April former President Dwight Eisenhower suffered his fourth heart attack during the windup of his winter vacation in Palm Springs, Calif. It had been a mild one, however, and the 77-year-old general seemed well on his way to recovery. Though still confined to Walter Reed hospital in Washington, Ike was up and about part of each day and was already making plans to return to his home in Gettysburg. Then last week, that departure was delayed indefinitely. Eisenhower was taking an evening amble about the VIP ward when suddenly the now-familiar chest pains started all over again. It was his fifth heart attack since 1955 and this time, doctors said, it was a "major" one.

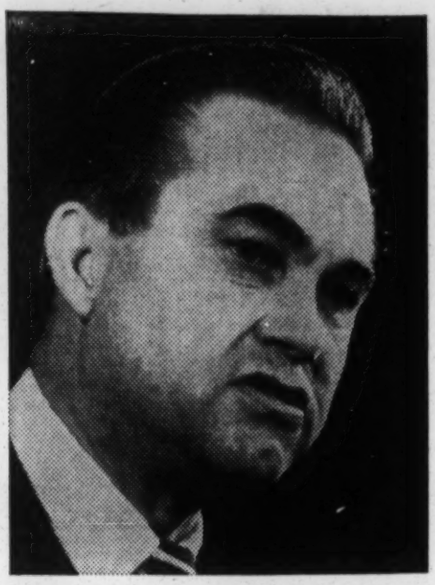
Ike's amazing recuperative powers, however, apparently have not yet failed him. During the latest attack, medical bulletins said, Ike never lost consciousness, and in the critical early phases last week he had quickly rallied to a "stable" condition. Later, doctors said, the patient suffered from "occasional irregularities of the heartbeat." But at the weekend, the former President was reported to have passed through the period of immediate danger. He was eating a soft diet and enjoying light reading; however, there was no prognosis on when the old soldier would be back on his feet again.

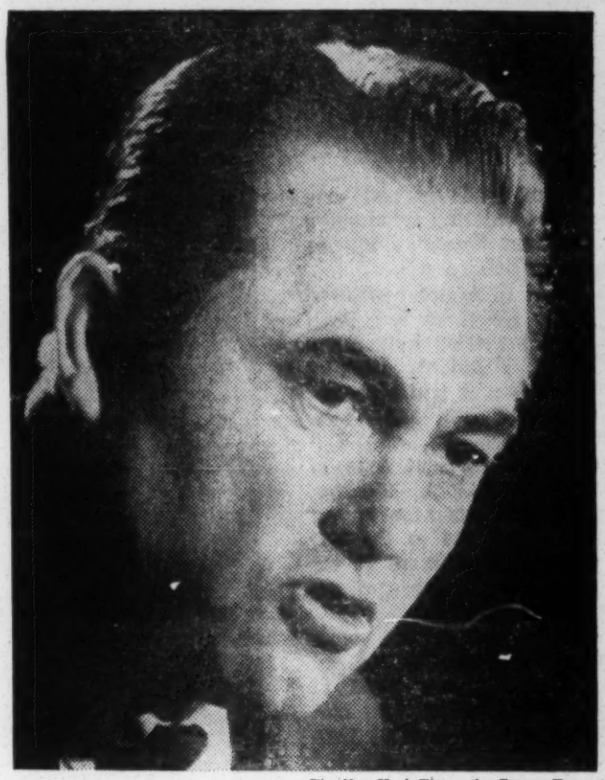
7-1-68

7-21-68

The Wallace Problem

Pol - 3rd Party





ON THE STUMP: Taking his campaign for the Presidency around the country, George Wallace has found growing support. Prospects that he could win enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House are causing deep concern among both Democrats and Republicans.

The New York Times (by George Tames)

NYT 21 July 68

WASHINGTON — To many in American politics it was like a bad dream. Everywhere they turned last week there was a reminder of George C. Wallace, the "little judge" from Alabama whose Presidential campaign seemed to be appealing more and more to white voters who share his dislike of the Supreme Court, the Federal bureaucracy, civil rights laws, "pot smoking bushy-haired anarchists," "so-called intellectuals," and a host of other influences considered to be part of the pestilence sweeping the land.

The public opinion polls showed that one voter in seven would now like to see George Wallace as President. This constituted almost a doubling of his strength since April. According to the Gallup Poll he would attract 32 per cent of the vote in the South and less than 10 per cent elsewhere when placed against Richard M. Nixon and Hubert H. Humphrey, the leading Republican and Democratic Presidential contenders.

It is true the polls suggested well defined limits to the Wallace third-party movement. His appeal remained largely with low income whites with scant education and, according to a Harris poll, a majority of the voters consider the former Alabama Governor to be an "extremist" and racist candidate.

But there was no doubt that the Wallace candidacy was touching a vein of discontent that runs through the electorate from Maine to California, that has historical precedence in the "know-nothing" movement of the 19th century and the Ku Klux Klan phenomenon of the 1920's, and that has become manifest in recent years as a reaction to social change and civil disorders.

Wallace has been campaigning through the country demonstrating that he has supporters almost everywhere, attempting to broaden his base support even to appealing for Negro votes but retaining his basic appeal. While denying he is a racist he speaks in a code that his followers understand.

"When I get to be President," he told an audience of 7,500 whites at Columbia, Md., a few days ago, "you'll have absolute control of your public school system." (Translation: there would be no enforcement of the Federal civil rights laws or attempts to achieve integration.)

And he received thunderous applause when he recalled that last year a group of "anarchists" lay down in front of a car carrying President Johnson (boos at the mention of the name) in California and added: "When I get to be President, if an anarchist lay down in front of my car, that would be the last thing he would ever lay down in front of on this earth." (Translation: he would suppress the New Left with severe use of force.)

Despite the extreme tone and minority backing of the Wallace campaign, it posed a serious threat for the two major political parties. Many experts were saying that it could influence the outcome of the Republican National Convention, alter the course of the Presidential campaign in the fall and decide the outcome of the election.

The major threat posed by Wallace was that he might win enough electoral votes to deny either the Democratic or Republican nominee the necessary 270 vote majority in the Electoral College. If this should occur, Wallace has said he would seek a "covenant" with one of the nominees, trading his votes for certain concessions to Wallace policies.

There were suggestions last week that the major parties and candidates enter into a compact agreeing in advance that no such deal would be made with Wallace and if there were no majority in the Electoral College the election would go to the candidate with the highest popular vote.

A more immediate Wallace threat faced the Republican party. The Harris survey showed that for every vote Wallace would take from the Democratic candidate he would take two from the Republican nominee—people who would normally vote Republican in protest to the policies of the Democratic Administration.

The Democrats are not free from the Wallace threat, either. The Harris survey showed that Wallace so far has not mobilized a "significant backlash" among the low income, ethnic minorities of Northern cities who traditionally vote the Democratic ticket. But Wallace nevertheless appeals to many of these and it is considered likely that violence in the cities this summer coupled with the Wallace campaign could give him votes Democratic Presidential candidates have always looked to as safe.

—JOHN HERBERS

7-22-68

questions," few of which are directly related to university administration. In addition, one gets the feeling that the regime does not fully appreciate the magnitude of the task of university reform and reorganization that confronts it. Because the causes are so deep-seated, the last word has not been heard on student unrest in Yugoslavia; a second round is clearly foreseeable.

In an interview, D. Belovski, Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs, stressed the point that Yugoslavs want outsiders to take conditions as they find them, the failures as well as the successes, the unsolved problems as well as the quite solid achievements. And this seems to be the prevailing attitude. Little effort is made to minimize existing problems or to offer alibis for mistakes or shortcomings. This realism is a good omen. So, too, is the fact that through the student protests some of the country's more urgent problems have received a thorough airing and the discussion of them has by no means abated.

Despite a readily acknowledged agenda of unsolved problems, the regime has many significant achievements to its credit. It is a force for stability in the Middle East. It pursues an astute and even-handed foreign policy. It has achieved a substantial measure of national unity under extremely difficult circumstances. A genuine "openness" does exist. The week-long discussions are proof of that. By East European standards, the stores are well stocked with consumer goods in most categories and the supply seems to be increasing. I found it difficult to take the self-management councils at full face value; concept and practice seem somewhat divergent. But the new arrangements seem to be working reasonably well. Considering its bloody and complex history, its ethnic diversity, and the fact that it is still a poor country, one is impressed with the measure of economic well-being and political stability that Yugoslavia has achieved in the postwar period. A good measure of the latter is to be found in the fact that the regime did not feel it necessary to move against the student protests but accepted them as justified. The protests were unexpected but the regime did not crack down. It permitted the discussions to run their course. It may have been out of touch with student sentiment but it was not isolated. It knew it had popular support in the universities as the response of the students to Tito's address clearly demonstrates. Other regimes, in countries with long-established democratic traditions, have shown far less maturity and confidence in dealing with student protests.

HARRY GOLDEN

Pol. 3rd Party

ON June 15, George Wallace, ex-Governor of Alabama, read the platform on which he wants to run for President to a cheering crowd of 7,500 in the Coliseum at Charlotte. He came to North Carolina to lend impetus to an organization dedicated to obtaining the signatures he needs on petitions for his inclusion on the November ballot. "The federal government," shouted Wallace, "is usurping the rights of the individual citizens." He described the newly passed Open Housing Act as one which puts people in jail if they sell or rent their houses to people they like. Mr. Wallace asked rhetorically what the law had to do with discrimination, which was personal preference.

Mr. Wallace is talking to people who are not used to wearing neckties or reading the texts of federal laws. For that matter they aren't used to reading newspapers either. To prove that he's not a racist he said in reverent tones that his deceased wife, Lurleen, polled more Negro votes in the gubernatorial race than both of her opponents put together. He neglected to mention that Lurleen, a woman, couldn't "holler nigger" as loudly as the two men could holler. Neither did Wallace bother to inform his enthusiastic audience that Alabama is as much a federal preserve as Yellowstone National Park. Alabama draws $4 billion every year from the United States Government in the form of farm subsidies, Social Security, pensions, Area Redevelopment Administration funds, Army posts, a space center at Huntsville, and welfare assistance. What Wallace did remind his audience was that the federal government is too big.

He drew loud hurrahs when he accused "pointed-headed professors who can't park their bicycles straight" of favoring communism. If elected, he promised to seek indictment of all professors who support a Communist victory in Vietnam. Wallace is referring directly to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where controversy over our involvement in Vietnam has been aired for the past two years.

"I couldn't care less what schools you have," said Wallace, "when I am President I shall turn back complete control of the schools to you." This was simply a reminder of the infamous compromise of 1877 when Hayes took the office of President from Tilden who had won the popular vote. To secure the Presidency the Republicans returned the education and the life of the recently enfranchised Negroes back to the states. The audience knew exactly what Wallace meant.

Before the speech the candidate entertained several hundred guests at the fund-raising dinner held in the Heart of Charlotte Motel. Invitations cost $25.

Wallace is not going to become President but he is going to campaign. He would have campaigned in 1964 except that his most ardent backers, real conservatives all, dissuaded him. They did not want him taking votes from Barry Goldwater. This time his backers are urging him on. I rather suspect that, in North Carolina at any

OVER →

rate, he will get more Republican votes than Democratic. But maybe that is what George Wallace and his financial backers want.

There is a significance to his campaign and his willingness to exploit the fears and confusions of Americans today. His performance is professional and adept. He is a master at exploiting unease. There is no doubt that he will complicate the 1968 campaign and increase domestic tension. The *Charlotte Observer* commented: "This country has coped with spellbinders before. The country will cope with George Wallace."

Incidentally Wallace, in his Charlotte appearance, was guarded by twenty secret service men, as well as a cordon of police.

LETTERS *(Continued from page 34)*

very university involved. But naturally, I am pleased to set the record straight and even more pleased that the severity of the problems discussed in my column is, if only to this extent, less than I had feared.

As for various other allegations in the Buffalo document —notably interpretations of implication (such as that attempts at serious critical evaluation constitute "attack") and imputations of motive (such as that such critical remarks are made about something only to promote something else or to vent assorted geographical spleens)—aside from their purely *ad hominem* aspect, and that they do not appear to bear on any of the substantive issues I discussed or even to be intelligibly inferrable from anything I did say, they seem so obviously subject to Mr. Foss's own "advice" that it seems counterproductive for me to attempt to add any further admonitions of my own.

Benjamin Boretz

where it's at

Springfield, Mo.

DEAR SIRS: Re John Gabree's interesting article on rock music ("Serious Rock," *The Nation*, June 24): in my opinion the Mothers of Invention are less "Brechtian" than sophomoric with their indiscriminate and unrelieved satirizing of second-level clichés (a kind of adolescently arrogant, put-on "wit" concerning people, ideas and music). I agree with Mr. Gabree that the Buffalo Springfield is a decent group, but I must dispute his estimate of the Electric Prunes's *Mass in F Minor* as a lemon, by stating that it is actually a plum of lovely, properly both groovey and reverent, entirely tasteful (in the best sense) and moving music.

And the Beatles, as I believe even the youngest rock musicians know, along with being "innocent" and "good-humored" not only remain where it's really at but continue with their remarkable synthesizing and creative power to invent and define and to indicate where it's going. As far as I can tell, they are always on the point of the *avant-garde.*

Bernard Frederick Juul

rationality rampant

Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIRS: Michel Crozier's article "The Lonely Frontier of Reason" (*The Nation*, May 27) contains a fundamental flaw that causes him to miss both the point of the protest movement and the meaning of the "problem of America." He fails to see the crucial distinction between the application of reason to special problems and part processes and the question of the values that direct the whole. The dichotomy between the "rational" American Establishment and the protest movement of people in quest of "spontaneity" is a false one. The vast bulk of protesters in America are reacting against the use of reason and power for purposes of individual and national aggrandizement and domination, not against rationality per se. They are not objecting to the application of rationality in constructing an anti-missile system; they don't like the value system reflected in such a choice. And although America is feared for its competitive power in business in various parts of the world, it constitutes a major "problem" because the rationality and efficiency of its parts are contributing to the power of a machine that is clearly out of control.

Edward S. Herman

joiners

New York City.

DEAR SIRS: After the June 4 dual graduation ceremonies at Columbia, I noticed a group of rather plainly dressed men standing around, each person wearing a four-colored square enamel pin in his left lapel. When I asked what the insignia stood for, one man told me: "It's the Square Club—a branch of the Masons." Others told me they were members of the Columbia faculty; when pressed to specify which department the lapel pin indicated one said he couldn't reveal that information because it was secret. May I suggest that the Masons and the Columbia faculty either acknowledge these members or else investigate the unauthorized use of their names by the police department?

Eve Merriam

footnote review

College Point, Md .

DEAR SIRS: H. R. Wolf ought to be congratulated for his lengthly analysis of a footnote I wrote [see "An Uneasy Alliance," *The Nation*, June 24); it may very well represent an innovation in the style of critical writing. But there is one defect. If Mr. Wolf is going to review footnotes, he ought to do them in their entirety. I include the second half of my remarks on the CIA and intellectuals to clarify what I actually said about the issue:

> Moreover, the discussion of intellectuals (to extend and broaden the problem) and their participation in government institutions belongs in another place and perhaps in different hands. The issue goes well beyond the C.I.A. and any conscious or unconscious acceptance of its stipends. Men and their ideas must be considered for what they are and what they mean, not for who pays their bills. Views are most often engendered historically, and only very rarely may we catch them wearing a price tag. The important thing is that a good many intellectuals and America's leading spy agency came to the same conclusions at much the same time about America's role in world society. That event is fraught enough with historical questions to keep historians away from the pitfalls of easy explanations for a long time.

Finally, if Mr. Wolf plans to repeat his new style of reviewing books, he ought to refresh himself on the use of footnotes: (1) to clarify or identify sources; (2) to include material not sufficiently important to place in the body of a book. For any second thoughts I may have had about what I wrote, I refer him to my preface.

James Gilbert

8-3-68

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Pol - 3rd Party

Wallace Jitters

George Wallace is scaring a lot of folk, but we doubt whether he's fated to become President of the United States next year, or to decide who will be. Someone like him was bound to come along about now, waving the bloody shirt. The blacks are getting uppity, the young are raising hell, and there's a war being fought against communism. It's time for a common-sense candidate of the man who calls himself the common man, time for some old-fashioned Americanism – and if they don't like it here, send them back where they came from, or to jail. And don't let them out. The Supreme Court's doing it every week, coddling criminals and communists. The simplicity of the Wallace platform is powerful. Put down the bothersome things that are bobbing up – taxes, "pseudo-intellectuals," peacemongers, blacks and the federal government. The little man's little man speaks to those who have a tenuous hold on the ladder of success, but a hold nonetheless. They want order, their order.

Wallace is doing well enough to worry the intellectuals, and even some of the politicians. In the latest Harris poll, he polled 17 percent, which is a lot of people, though it may not produce many electoral votes. It is unnerving enough so that Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R, N.Y.) and Morris K. Udall (D, Ariz.) want the presidential candidates to sign a compact refusing to do business with the former governor of Alabama. They suggest this compact be incorporated into the Republican and Democratic platforms. In addition, they hope that candidates for the House of Representatives, incumbents and challengers, will pledge themselves to vote for the presidential candidate who gets the majority of popular votes, should the election be thrown into the House.

The proposal is well-intentioned, but how binding it would be, or how necessary, is open to question. Senator McCarthy has said that he has no intention of making a deal with Wallace, and hopes no one else has. McCarthy doubts, however, that the electoral college could be constitutionally bound by any such advance pledges. Anyway, he is reasonably sure that the House of Representatives would not allow itself to be blackmailed by Wallace. Vice President Humphrey and Mr. Nixon have also rejected any thought of a deal. Governors Rockefeller and Reagan are noncommittal, and the Governors Conference last week turned down the Goodell-Udall proposal. The scare scenario has been widely publicized. If Wallace controls enough electors (who are chosen in November but technically do not elect a

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President until December 15) to prevent either the Republican or the Democratic candidate from having a majority (270), he can sell his electors to the most compliant candidate in exchange for concessions. If there are no buyers, Wallace would then let the election go to the House, where he would hope to control enough Deep South delegations to try again to dictate terms for a settlement. The House meets on the sixth of January to count the electoral votes and declare a President. But if no candidate were to have a majority, the House would go on voting until a winner emerged. The balloting could continue beyond the January 20 date of inauguration, in which case the Vice President, having been elected by the Senate, would rule as a temporary President until the House came to a decision. In brief, if the electoral college could not produce a majority, at least two months would pass without the country's knowing who its President was to be, and if the deadlock persisted, the uncertainty would also.

To manufacture this chaos, however, Wallace would need in the first instance a close run between the two major candidates, as well as a strong following for himself. As of now, neither can be ruled out. A computer study by Dr. Charles Bischoff of Yale University, using the past four presidential elections as illustrations of voting patterns, suggests that if Wallace carried the 11 states of the old Confederacy, one of the major candidates would have to lead his nearest opponent by four or five percent nationally, so as to avoid throwing the election to the House. If Wallace carried only the five states of the Deep South, the leading contender would still need a two percent margin over his opponent.

Nevertheless, there's no need yet to push the panic button. Admittedly, this isn't the year for confident prophecy. Yet it seems doubtful that the question will ever reach the House. In the improbable event of a stalemate in the electoral college, moreover, we would anticipate Wallace's endorsing, without any "deals" having been made, one of the two leading candidates. That would be his moment of glory, but it would fade fast.

It should be added that Wallace is doing one useful thing. He is challenging restrictive state laws which limit the voters' freedom of choice. He has won a legal battle in Oklahoma, where the State Supreme Court ruled that Wallace's third party qualifies under Oklahoma law, and he announced on July 20 that he was filing suit in Ohio to get his party on the general election ballot. The barriers to open politics are intolerably high in many states. In Ohio, they are almost insurmountable: To get on the ballot, a new party must file petitions bearing the number of signatures equal to 15 percent of the total votes cast in the last gubernatorial election (433,100), and hold a national convention.

There Comes a Time . . .

Many prominent intellectuals joined the attempt in 1924 to provide an alternative to presidential candidates Calvin Coolidge and John W. Davis, none more vigorously than Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School, one of the founding spirits of this journal. It may be of some historic interest to review Frankfurter's thoughts regarding the propriety of third-party movements.

As early as April 16, 1924, Frankfurter wrote an unsigned article for *The New Republic* on "Why Mr. Davis Shouldn't Run." The crux of Frankfurter's criticism concerned Davis' associations with J. P. Morgan & Co. and other large business and financial enterprises. Declaring that the "ideas with which one deals and the people with whom one mixes determine one's directions," he castigated Davis for paying insufficient attention to the public interest. Noting that Davis was amassing a considerable fortune by serving these financial interests, Frankfurter cited statistics on income distribution within the United States, adding, "Our most vital political differences do now, and in days to come will still more, center around the human implications back of the vast differences in these very high and low income tax brackets."

After Davis' nomination Frankfurter wrote another unsigned piece for this journal on "Abstemious Liberalism," denouncing Davis even further for his detachment from the great public issues, especially civil liberties and abuses by propertied interests.

Frankfurter was finally led to write perhaps the most critical article he ever wrote about the American polity, in which he gave his reasons for voting for third-party candidate Robert La Follette. He called first for the destruction of the existing two-party system, in that the parties were insufficiently differentiated to be relevant to the problems facing America. He denounced the great economic inequalities existing in the country; he referred to our "economic imperialism" toward Latin America. He dismissed the Democratic reliance on the South: "The 'solid South' is thus the greatest immoral factor of American politics, and to the extent that Northerners help to perpetuate it they are accomplices in all the evils that flow from it."

His private correspondence (recently opened to the public by the Library of Congress) reveals the extent of his dismay. In a letter to George Roberts defending his commitment to La Follette, he called for a realignment of the parties "along realistic lines." He defined the basic conflict as that between "conservative and liberal forces" – defined in turn as "those who think that on the whole things are all right and you better not tinker much with them, and those, like myself, who think that there is enormous room for improve-

9-16-68 Pol-3rd Party

television calling for police to exercise "more restraint and communication" in dealing with disorders. The Chicago police had "overreacted," declared Muskie. They should, he said, have made a "distinction" between the troublemakers, idealists and bystanders in the crowds that they forcefully dispersed.

Then, the next day, Humphrey seemed to agree more with Muskie than with Humphrey. "We must differentiate, please let me differentiate," he said. "There were hundreds and hundreds and thousands of young people who came there that just wanted to parade, just wanted to chant." And, conceded Humphrey, if the demonstrators weren't all bad, the police weren't all good. "I believe that the Chicago police became weary, they became tired. They did overreact."

Later, in the same televised interview, Vice President Humphrey suggested that a journalism or law school or an academic association undertake an investigation of the Chicago violence. He had hardly spoken when Milton S. Eisenhower, chairman of the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, set up after Robert Kennedy's assassination, announced in Washington that the commission would do just that. The commission therewith added one to the growing rank of groups probing the Chicago upheavals—including the Chicago police and the Justice Department. Rep. Roman C. Pucinski of Illinois, in an angry defense of his powerful political patron, Mayor Richard J. Daley, also called for a Federal grand-jury investigation, and House Republican leader Gerald R. Ford said he would push for a House inquiry if the Justice Department probe "proves inadequate."

Escalation: A good many congressmen had come to conclusions about Chicago without any probing at all, and the street melees were the prime subject of conversation in the reconvened Congress last week—particularly among Democrats. Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield said the violence was "not a surprise"; it was an "indication of dissension, discontent and a disturbed feeling on the part of many in this country." Assistant Democratic leader Russell Long did not see things quite so neutrally, however. Joining a mounting chorus of protest against allegedly one-sided press coverage of events inside and outside Chicago's International Amphitheatre, Long charged that television coverage amounted to a conspiracy to smear "one of the nation's finest mayors." House Speaker John W. McCormack said the demonstrators reminded him of "storm troopers of Hitler's days." Sen. Stephen Young of Ohio on the other hand, found that Chicago's police were "reminiscent of the Gestapo and the NKVD . . . Democracy was clubbed to death by Mayor Daley's police." The battle over the battle, it seemed clear, was in for a fair amount of multilateral escalation before either side stops bombing.

Associated Press

On tour: 'Godamightydamn—wouldn't it be sump'n if I win'

Wallace and His Folks

He came squalling out of the black-belt boondocks of Alabama, a slicked-down, bent-nosed, roistering imp set unpredictably at play in the more or less fine-tuned machinery of American politics. His message was segregation smoothed down to the respectable language of "law and order," his following a silent, aggrieved multitude he thinks of as The Folks, his politics an audacious gamble on a single calculation that recurs in all his changeless, numberless speeches: "There's more of us than there is of them." Only in his most quixotic moments does George Corley Wallace imagine that his great adventure will really carry him to the White House. Yet he has already had his victory: he has called up impulses out of a dark, demonic side of the American spirit, brought them into acceptable political discourse—and in the process helped to alter the terms by which the next President of the United States will be chosen.

For thanks to George Wallace, the next President, Hubert Humphrey or Richard Nixon, will have to calculate how many of "us" and how many of "them" there are—and make his own strategic decisions accordingly. The conventional wisdom of the pollsters today gives Wallace something more than a one-sixth share of the Presidential vote, most of it predictably rooted in the South, more of it pirated from Nixon than from Humphrey. But the blood and the tears spilled during Democratic convention week in Chicago—and the prospect of a turbulent autumn in the cities and on the campuses—have left the political pros far less certain and far more nervous about the impact of Wallace and the grievances he represents. His presence in the race has thus already figured in escalating law and order to campaign Topic A. It could as well tip the selection of a President into the House of Representatives for the first time in 144 years*—with Wallace in a position to bargain out and perhaps even to decide the outcome.

How well will Wallace run? Full of a deep faith that the forces of light will somehow prevail, some of his disciples seem even to believe that he will win—that he will sweep the South and the Border States and pick up enough stray electoral votes elsewhere to carry the day. Last week, they persuaded Wallace to take a week's breather at the gaudy Fontainebleau in Miami Beach in preparation for a planned 48-state blitz in the eight weeks left till the election. This week alone, he will speak at the American Legion convention in New Orleans, stump rallies in eight states spraddled from South Carolina to Wisconsin and name his choice for Vice President. (The betting favorite: former Kentucky Gov. Albert [Happy] Chandler.)

"We gonna shake 'em up good in November," crows Wallace everywhere he goes, which is his way of betting that—

*The last time was 1824, when the House broke a four-way Electoral College deadlock by choosing John Quincy Adams over Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson and William Crawford of Georgia.

Newsweek

after five summers of rioting and radicalism—America has at last caught up with Alabama. There is indeed compelling evidence to suggest that law and order, even more than Vietnam, is now the pivotal issue of Presidential 1968. A new Louis Harris poll, completed before Chicago, showed an overwhelming 81-14 majority of Americans persuaded that law and order has simply broken down, and their villains are precisely Wallace's: black agitators, Communists, the courts, youthful demonstrators of all persuasions and the Establishment itself.

'Phenomena': All candidates are acutely aware of the law-and-order mood: Nixon seized on it, Humphrey waffled it—and Wallace, with some justice, behaved as though he invented it. "People been reading about your phenomena, the Wallace phenomena, the people's phenomena," he tells The Folks. "They say I'm only popular 'cause I'm sayin' what the people want to hear. Well, what's wrong with that?"

The answer, in pragmatic political terms, is nothing at all; Wallace has already nailed down a chapter in history with his extraordinary venture in the politics of participation. A cross-country petition campaign, aptly dubbed "Mission: Impossible" when it started less than a year ago, was sure to put Wallace's burgeoning third-party movement on the ballot in 45 states by this week and will probably reach at least 49—everywhere but Ohio and the District of Columbia—by Election Day. The Alabama ex-governor's candidacy has cowed Southern pols of both major parties (Mississippi's Democratic Gov. John Bell Williams and five North Carolina GOP hierarchs all plumped for George last week) and set temblors rippling through the urban North. "I'm scared," says a Humphrey worker in San Francisco. "There's a fervor about the Wallace campaign that has to scare you. It's as if by punching the right lever in the voting booth, you can erase all the problems we're all so tired of in one stroke."

'White Tigers': Wallace has forged a new coalition of the discontent and the disaffected—a coalition, in his familiar roll call, of "the steelworker, the autoworker and the textileworker, the policeman and the fireman, the taxicab driver, the beautician and the barber and the little-business man." And nowhere has he found more fervent support, North as well as South, than among local police—a pre-eminence he cemented by leaping to the defense of Chicago's cops in the lopsided Battle of Michigan Avenue. The feeling increasingly is mutual. In a Brooklyn courthouse corridor last week, a mob of 150 whites—many of them off-duty cops who proclaimed themselves "white tigers"—fell upon a dozen Black Panther ultramilitants with police-issue blackjacks until uniformed officers separated them. Some of the belligerents wore Wallace buttons and some chanted "Wallace! Wallace! Wallace!" as they waded in.

The assault, of course, was their own idea, yet it is equally so that little in Wallace's rhetoric would discourage them. "Nigger" and "nigra" have dropped out of his public vocabulary—the new Wallace is careful to say "Knee-grow" or even "black people"—and he blandly insists that he has always been against "the kind of discrimination that offends anyone." But there remains a violent strain in his rhetoric, a tendency to reduce the most subtle issues to the glandular metaphor of physical combat. His best punch lines tend to wind up with some "beatnik" or "bureaucrat" or "pointy-headed guideline writer" getting punched, run over, hauled off by the hair, or tossed *under* a jail. He needs only to rail darkly against "the trends of pseudo-intellectual government" to set the faithful whooping; they understand quite well what trends he means. "These people are listening to a candidate who is saying what they've been thinking for some time," says Wallace's Detroit area chairman, Larry Lee, a 27-year-old insurance salesman. "You don't have to stop and think about what he says—he says it right out."

Don Wright—Miami News

What he says in his furious sallies across the country is that The Folks have been too long misused by the Federal government, the great national parties, the press—in short by the whole American Establishment—and that the time has come to rebel. The crowds—and the response—have been stunning. Plunking down aboard his chartered campaign DC-6 for a late-August trip to Hammond, Ind., he gazed out the window into a blinding morning, chomped down on his cigar and announced, altogether accurately, "They're not laughin' at us any more."

'I Like Him': The trip proved a classic of the running rite of communion between Wallace and The Folks. They came to the airport, stood patiently waiting for the plane to set down, then pressed forward around the candidate—old ladies in Sears cotton, hardhanded millworkers, girls in frocks that start at the throat and end at the knee. "God bless you, gov'nor, God bless you . . . We'll get 'em, gov'nor, you bet we'll get 'em . . ." The litany never changes; neither does Wallace's winking, grinning, handshaking, head-bobbing response: "Hi sweetie, how are you honey, hey young fella how ya doin' . . . 'Preciate you comin' out, hear?" Newsmen cornered him for a press conference, a hostile, jabbing affair that Wallace—hands jammed deep in his coat pockets—turned to his own uses. "Now Mr. Humphrey is sayin' we need law and order but a few months ago he was sayin' we needed a revolution . . . We've tried all the sissy-britches way, now we ought to try enforcin' the law." A local cop stood watching. Wallace threw him a choppy, cupped-hand salute. "I like him," said the cop. "We all do."

His speeches that night to 400 of the righteous at St. Michael's Ukrainian Hall (at $25 a head) and 4,500 more at Hammond's Civic Auditorium (no charge) were similarly ritualized. The speech is added to, subtracted from and tinkered with from time to time but it does not really change. Only modest amendments of style, indeed, distinguish it from the rhetoric that elected first George, then Lurleen, governor of Alabama. The wheedly, sequined gospel singers are gone; there is a twelve-piece brass band from Troy (Ala.) State College now, and it plays "Yankee Doodle" as well as "Dixie" as Wallace bounds on stage and takes his position behind the big bulletproof lectern. But George never changes. He stands a shade smaller than life, his head just poking over the podium, his blunt fingers fidgeting over the thicketed mikes, his monologue pinwheeling from one brassy applause line to the next.

'We Hate 'Em': "Some *bureau*crats tellin' the steelworkers, 'You don't know where to send your child to school so we gonna write some guidelines for you' . . .

Well, when *I* get to be President, I'm gonna call in a bunch of *bureau*crats and take away their briefcases and throw 'em in the Potomac River ..." There are screams, shouts, whistles. "If you folks in Indiana want to put your kids on a bus and send 'em to Montreal to school, that's fine. But when *I'm* President, not one dime of Federal money will be spent to bus any student anywhere." The crowd is on its feet now, whooping, hollering. "... And if any *demon*strator ever lays down in front of *my* car, it'll be the *last* car he'll ever lay down in front of ..." The noise is deafening. "He's gonna turn this country around," says one graying, shirt-sleeved fan. "It's not that we dislike niggers—we hate 'em." And a carpenter in his 60s fishes under his shirt, pulls out a $100 check and says: "That money's hard-earned, and it's hard to give it. But we need this man."

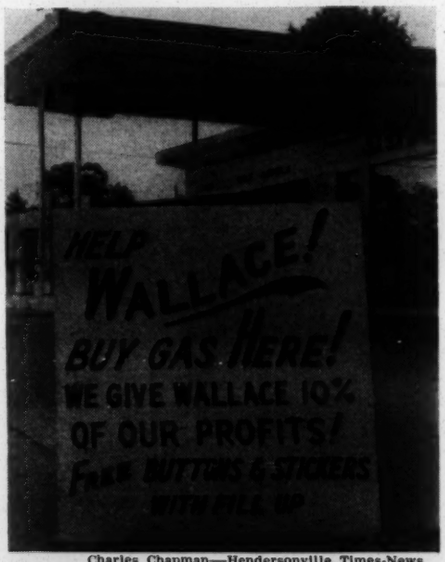
"The people of the United States are going to take back government into their own hands," Wallace announced last week in his first nationwide TV half-hour (on NBC-TV), and he is in fact a revolutionary—a kind of carnival-mirror Marx waging class war on the way things are. "We gonna show 'em in November that the average American is sick and tired of all these overeducated ivory-tower folks with pointed heads lookin' down their noses at you and me," he thunders. He proposes instead a return to common sense, but it is the common sense of the garrison state. "If we were President today, you wouldn't get stabbed or raped in the shadow of the White House, even if we had to call out 30,000 troops and equip them with 2-foot-long bayonets and station them every few feet apart ... If you walk out of this hotel tonight and someone knocks you on the head, *he'll* be out of jail before *you're* out of the hospital and on Monday morning they'll try the *police*man instead of the criminal ... That's right, we gonna have a *police* state for folks who burn the cities down. They aren't gonna burn any more cities."

George's Army: For a silent America hankering after a simpler, more innocent past that may or may not ever have existed, Wallace is heady brew—and it seems to be selling better than its own drummers ever imagined possible. Out of Montgomery headquarters, currently sprawled over 60,000 square feet of a rent-free building once occupied by the Veterans Administration, big, bearish express secretary Ed Ewing, 36, and a task force of four young lawyers mounted the drive to pilot Wallace and his American Independent Party through a bewildering welter of state electoral regulations and get him on the ballot. "What we started with," says one of the "Mission: Impossible" lawyers, Tom Turnipseed (sic), 32, a converted Republican from South Carolina, "was a list of people in each state who had written letters supporting the governor. We wrote each one of these people letters, calling them to an initial statewide meeting." They got an eye-popping 80 per cent turnout, and soon an amateur army of Wallace people—watched over by George's pros—was out in the precincts collecting signatures, hawking buttons and bumper stickers, planting canned press releases in local papers.

UPI

Wallace with Strom Thurmond: Has America caught up to Alabama?

Some of the Wallace people were embarrassments—a motley of wild-eyed right-wing extremists who had to be gently eased out or dealt around. Others, still aboard, are John Birchers or old-line Southern segregationists. Some key elements of Wallace's Tennessee command are indistinguishable from the management of the White Citizens Council, and his man in Georgia, onetime State House Speaker Roy Harris, publishes a white-supremacist weekly newspaper in Augusta. But others, around the country, are raw newcomers to politics—the true believers who may not know much about the art of politicking but who know what they like with all the furious certainty of a Chautauqua revivalist: Among them:



Charles Chapman—Hendersonville Times-News

North Carolina, a Wallace outpost

- In Pinole, Calif., a workingmen's suburb on San Pablo Bay, Mrs. Mary Marshall, a housewife in her mid-40s, wrote Wallace a fan letter after a "Meet the Press" appearance last year—and suddenly found herself running a campaign outpost out of an abandoned shoe store in El Sobrante. "We worked till 11 at night New Year's Eve registering people," she says, "and all Christmas afternoon. It just seemed to me if we didn't do something to change the trends today, we wouldn't have too many free Christmases. So we worked." She hasn't stopped. Wallace? "He's just our savior, that's all."
- In the mountain town of Hendersonville, N.C., Larry Taylor, a 29-year-old gas station operator, got sore when Gulf sent him a load of Democratic and Republican tiepins to give away to customers—but none from the American Independent Party. So he plastered his station with Wallace signs, laid in a stock of Wallace bumper stickers, ties, hats and tiepins, tithed 10 per cent of his profits to the Wallace campaign—and reports that business has doubled since. "I'm for Wallace," he says, "because he's for states' rights, he's honest, he won't back down. If New York wants blacks to go to school with whites, let them have it. If North Carolina wants separate but equal schools, let them have it. Wallace is for the black man, but I don't think he wants black and white to live side by side."
- In Detroit, insurance man Larry Lee, a political novice, joined up early, now figures he spends 1 per cent of his time on insurance, 99 per cent on Wallace—mainly running a cadre of 200 to 300 volunteers drawn chiefly from the white-collar suburbs and the blue-collar union rank and file. There, law and order is the catalytic issue—and it has sprung Pandora's box. "It's just fabulous," exults Lee. "Our mail contributions have risen from $50 to $60 a week to $600 to $800

a week. Humphrey doesn't even seem to be in it. It's a Wallace-Nixon race."

■ In Memphis, pretty Mrs. Linda Wright, 26, the wife of a Green Beret lieutenant recently wounded in Vietnam, stopped by a Wallace storefront to collect a stack of literature for him. "My husband," she said, "is going to set up a Wallace 'headquarters' in Nha Trang . . . He's so upset over the war policy—he says they won't let them fight over there because there's so much politics, and people are getting killed for nothing. But we've always been for Governor Wallace—he's for the little people."

'By the People': They are the silent America, and no one knows their number because no national politician has ever taken their census at the polls. But they are unmistakably there. A day's mail at Montgomery GHQ brings in 5,000 letters, most of them written in laborious longhand, many on ruled dime-store tablet sheets—and $25,000 in the small donations of the faithful. In only a few states can Wallace be said to have an authentic organization. Far more typical is Georgia, where headquarters is a single, underfurnished meeting room at Atlanta's Henry Grady Hotel; or Los Angeles, where the American Independent Party calls a made-over tacos stand home; or Florida, where state chairman Jake Wallace Purvis, George's cousin, cheerily confesses, "We don't organize on the county or precinct level and we don't really set up county chairmen. I tell everybody who wants to work for Wallace he's a chairman." But Florida headquarters drummed up 226,000 Wallace signatures in a single day, Georgia simply quit collecting at 180,000 and California generated 107,263 petitioners—41,204 more than enough for a ballot spot. Across the U.S., staffers figure 2.3 million voters have signed up for Wallace. "He is," boasts a chief campaign aide, "the only candidate being nominated by the people."

And rarely in memory have the people seemed so volatile to the political pros. The national parties are panicked, Wallace gloats, and he is mistaken only in degree. Democratic regulars in the South despair of stopping him; a Georgia party loyalist toured the state, came home to Atlanta looking haunted and told an acquaintance, "You know how many people I've found for Humphrey?" His eyes darted up and down the street to see if anyone was listening; then he closed his thumb and forefinger into an eloquent zero. In Texas, Democratic precinct workers have taken to agreeing with Wallace people on the Presidency and urging them only to support the state Democratic ticket. In border Maryland, well-placed pols today predict a Nixon-Wallace-Humphrey finish in that order—with Nixon first only because he tapped Gov. Spiro Agnew for Veep.

Newsweek—Joseph B. Cumming Jr.

Relaxing at the Fontainebleau: 'More of us than there is of them'

New Math: In the North, private polls have shaken the calculations of both major parties. One in Iowa, another in Michigan show Wallace has doubled his holdings over the summer. In Connecticut, the state labor council polled union members and found 30 per cent for Wallace. In Granite City, Ill., a traditionally Democratic industrial satellite of St. Louis, the Jaycees set out voting booths around town—and logged 597 votes for George, 480 for Nixon and 380 for Humphrey. In Washington, a Midwestern congressman's staffer called on Alabama Rep. William Nichols's office to ask if there wasn't some way he could run with Wallace without publicly declaring for him. In New York, a city official stood in a thicket of blue-collar workers watching a Labor Day parade up Fifth Avenue led by the hierarchs of the trade-union establishment flashing Humphrey buttons. "Those guys may be for Humphrey," growled one, to the nods of his pals, "but we're for Wallace."

For all the odds against him, Wallace stands an excellent chance of sweeping at least the Deep South. And the Deep South alone could be enough, in a close race, to deprive either Nixon or Humphrey of a majority in the Electoral College and thus throw the election into the House. There, each of the 50 states would have one vote, with an absolute majority of 26 required to win—and Wallace's strategy is pinned to the belief that neither national party will be able to put together 26 votes. In that event, barring some stop-Wallace compact by the big parties, the Alabaman believes he will pick the President. And the President he picks would be the man who entered a "covenant" to turn the destiny of the blacks back to the states, roll back fair housing and reapportionment and repopulate the courts. He might even want to find a job for an unemployed former governor of Alabama.

'Usin' My Words': Even that turn of events seems remote. Yet neither party feels confident in its assessment of whom Wallace will hurt and precisely how badly. Particularly in the South, Republicans are nervously spreading the word that a vote for Wallace amounts to a vote for Humphrey, since Dixie could well be the difference between victory and defeat for Nixon. Humphrey's agents figure that, if Wallace gets 10 per cent of the total Presidential vote, it will be mainly at Nixon's expense—but that anything over 10 per cent will start hurting Hubert. By no accident, both major parties picked stolid, hyphenated Americans for Veep—thus aiming at holding down the appeal of Wallace to the ethnic vote. Neither was either party ignoring the plain appeal of Wallace's simplistic sloganeering about law and order. "They're both usin' my words and my philosophy," said Wallace, half gloating, half irritated—and if his campaign ended now it would indeed have made its mark on the politics of 1968.

The last, best hope of the major parties is that Wallace's movement—like almost every third-party effort in U.S. history—will fade in the homestretch as his supporters break to one or the other of the big-league candidates. Yet Wallace, even in his private moments, is not beyond dreaming that "Mission: Impossible" will have a happy ending after all. Restlessly prowling his suite at the Fontainebleau one day last week, he snatched up a phone book, flipped it open as though it were a battle chart and shrugged off a question about what he will do in 1972 should he fail this time around. "I ain't got time to talk about losin'," he huffed, picking up the phone. "Hello, operator?"

Now and again, alone with his pals, he has been known to mutter: "Godamighty-damn—wouldn't it be sump'n if I were to actually win this thing?" He won't, of course, but the very fact of his candidacy seems destined to cheapen the prize for whoever does.

to work on that damned history," said one official who is usually more concerned with public health than with political historiography.

The White House provided strict guidelines. It called for "close supervision by a senior official" in each agency, and spelled out what it wanted in the way of style and substance: "complete documentation," emphasis on "the process of arriving at and implementing major decisions as well as on publicized events," a record of "implementation of major Johnson Administration legislation."

It seems to us that Senator John J. Williams, the spoil-sport Delaware Republican, was merely belaboring the obvious when he charged, on the Senate floor, that Mr. Johnson was trying to compile "a Texas version of American history" and one that "emphasizes his achievements and forgets his mistakes." If you want a thing done right, the President has always believed, you do it yourself.

Final drafts of the departmental histories are to be submitted to the White House by November 1. Eventually they will repose in the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas, where the Credibility Gap is to be translated into immortality.

We have a word of inspiration for our friends in the bureaucracy as they toil over their memoranda—a line from Homer's *Odyssey*. "I am," wrote the blind bard, "the long historian of my country's woes."

Pol. 3rd Party

George Corley Wallace, whose primitive appeal to the basest spirits among his countrymen may garner twenty per cent of the popular vote this fall and capture the electoral votes of half a dozen states or more, is barnstorming the country with the charge that Democrats and Republicans have entered into "a conspiracy to circumvent the Constitution." We believe (forgive us) that he has a point.

Former Governor Wallace's charge is directed against Representatives Charles E. Goodell, New York Republican, and Morris K. Udall, Arizona Democrat, who are leading a biparti-

san campaign intended to forestall the possibility that Wallace's candidacy may stalemate the Presidential election. The fear is that Wallace could throw the election into the House of Representatives by keeping either major party candidate from obtaining a majority of the electoral vote. The Goodell-Udall solution is to obtain advance pledges from all members of the House (and all candidates for House seats) that they will cast their votes for the candidate who receives a plurality of the nationwide vote.

Vice President Humphrey and former Vice President Nixon have endorsed the Goodell-Udall plan. So have a good many members of the House and Senate. We yield to none of them in our revulsion against the prospect of George Wallace brokering the selection of the next President. But we think, nonetheless, that they are embarking on a dangerous enterprise.

"Any such plan aimed at Wallace, or even based on his presence in the race, will prove to be his meat and potatoes," Tom Wicker wrote in *The New York Times*. "By the time he gets through picturing himself as the downtrodden victim of the political establishment—which already is in bad enough odor with all too many voters—he may well add millions to his total next November."

The inherent defects of the Electoral College have been obvious since the earliest days of the Republic. It is undemocratic in design and function, and it threatens every quadrennium to plunge the nation into a constitutional crisis. It should have been scrapped more than a century ago. It should certainly be scrapped before the 1972 election—because the system is bad, not because Wallace is a bad man. To tinker with the system by "gentlemen's agreement" on an *ad hoc* and *ad hominem* basis would be a deplorable precedent.

The Progressive! Sept., 1968

The Czechoslovak crisis has passed, at this writing, and Washington seems almost as relieved as Prague. The confrontation between the self-liberated Czechs and the Kremlin hard-liners—about as clearcut a case of good guys

classroom a slave of the mechanized teacher on the TV screen hung on the classroom wall, and it could also spell Canadian subservience, through American-Canadian subsidiaries, to American ideology.

Once joined, the battle raged all week. Dr. Harold E. Wigren, an American who is educational TV consultant for the National Education Association, and president of the Joint Council on Educational Telecommunications, sensibly admitted there were hazards in the new education media. Many teachers in the US as well as in Canada, said Wigren, fear that a cold, mechanistic approach to education will leave little room for human values, and think that in an educational process the emphasis should be on individual growth, not on proliferation of machines. There was justified uneasiness about live teachers being made into monitors for some master educational engineer (in Chicago?). But, pursued Wigren, agreed that packaged total teaching systems are no good if they turn out robot containers instead of self-starting discoverers, still the programmed teacher and programmed child needn't be the shape of education in Century 21. It was absolutely okay for teachers to fight conformity and regimentation; but teachers on the other hand shouldn't behave like New Jersey farmers who back in 1797 rejected the first successful cast iron plow, for fear that iron would poison their land.

Wigren's skillful appeal went over well. Though chary of American ideology and Big Business, the canny Canadians are far from blind to the advantages of advanced technology. Long before the communicators came to Halifax and set up their display, the education-conscious Nova Scotians decided they could snatch some Promethean fire without burning their fingers. The 200 exhibitors at last week's big media show found they were taking coals to Newcastle. Dalhousie University medical school in Halifax, as an instance, already has a comprehensive audio-visual system, in one huge electronic unit. The Sir Martin Tupper building, all 15 stories, is wired throughout for sight and sound. By TV, students in other rooms see through the eyes of an operating surgeon and hear his voice explain what he is doing, step by step. Film loops, color film-slides and technical drawings, instantaneously retrievable, preserve the message indefinitely.

Nova Scotians believe with Father Culkin of Fordham University that kids are natural citizens of the electronic age and that most of what they learn is on the tube. The province's 211,000 youngsters in school get big doses of ETV, and they have their own ETV star: pretty Audree Hulme, who teaches social studies and who says it takes her five hours' hard work to produce one good 20-minute ETV talk. But the Nova Scotians are determined to sidestep the risk of the new technology programming people. They think the answer to the danger is to be found through intimate involvement of people with the medium. In Nova Scotia and the other three Canadian maritime provinces (New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island) teachers are learning to be TV producers and pupils are shooting films in class. Through the tube as well as in community school programs, grown-ups are learning physics, math and French, but also how to paint, how to do lace work, how to become an effective public speaker, how to act.

There are other efforts. Lewis Stephens, the 35-year-old music adviser to the Nova Scotia adult education program, travels around the province to introduce farmers and fisherfolk to Bach and Bartok. He also has a popular, Canada-wide TV show of his own, and lives abundantly. For many Nova Scotians and other Canadians, ETV begins at the age of three, at which tender year they may go to nursery school, and their TV education will continue all their lives.

Despite this groundwork, Nova Scotia has troubles with the young, as which place doesn't. As the communications media conference prepared to move out, college students, from places with names like Antigonish, began moving on Halifax for a big football game. Staid locals gloomily recalled previous forays, accompanied, they alleged, by liquor, sex, and wild spending sprees. Halifax is a frugal town, of mainly Scottish names, and with wooden churches whose vaults hold the bones of revered hellfire preachers. Halifax frowns darkly on all youthful folly, especially perhaps, more often, wild spending.

But college students' restlessness more often takes the shape of successfully undercutting the establishment's prices of textbooks, and borrowing money and renting land to put up student residences (badly needed) and student union buildings, than trying to seize campuses. In those student projects, authority moves from the bottom up, not from the top down. Student leaders call themselves "the *quiet* activists—the Canadian kind." Whatever kind they are, they obviously aren't programmed.

ALEX CAMPBELL

Pol. 3rd Party

Scrounging for Votes In Wallace Country

Raleigh, N.C.

If the Republicans are to reach that magic figure of 31 more House seats and take over control of that body, they will have to score heavily in this state and others like it across the South.

Simple statistics show the importance of North Carolina to the GOP strategy. It has 11 House seats,

now split 8-3 in favor of the Democrats. Redistricting and retirements have complicated the picture. Consequently, depending upon voter shifts in the next four weeks, the state's delegation could go anywhere from 9-2 or 10-1 Democratic, both highly unlikely, to 8-3 Republican, just as unlikely at this time.

Right now, this is George Wallace country. He leads in most polls and there is general agreement that his support is growing steadily. Starting with a Klan-infested rural and small-town base, Wallace has broadened his support to include substantial numbers of main-street business and professional men in the major metropolitan centers, huge chunks of the traditionally Democratic vote in the eastern part of the state and large numbers of state employes. Like political observers everywhere, those in North Carolina expected Wallace to peak a long time ago. He hasn't, and for two reasons.

The Democratic National Convention in all its gore, pumped new life into the Wallace campaign, particularly in states such as North Carolina. Then, untold numbers of restless voters, looking for a way to object have become disenchanted with the two major candidates. They might have gone for McCarthy, for he was an outsider challenging "the politician." Richard Nixon, they feel, isn't saying anything. Vice President Humphrey is still floundering in the past. So they drift to Wallace to protest the present. Some private polls in North Carolina show Wallace's share of the votes approaching 40 percent and still rising.

The GOP candidate for governor is Rep. James Gardner (R, N.C.), the Rocky Mount Jaycee whose gracious manner and youthful appearance enabled him in 1966 to unseat the veteran Democrat, Chairman Harold D. Cooley of the House Agriculture Committee, in the district that lies in the heart of North Carolina's tobacco-growing country. Gardner has an "eastern strategy," which in the political parlance of his state means he's trying to pick up 40 percent of the vote in the heavily Democratic eastern section of North Carolina, then go on to win the election by getting the normal GOP majorities in the Piedmont area to the west. To do this, Gardner must court the Wallace vote in the east, where it is heavy.

This strategy led him to desert Nixon at Miami Beach and support Gov. Ronald Reagan. It has also led him to comment, privately, that the "ultimate protest" is to vote for Wallace and the straight GOP state and congressional ticket.

But that hasn't made Nixon's managers or the traditionally moderate GOP voter in the western section of the state very happy. Nor does Gardner's conception of the "ultimate protest" fit the Nixon strategy for the closing weeks of the campaign, when the GOP will play up the slogan "if you want any change in government, it has to be Nixon" since he can carry the country, not just a southern bloc of states and perhaps an industrial state or two in the North. They are encouraged in this by private surveys which show that only 12 to 15 percent of the potential Wallace vote feels Wallace has a chance of winning.

There is one more thing to be said about the traditional GOP voters in the South. They hold the "redneck" type of Wallace supporter in contempt and are never too happy when one of their own goes out of his way to court it, as has Gardner. So the Gardner strategy is splitting the GOP and costing Gardner votes in the Piedmont, as is borne out by polls in heavily Republican areas. For instance, in Charlotte, the heartland of Republicanism in North Carolina, a recent poll showed Nixon getting over 50 percent while Gardner trailed his Democratic opponent, Lt. Gov. Robert Scott, 55 to 28 percent.

It also puts GOP congressional candidates on the spot. In the eastern and central sections of the state, they are anxious to grab Gardner's coattails. But, in the west, Nixon's look longer. It remains to be seen whether the GOP can maintain a united front in public during the next few weeks.

Obviously, the Democratic problem is more acute. Mr. Humphrey is trailing badly but the well-organized supporters of ex-Gov. Terry Sanford are putting together an effective operation for him and hope, in a close, three-way race, to pull him through in the end. Meanwhile, they are taking some comfort from the Wallace phenomenon: If the "protest" vote weren't going to Wallace, it would probably go to Nixon in large numbers and endanger the entire Democratic ticket, which includes moderate-to-liberal candidates such as gubernatorial candidate Scott and his running mate for lieutenant governor, Pat Taylor, plus several congressional candidates in marginal districts.

A key Sanford strategist cited the case of his mail carrier, a life-long Democratic loyalist, who said he planned to "vote for Wallace and the entire Democratic ticket." This type is described as the "conscience-stricken Democrat" who will mark a straight ballot below the presidential slot to absolve his protest vote at the top. It could save some Democrats.

But they also face fragmentation. North Carolina has quite a large (over 300,000 registered) and well-organized black voting bloc that does not appreciate the impact the Wallace candidacy has had on the campaigns of Scott and some congressional candidates. It is threatening boycotts and selective support of Republicans. In this, it has the sympathy of a substantial, white liberal bloc centered around the state's large academic communities.

The fourth district, centered around the Golden Triangle (Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill), illustrates the fragmentation on the left in the state. This year, Mc-

Carthy supporters overran the regular Democratic organization in Orange County (Chapel Hill) and, in cooperation with the black bloc in Durham (Duke University), took over that county organization. They have some strength in Wake County (Raleigh), where they find it easy to work with the Sanford-controlled county organization, which is essentially liberal in outlook. But no one in the "liberal" group, be he a McCarthyite, a Sanford "liberal" or part of the black bloc, is very happy with Rep. Nick Galifianakis (D), the freshman congressman. Elected two years ago from what was essentially another district (only Durham remains from his original district), Rep. Galifianakis was widely regarded as "a new brand" of Carolina representative. Instead, to quote one county leader, "what we got was something just a little better." Yet, his opponent, Fred Steele, is a Gardner-type Republican and less acceptable. Rep. Galifianakis, like Lt. Gov. Scott has responded to this dilemma (the fourth district also has a large, Wallace-oriented rural vote) by avoiding all issues and running on personality alone.

By holding out, the "liberal" bloc is bringing the candidates to them. The aging Sanford group (it's basically the post-World War II liberal element) sees the need to bolster itself for the future by bringing in the new generation of McCarthy supporters so numerous on the state's campuses. At the same time, Lt. Gov. Scott, an agrarian "liberal" with many ties to the Sanford group, has studied the polls. Most show him ahead. He has worked the textile and tobacco vote successfully and sees Gardner's strategy as splitting the GOP vote. But Scott also knows that the difference in the polls is the liberal vote, particularly the black bloc. He has to have them. Consequently, in recent weeks Scott has been making overtures. Unfortunately, his only public concessions are to discuss progressive state issues (as usual, roads and education) in a year when the national trauma renders them almost meaningless, and to show some rationality in talking about "law and order."

His running mate, Taylor (he's one of the 81 endorsed by the McCarthy staff group at Martha's Vineyard), has done a little better. He gave a strong speech on "law and order" (that part was described as "magnificent" by Alden Lind, the state's McCarthy leader from Chapel Hill) before the state Young Democrats.

Unfortunately, a late swing to Nixon could hurt the "liberals" the most by defeating the only congressional candidates who show any promise of moderate-to-liberal performance – L. Richardson Preyer in Greensboro, State Sen. Voit Gilmore from Southern Pines and, if he can still be counted, Rep. Galifianakis in the fourth.

At the same time, "conservative" Democrats are wooing the Wallace vote assiduously. One of the closest House races is between two incumbents – Rep. James Broyhill (D) and Rep. Basil L. Whitener (D), who were thrown together by redistricting. The district is dotted with textile mills filled with workers planning to vote for Wallace. Rep. Whitener has had some success in convincing them he shares their views. In the east, Rep. Walter B. Jones (D) of the first district, a heavily pro-Wallace area, has assured his constituents he will follow their instructions if the presidential race is thrown into the House.

It is this fragmentation, however, that gives hope for the future in a state such as North Carolina. The growing political sophistication of black voters, the rise of a new and articulate force on the college campuses (McCarthy supporters were well organized in all of the state's metropolitan areas and are sticking together) and the receptivity of the Sanford forces to such a coalition is encouraging. At the same time, the reluctance of traditionally moderate Republican voters in the west to be openly, or even privately, associated with the Klan-infested Wallace extremists lessens the danger of a statewide polarization in the years immediately ahead.

In North Carolina, as in some other areas, intellectuals in the college communities are becoming sensitive to the fact they haven't reached the working-class vote, which is largely nonunion in the state, on basic economic issues. To build a "new politics" in the South, a strong labor component must be added to the intellectuals, the young people, the black vote and the growing number of suburbanites who have been driven to the GOP in recent years because of their disdain for the "old style" politics of the South. In the past, George Meany and his AFL-CIO aides have largely ignored the South. Yet, a strong organizing drive in the textile industry could break up the Klanish influence among mill workers. In one instance near Chapel Hill, a local Klan was split by an organizing drive at a local mill—between those whose only motivation is racial hatred and those who can see that management often uses that emotional issue to drive a wedge between black and white workers.

For two years, it has been obvious that Wallace would make a third-party bid, splitting the South three ways. If Democratic funds and manpower had been poured in, to organize and register the black vote, it is possible much of the South could have been saved. Certainly, it would have been a great asset to those "liberal" candidates running in that area and a tremendous long-range advantage.

Lacking massive new black registration, there is no Humphrey strategy at all in the South, unless party regulars get worried enough over the possibility of a GOP sweep and its consequences at a courthouse level and prod the voters to stay loyal.

It is doubtful if Mr. Humphrey's gingerly break with

President Johnson will have any important effect unless it's followed by some public exchanges between the two men. Then it could become important, because much of the desire to protest among upper income voters is rooted in an intense dislike of the Johnson style. PAUL WIECK

Traveling With Nixon

Pol. 3rd Party PA J.W. LPA

Bus. Week 10/19/68

The urban crisis—and George Wallace

Under different guises, the three Presidential candidates are all saying that the prescriptions for meeting the physical and social needs of our urban society have thus far failed to work. Billions spent over the past decade on education, welfare, job training, housing, and urban redevelopment have not produced much in the way of urban amenity, efficiency, or peace; on the contrary, our urban problems have become, if anything, more desperate.

Nixon urges that the past failures demand a new approach. Even Humphrey, who supports the need for considerably stepped-up federal expenditures, admits that the maze of programs aimed at coping with urban problems needs overhauling.

In fact, the two major candidates, despite some wide differences, have a large area of agreement (page 66). Both see the need for continuing to channel substantial investment into urban problems, although Humphrey would do this primarily through the federal budget, Nixon through tax incentives to draw in private investment. Both intend to seek ways to foster more local responsibility through sharing federal revenues with states and cities. Experts in urban affairs see merit in many of their specific proposals. Their ideas will remain proper subjects for debate among men generally agreed that the broad objective of national policy should be the upgrading of those at the bottom of the social structure rather than repression.

But not all Americans agree on that objective. Bitterness and fear are abroad in the land. The threat to the status of the lower middle classes that results from the Negro drive for equality, the threat to the security of all that results from civil violence—these are the forces that give the Presidential candidacy of George C. Wallace its strength.

Wallace has no real solution to the race problem. In his approach to other great problems that confront the nation, does the former Alabama Governor show he is equipped to be President of the United States? For businessmen, the answers he has given to Business Week's questions (page 145) are as good a test as any. On this basis, the candidate of the American Independent Party fails.

Wallace's economic position lacks integrity. He speaks in the rhetoric of an economic conservative, but his specific proposals and record in office are entirely different. He stands in the tradition of such Southern populists as Huey Long and James ("Kissin' Jim") Folsom, whose protege he, in fact, was.

Wallace lacks any understanding of complex economic issues. Two examples: It is wrong to say that the balance-of-payments problem results "in large part" from foreign aid; it is naive to say that the "answer to recession" lies in "better cooperation between government and business."

Still, there is a lesson in the growth of the Wallace movement that can be ignored by the next President only at grave peril to the nation. The Negro drive for equality has unquestionably shaken lower middle class whites. At other times and in other countries, discontent in the lower middle classes has bred fascism. Over the next four years, those in the economic rungs just above the bottom must come to feel that their problems, too, are a subject of national concern.

How businessmen can help on campus

With U. S. education in the midst of a revolution, spurred by student activism, the nation's 30,000 college and university trustees are in for hectic times in the years ahead (page 58). Most of them are businessmen, more used to ministering to a school's financial needs, than to analyzing its administration or dealing with student grievances.

The task facing trustees, as the final legal arbiters of university policy, will be difficult and often frustrating—but can be exhilarating. This generation of college students, as the Cox Commission report on the Columbia uprising observes, "is the best informed, the most intelligent, and the most idealistic this country has ever known." The issues over which they are so worked up—Vietnam, the draft, racial injustice, isolation from decisions affecting their lives and education, the fitness of inherited religious, political, and business values—are neither imaginary nor trivial. With the impatience and rashness of youth, they want to change the world—and the university—now.

The challenge is to turn these discontents and aspirations to positive ends. Communication between students, faculty, administration, and trustees must be improved to create a greater sense of community and purpose. Increasing numbers of businessmen-trustees are rising to these new responsibilities; they are venturing forth onto campuses, talking and working with students, professors, deans. Such involvement will lay the groundwork for a more effective and relevant university.

2 Felder Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama
March 13, 1968

Dearest Marjorie:

I was so glad to hear from you and to know you had met the Kindlebergers or rather had them to dinner. We too think they are delightful and are very devoted to them. Also the Galbraiths although I often disagree with Ken, but then I do with Charlie too, but then I naturally am a dissenter! After we get Pea Level in order and the weather turns warm, I do want them to come over.

At present it is cold although sunny. We have had a very late Spring, and the forsythia is just coming out now and the jonquils. I really was glad as long as the weather was bad Cliff did not mind so much being inactive and shut in, but when the weather is good and the sun is out, he gets very restless , but his back is better and he is being careful and I do think he can avoid an operation. He had a Dr. Glenn Barnes, a rather new doctor here who is young but I think I told you all about that when you were here, I remember your telling me about him turning his wife out. He does seem rather severe but Cliff likes him. In any case I hope we can soon get the Pea Level in order and begin staying up there and having visitors. The lady that bought this old place is fixing it up piece meal and doing it in a very messy way. She is digging up all the shrubs I planted to cover up the old house so she can plant cannas all around it, can you imagine anything more awful?

As for the Negroes voting for Wallace and the situation at Hamner Hall, this is it. As you may remember I said at the luncheon at the Club that I could not understand how any Negroes could have voted for the Wallaces and Ann Weisenburgh said " If you don't understand that, then you don't understand human nature." Well, that made me rather irritated, as Anne often does, and I assumed at the time that Negroes had voted for Lurleen for the same reason white people did, that they liked her in spite of her racist echoes, so I went and found out why they did and these are the answers I got.

To Marjorie Wall

Hamner Hall is overwhelmingly a Negro precinct or voting place. It is used at all times to indicate how the Negro vote is going and she was or did get the majority of the vote there as opposed to Jim Martin but she did not get it in the Primary when it went for Richmond Flowers. The explanation is this - Negroes saw no difference at all between Martin and Lurleen, and you must remember that Martin sounded just like Wallace, sometimes even worse. Also many or most of the Negroes voting were new voters and the activists had taught them only one thing which was to pull the Democratic Lever which they did. So Lurleen got their vote. But that does not mean at all

that they were for her or liked her(although everybody feels sorry for her, her poor little body has been cut on so much and exposed to public view so often that no one with any humanity could help but feel sorry for her) but the leaders told me that when it came to a racist who was conservative econimically and a racist who was liberal economically, they told their followers to always vote for the racist who was liberal economically.

I imagine much the same thing happened in Georgia as against Maddox and Calloway.Negroes saw little difference between the two of them on the race issue and believe the Democrats to be more liberal economically.

But for Wallace to claim as he does that this is a vote for them by Negroes is the same kind of lie he tells when he says "I live in a neighborhood with Negroes within one hundred yards of the Mansion" which is true, but does not say that they are Negro shacks that were built for servants in the big houses and are on an alley, as you of course well know.

So tell Mr. Wall that Wallace is only lying as usual when he says he got the Negro vote, he did get it but only becuase they saw no choice and they are trained and trained to pull the Democratic lever and the Republicans are going to have a hard time getting many Negro votes until they learn differently. Now in Birmingham George Seibels got elected Mayor with the Negro vote and he is a Republica but he got theopen endorsement of Dr. Nixon a dentist who is State President of the NAACP.

Do let us know when you come over again so we can get a glimpse of you. Did anyone tell you how wonderful the meeting at Huntingdon was, hundreds of people there, including such people as Amalie Hill Laslie and Joyce Hobbs, and the whole stage full of preachers and priests. No Negro preachers I am sorry to say, but some Negro women took part in the program. Olive says she is tired of trying to get them to come and participate , but many were at the meeting and I hope she keepson. I think she has done a wonderful job in the face of all kinds of discouragements and rebuffs and Earl too.

Lots of love to you and to Moreland. We do miss you.

Va.

10-19-68

Pol-3rd Party

Wallace speaks his mind

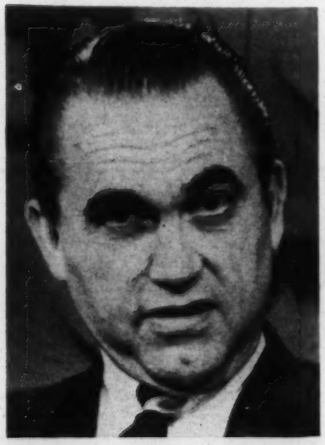
The candidate of the American Independent party states his positions on inflation, civil and states rights, the balance of payments, and foreign aid and trade

In their campaign speeches, the Presidential candidates have given many facets of their economic views piecemeal. To set out their policies as a whole, Business Week questioned each of the three leading candidates. In the Sept. 28 issue Richard M. Nixon and Hubert Humphrey gave their answers. The answers of George C. Wallace follow.

▪ ▪ ▪

What do you see as the primary economic issue of the campaign?

WALLACE: In my opinion, the primary economic issue is whether this government, or any other government, can continue indefinitely to spend more than it receives in revenue. Of course, in the space allocated to me for my answers, I cannot possibly go much further than basic policy statements. I do want to say that as President, I will have, as other Presidents before me have had, a council of economic advisers. These men will, as in the past, be from all parties and will be experts in their respective fields and I will advise with them on all the important economic issues, as well as with our leaders of industry and business. I would say the primary economic issue centers around the irresponsible fiscal policies of our government and the steps we can take to correct the present economic situation.



'I do not believe in emergency measures every time a minority group threatens'

You have talked about returning power to state government. What role would this leave for the federal government in economic affairs?

WALLACE: I believe that a healthy economy is a product of cooperation between government and industry in a constructive manner, but I sincerely believe that the government should interfere with business as little as possible. Government should lend its power and influence to insuring full employment and economic growth as I do not think that we can leave our economy completely to the free play of the market place. The federal government has become so involved in our economy that a sudden withdrawal could lead to economic chaos.

'I will remove the tax exemptions of those giant foundations'

How would you cope with a recession?

WALLACE: A recession could be curtailed by the joint effort of business and government. Some of the controls exercised presently by the government are useful in the management of our currency and assisting economic stability. I do not say that all the powers and regulations of agencies are harmful. As an example, the Federal Reserve Board and the Securities Exchange Commission are important to the management of our economy. The regulation of interest rates, giving tax incentives to business and industry to encourage growth and increased production, and in some cases loans and subsidies will be necessary. I believe the answer to recession, as with inflation, lies in better cooperation and coordination between government and business. I would not propose periodic tax increases or adjustment as a means of regulating the economy, as this has proven ineffective.

What level of inflation is acceptable and how would you keep within it?

WALLACE: I would like to end inflation altogether. We certainly must prevent the cost of living and prices from rising any higher than they are at the present time,

as they are much too high now. I think the most important thing I could do as President to halt inflation would be to stop the irresponsible spending policies of the government at home and abroad. I do not mean that all welfare programs should end, for it is the duty and responsibility of government to assist its needy, aged, infirm, and disadvantaged citizens who cannot provide for themselves. I would not eliminate

'I would not favor extending the 10% surtax'

all foreign aid, only that to those countries who oppose us militarily and those who aid and assist our enemies. There is much waste in welfare expenditures and in foreign aid that must be eliminated. Before a government can do anything about inflation, it must learn to live within its income.

The other candidates have said that the problems of Negroes require special programs. Do you agree?

WALLACE: I do not believe in enacting emergency measures every time a minority group threatens the nation with disorders. By special programs, if you mean what has been done in Alabama, such as providing more educational opportunities and expanding trade schools and vocational schools, I am for such programs. I believe in giving a person as much education and training as he can possibly absorb and is willing to accept. I favor programs to train the unskilled for useful and productive jobs. My program would be applicable to all Americans, regardless race, creed, color, religion, or national origin and not any particular voting group.

You have aimed your campaign primarily at the working man and woman. What are the causes of their present unrest? How would you remedy them?

WALLACE: I distinguish between your term "unrest" of the working man, and the unwarranted disturbances that have swept across our country. The great mass of working people are disturbed and upset by trends in this country, but they have not taken to the streets in protest. Their protest will be felt at the polls on election day. The cause of their unrest is the rising crime rate, involvement in a land war in Asia with a "no-win" policy, spiraling inflation, high taxes, and government by appointed bureaucrats.

Briefly stated, many of these problems can be solved by restoring to the people and to the states the right to manage their own affairs, by cutting out waste and reducing taxes, by giving our law enforcement officers more support, and by letting our enemies, both foreign and domestic, know that America proposes to once again become "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

You have said you favor incentives to encourage industry to build new plants and expand old ones in rural areas as a means of alleviating the problems of the cities by reversing migration to them. What incentives would you offer?

WALLACE: Tax incentives are effective in that industry is encouraged to expand, to create new jobs that result in an over-all increase in the gross national product. The immediate revenue lost by incentives is quickly restored many times over by the new jobs and increased purchasing power created. An effective inducement in Alabama was the construction of plants by small municipalities through revenue bond issues coupled with long-term leases to new industry and some tax relief until the industry was well established. Such legislation was sponsored by me when I was a member of the Alabama legislature and is commonly known as the "Wallace Act." Recent federal enactments have severely curtailed this form of development and we intend to correct this early in my Administration.

'I would propose reasonable quantitative limitations to imports'

What is your position on a possible income tax reduction for individuals and corporations?

WALLACE: I favor a tax reduction justified by efficiency and economy in government and a reduction in government expenditures at home and abroad. I would not favor extending the 10% surtax, for I believe its ineffectiveness has been proven. The economy is not stabilized by taking from the taxpayer to replenish the coffers of big government.

What are your views on basic tax reforms? You have stated that the tax exempt status of nonprofit foundations should be rescinded. How would you go about this? What is your position on the 27.5% oil and gas depletion allowance?

WALLACE: Tax reform and removal of the exempt status from large tax-exempt foundations can come only through legislation and I will propose legislation in this field after careful review with my advisers. I will ask Congress to remove the tax exemption of those giant foundations heretofore enjoying tax exemption privi-

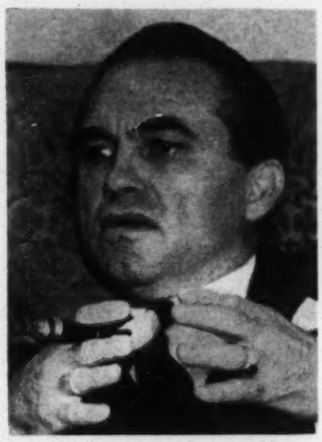
leges. My tax reform will be directed toward relief of the tax burden of the small wage earner. As to the 27.5% depletion allowance, this will receive my serious consideration and early attention.

Do you favor granting the President discretionary power to raise or lower tax rates?

WALLACE: I do not favor granting the President the discretionary power to raise or lower tax rates. Congress has abdicated many of its duties by delegating important legislative functions to the executive branch. The judiciary has usurped many more. This is one reason Washington is so entangled in a snarl of red tape and executive regulations. Such a proposal would amount to taxation without representation, which seems to have caused quite a stir back in 1776.

Would you favor decreasing or increasing defense spending?

WALLACE: I believe that in order to assure the safety and security of this country, we must remain militarily strong. I favor superiority in military material and preparedness rather than parity in this respect as I



'There is much waste in welfare expenditures'

think superiority in this regard would place the United States in a better position to provide for the security of its own people and to assist in maintaining peaceful relations throughout the world. It would certainly give us additional strength and bargaining power in any future negotiations. I believe such a position could be attained within the present defense budget and, with the conclusion of the conflict in Vietnam, there could be a substantial reduction in defense spending. However, for so long as our American servicemen remain committed in Vietnam, they will be supported with the full resources of this country.

Where do you stand on the question of free world trade vs. protectionism? Would you support some system of import limitations?

WALLACE: I know that world trade is a reciprocal matter. If we become too protective, we lose our world markets. On the other hand, free world trade is not in the best interests of this country. Therefore, this is a matter of balancing imports and exports to achieve the balance of trade most advantageous to the nation. Some industries may need to be protected from foreign products in varying degrees. Should this occur, I would propose reasonable quantative limitations to imports from low-wage nations to protect our home industry. At the same time, however, our government will pursue world markets for our own products consistent with our import policy.

How would you cope with the balance of payments?

WALLACE: I do not believe the balance-of-payments deficit is due to American tourists' travel. In great part it is due to the billions of dollars given away in foreign aid all over the world, to the inefficiency in the administration of international programs, and to the failure of our allies to pay their portion of overseas military expenditures for defense. Once these matters are corrected, our balance-of-payments position will radically improve.

What would you do to strengthen the dollar?

WALLACE: I would not try to police the world nor finance it either. Our dollar is only as strong as our own industry and our own economy. By setting the example with sound governmental fiscal policy and a vigorous and progressive partnership with industry, a balanced export-import situation, and an improved balance-of-payments condition, we can greatly strengthen the dollar.

What changes do you feel are required in the nation's antitrust laws or in their administration?

WALLACE: This is a matter that would be discussed in detail with my Attorney General and the Antitrust Div. of the Justice Dept. I doubt that new legislation is necessary. I believe in fair but strict enforcement of the law. We know of some areas where price fixing has taken place, but I don't anticipate any unusual government antitrust action.

What principles would guide you in the area of consumer protection?

WALLACE: I am in favor of an equitable consumer protection policy. The consumer, and especially the housewife, should not be victimized. However, I do not believe the federal government should undertake the policing of every aspect of business or industry. I basically believe in free enterprise, but I also know that certain actions are necessary, such as enforcing usury laws and fraud statutes. I would encourage more uniform state legislation in this and other areas and limit the federal government's tendency to intrude into the affairs of business or industry.

Do you think there is a need for changes in the regulation of securities markets?

WALLACE: The basic change needed is a more careful screening and a more rigid requirement of character and qualification on the part of those licensed to deal in the sale of securities. This profession should operate on the same comparable standards as any other in its requirement of custom and public protection. **End**

fol. 3rd Party

WHAT GEORGE WALLACE

Dick Gregory: "George Wallace is doing black folks a favor."

IN MY OPINION, George Wallace would be the ideal president of the U.S.A.—Union of South Africa. As a matter of fact, it wouldn't hurt black folks so much if he became President of the United States. Why not? That sounds ridiculous, but when you stop to think of it, getting America's racism out in the open may be the only way to solve the problem. At least the black people in South Africa know what they have to do to win their freedom.

I wouldn't go so far as to say we ought to support him, though. A friend of mine needed work so bad, he took a job putting up "Wallace for President" posters in Harlem, and I haven't heard from him since June. But seriously, George Wallace is doing black folks a favor by getting the bigots in this country to stand up and be counted. Wallace says he is a "conservative," which means, I suppose, that he wants to bring back the Good Old Days of Mom, apple pie and lynchings.

All my life, I have heard good white folks say that bigots and racists like the KKK were only a "small minority." The world is going to be shocked to find out how "small" that minority really is and how many "decent-minded people" will speak out with a hate vote on a secret ballot. The National Socialist party got "only" a third of the votes in Germany's last election before Hitler seized power. Wallace's American Independent party may not get that many in 1968, but his candidacy certainly marks the end of the dominant two-party system in this country. History will probably not give him as much personal credit for its collapse, however, as it will Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago. Daley, Wallace and Nixon agree on the principle of "law and order," which means—to me—shooting to kill all looters. I, myself, could endorse that plank in my platform as long as we made it retroactive to the year 1600 and gave the guns to the Indians.

Wallace says that the biggest issue in this campaign is "crime in the streets." He does not say a word about stopping the crime in the White House itself and in the Pentagon and in the Congress and in the legislatures of 50 states. He favors giving greater power to the corrupt local politicians in every city hall across the country, where Americans are stabbed daily in their pocketbooks, raped of wages and savings by political deals, price-fixing, tax loopholes and contract juggling; where the influence of the crime syndicate is increasing, not only in prostitution, moneylending, gambling and dope but in legitimate businesses such as liquor, highway-building and garbage-collecting, to name but a few. Wallace does not mention that his own campaign manager settled out of court a legal charge of "conspiracy to limit competition, set prices, and force kickbacks or campaign contributions from companies selected to sell asphalt" for road construction to the state of Alabama, for which he is finance director. That's my idea of crime in the street. Wallace also does not mention his old political pal who is alleged in another suit to have formed a company to sell liquor exclusively to the Alabama Alcoholic Beverage Control Board and to have "paid substantial monies directly or indirectly, by way of commissions, fees or otherwise" in order to obtain Alabama's business.

But if corruption alone were to disqualify George Wallace from elective office, then hardly any other politician in America would be worthy of it. The Founding Fathers saw government service as a patriotic duty and could not have countenanced even for a moment the idea of a legislator or executive official belonging to a law firm, corporation or family that benefited from government business. Our cynicism today shows in the expenditure of millions of dollars by presidential candidates seeking a $100,000-a-year job.

George Wallace professes to represent the "little folks." When he ran for the Alabama legislature in the late '40's as a "common man," he campaigned against the sales tax and for reapportionment to reduce the power of big rural landowners. But the one thing common men really want is to be successful, to be *un*common, to be distinguished from everyone else. I had these desires myself, and that is why I entered athletics and became an entertainer. The trouble with a common man being politically ambitious is that the only bargaining power he has is his ability to control other common men, to deliver their votes to the Establishment, which already owns all the land, natural resources, banks and corporations.

By the time George Wallace won the governorship, he was no longer talking about reducing taxes and reapportioning. His platform was simply: "Nigger! Nigger! Nigger!" Though the Alabama Constitution requires a reapportionment every ten years, Wallace balked until forced to act by the U.S. Supreme Court. As soon as he took office, he raised the sales tax to four percent. Under his administration, Alabama maintained the lowest property tax of any state in the Union. To accommodate his backers—the Alabama Mining Institute, Associated Industries and large plantation owners—Wallace assessed rural property at only five percent, while "little folks" in Birmingham had their homes assessed at 30 percent. Combined taxes on food rose to six percent under Wallace, and new taxes were added on bread and beer. On behalf of the "little folks" who elected him, George Wallace opposed a minimum-wage law, upheld the anti-union law and did his best to abolish local control of the public school system.

George Wallace has been able to accomplish this systematic oppression of his fellow common men by campaigning consistently on the issue of segregation, so that even the poorest white man could feel superior to the "niggers," who had no rights at all. The criminal part about demagoguery is that the people who legitimately hate get cheated in the end. Wallace is not even a real racist, for his proudest claim is that his wife received nearly all the Negro votes in Selma in 1966. He fails to explain that black leaders in Dallas County campaigned for the Democratic ticket not in support of Lurleen Wallace but in order to defeat Sheriff Jim Clark, who was running as an independent. In a life-and-death situation, black folks had no choice but to pull "the one big lever" and carry the whole ticket.

George Wallace cannot solve America's problems by segregating black people any more than Hitler solved Germany's grievances by killing off the Jews. Even he knows that, so as a presidential demagogue, Wallace has now added "anarchist" and "Communist" to his hate list. To hear him talk, if elected, he would demand that the Communists get out of Russia. Wallace also displays at his rallies what amounts to a phobia about "bearded professors," to whom he ascribes most of the ills of the world. This view he shares with the contemporary critics of Jesus and Socrates, who were "corrupting" the minds of youth.

The truth is that George Wallace has no program and no policy. Threatening to run over peace protesters in his automobile is not going to help end the war. The stifling of protest in America, on the contrary, would represent a far greater loss to freedom than even an absolute Communist victory in Vietnam. Reversing the decisions of the Supreme Court and Congress for desegregated education, equal job opportunity and open housing cannot resolve the crisis of the cities, which is the result of putting us in the ghettos in the first place.

Personally, I would welcome George Wallace to the political scene, for his American Independent party will help teach Americans to be independent in a system that has too long given the voter the right to elect without the right to select. This is not the time, however, to be playing politics at all. George Wallace and all the other politicians are speaking clichés and platitudes to a nation crying for a statesman who will speak the truth.

But I warn those who wish to protest against the corrupt two-party system by voting for Wallace that we may face an even greater force of reaction than anyone dares to imagine. A George Wallace victory could result in a domestic conflict from which this nation, as constituted, could never recover. There are radicals on both sides who welcome such a revolution, and George Wallace, if elected, might be the last President of the United States.

MEANS TO ME

William F. Buckley Jr.: "American conservatives are the most distressed of all."

WHEN, EARLY THIS YEAR, *Human Events* released its poll on George Wallace, conservative-watchers were astonished. The poll had been shrewdly conceived, and reported not on the views of the general reader but on those of more than 100 "conservative writers, politicians and organization heads—most of the leading names in American conservatism." "*Do you believe Mr. Wallace to be a fiscal conservative?*" No, 51% (Yes, 30%). "*Will Mr. Wallace's candidacy help or hurt the election of conservatives running for the House and Senate?*" Hurt, 69% (Help, 14%). "*Will the effect of Mr. Wallace's candidacy be to strengthen or to hurt the conservative movement in America?*" Hurt, 74% (Strengthen, 16%). "*How would you vote in the 1968 general election, given the following possibilities?*" Nixon, 79%; Johnson, 5%; Wallace, 8% (Reagan, 78%; Johnson, 9%; Wallace, 3%. Rockefeller, 43%; Johnson, 12%; Wallace, 23%). "*Do you believe Mr. Wallace is knowingly conducting a campaign that is calculated to appeal to racial prejudices?*" Yes, 68% (No, 25%).

The figures greatly surprised those who believed (many still do) that Wallace is the answer to conservative prayers; who wondered therefore at the apparent ingratitude of conservative leaders. Or was it that their opposition is purely tactical? Is it merely because conservatives, though they do not really object to George Wallace, far from it, do object (the thinking members among them) to the *effect* his candidacy is likely to have on the candidacy of Richard Nixon, who is the closest thing to a conservative running for president who also has a chance to make it?

Researchers so inclined can carefully study Wallace's personal and political background for clues to the question: Do we have here a sure-enough "conservative"? The findings are at least confusing. Twenty years ago, George Wallace refused to join Strom Thurmond's famous defection from the Democratic Convention, in protest against Hubert Humphrey's civil rights plank. During that period, and for a while after that, Wallace was a self-avowed "Folsomite," i.e., a backer of the enormous pretensions of Kissing Jim Folsom, the Alabama Governor who thought himself presidential material, served as a *Henry* Wallace delegate at the 1944 Democratic Convention and had taken the governorship of Alabama—in the words of the London *Economist*—"on the most liberal platform ever offered in Alabama." Wallace broke with Folsom, for reasons irrelevant to this narrative; but he was still down as a strong believer in Federal welfare programs, he backed John Kennedy in 1956 and 1960, and, as Governor, he tripled Alabama's bonded indebtedness. Then, of course, came the famous encounter of 1963, where it all officially began.

On the other hand, other public officials publicly resented the use of force as an instrument of integration before Wallace and after him; and yet, we are concerned nowadays with Wallace. What happened after the Federal marshals forced Governor Wallace to step aside to make way for a Negro boy and a Negro girl, who were thereupon registered as students at the University of Alabama, was that history and George Wallace embarked upon an elaborate courtship, to which each contributed about equally, so that now they have quite a thing going.

For his part, Wallace began diligently to cultivate a race-free rhetoric. "I have never said anything unkind about a Negro anywhere," Wallace has said, like Mark Antony addressing the Romans on his devotion to Brutus. He then went on to perfect analytical and rhetorical techniques that a) stimulate discontents where discontents are latent, b) aggravate them where they are already there, and c) galvanize his listeners into a hot desire to hurl their bodies (never ever their minds) in the path of the Federal juggernaut.

For its part, history gave us Lyndon Johnson and his enormous appetite to dominate the affairs of America at every level. And gave us, too, the paralysis of action that grew out of Johnson's failure to reckon on the relative weakness of his own resources (the conservatives would put it that way) or on the relative strength of other people's inertia (as the liberals would prefer). Thus, the war in Vietnam stalled and, at home, the war against poverty and the urban ghetto.

Now listen to George Wallace: "*I respect the right of dissent all right*"—note that the formality, what one might call the liberal amenities, has been complied with (I don't have anything against niggers)—"*but anybody who undertakes to give aid to the Vietcong is engaged in treason*"—not that treason is (as indeed it ought to be) a devil-word; and note how useful it is rhetorically, handled thus gravely. . . . "*That's the way I see it*"—a touch of modesty; but shrewdly programmed, to suggest the, er, triumph of innocence in a sick-slick world. "*I'd order the Justice Department to proceed against*"—now watch how the tone changes, so as to introduce true American Resolution—"*these bastards, indict 'em, try 'em. And if any judges tried to say it isn't* legally *treason because we aren't formally at war, I'd get some new judges.*"

There it is. American conservatives are the most distressed of all, not so much because they despise what Wallace says as because they despise what they know to be his venture in political profiteering on grave, mutual concerns: just as the responsible Left, in the '30's, wept tears over the exploitation of their genuine concerns by such as Huey Long. What's more, even the veneer breaks down at the organizational level. Wallace admits, among his official electors, such as Gerald L. K. Smith, the consecrated anti-Semite, and Leander Perez, the devoted anti-Negro. Nobody knows exactly how he will distribute his hurt. During the primaries in 1964 Wallace made his big points among Democrats. But then he was running only among Democrats in the primaries. In November, he will hurt the Republicans most in the South, where they will lose electoral votes to him; but in the North, the Humphrey Democrats will lose, who might otherwise have counted on votes that now will go to a man whose mode reflects frustrations readily intellectualizable by other Americans, who know that something is wrong, and arrive, by careful and morally responsible reasoning, at conclusions similar to Wallace's.

His mode is crude, but hardly unique. He said once about a Federal judge who was his classmate at college, but now found himself an adversary in one of those legal brawls Wallace is always caught up in, that the judge was "an integrating, carpetbagging, scalawagging, race-mixing, bald-faced liar." That is the kind of assault, if you change the political coordinates and wipe it up a little, that some thoroughbred liberals—e.g., Emanuel Celler and Martin Luther King, Jr., and George Meany—were making on Goldwater in 1964, when they saw him as somehow in the tradition of Adolf Hitler.

What are we left with? The coarsening of distinctions, certainly. Polarization, just as certainly. But also the disintegrating penetration of Big Daddy Government. Those conservatives who take sly pleasure from Wallace's techniques should reflect that that kind of thing is do-able against anybody at all; do-able for instance by the Folsomite Wallace of yesteryear, who roared his approval of his candidate's attack on the "Wall Street Gotrocks," "the damned decency crowd," and "them Hoover Republicans." Those who see in Wallace the end of the world should reflect on the great political movements of the past 20 years. Strom Thurmond, in 1948, led the movement against civil rights. Today, firmly incorporated into a Republican party that is pledged to defend civil rights, he leads, in effect, the fight against Wallace, who has taken Thurmond's old position in the South.

That, and reflect also on this: The Wallace candidacy for North, South, East and West is, among other things, a great national reaction against the ravenous appetites of an overweaning Federal Government to craft for us a great society, never mind the disposition of those who are to benefit from it. Not inconceivably, we will be better off for the irruption. Wallace is to one position what Eugene McCarthy is to another. The country rejected (quite

continued

wisely) Eugene McCarthy, but the Democrats learned from him. The country will reject (quite wisely) George Wallace, but Democrats and Republicans alike stand to learn from the experience.

Fletcher Knebel: "He senses an ugly mood in his fellow Americans."

ASSUMING THAT George Corley Wallace is a man of his word, he will, if elected President of the United States, spend the first several days of his term hurling briefcases into the Potomac River. Having thus disarmed hostile "briefcase-totin' bureaucrats" in Washington, the former Alabama Governor will embark on statecraft by fulfilling the following campaign promises:

RACE: Repeal open-housing legislation under which "they can put you in jail for selling your house." Forbid use of Federal money or influence to bus schoolchildren to other neighborhoods. Turn back the schools "lock, stock and barrel" to local school districts. Cease Government interference with labor unions and corporations that discriminate against blacks. Permit states to maintain segregated schools. Work for "repeal or radical modification" of some civil rights laws. Urge Congress to repeal the 1965 voting-rights law.

CRIME: Make the streets safe. Give moral support to local police. Run over, beat up, jail or otherwise subdue "the first anarchist that lies down in front of" Wallace's White House limousine (exact method of punishment unexplained). Bring enforced peace to Washington, D.C., even if it means stationing Federal troops "every five feet" in that predominantly black city. Ask Congress to override a large number of "asinine" Supreme Court decisions that handicap police and aid lawbreakers. Fight all efforts to register firearms because "the good people gonna be without 'em and the bad people will have them."

VIETNAM: Instruct his attorney general to seek indictment for treason of any person advocating a Communist triumph. Personally take some of "these professors by the hair and throw 'em under a good Federal jail." Summon our allies to "eyeball-to-eyeball, nose-to-nose" talks in which President Wallace will announce that any nation refusing to join the war in Vietnam will not "get another dime" from the U.S. He will muster his Joint Chiefs of Staff and ask if military victory can be achieved by "conventional" weapons. If the answer is "yes," Wallace will wage war to victory so he can "bring the boys home." (His strategy in event of an unexpected "no" answer has not been disclosed.)

THE MAN WHO would make America straighten up and fly right is a short, compact orator of stern demeanor, flashing black eyes, heavy eyebrows, slicked-down hair and a kind of truculent vitality. He is 49, the widower of Lurleen Wallace, who died of cancer last spring after winning election as Alabama's Governor in 1966. When Wallace failed to force amendment of the state constitution to permit him to succeed himself, he instead ran his wife, who had already undergone major surgery for cancer.

Wallace has four children. He does not drink hard liquor. His failings of a sinful nature include cigars and an inordinate fondness for catsup. His private life is minimal and unenriched by cultural, scholarly or frolicsome pursuits. Almost every waking moment is devoted to politics. This dedication has paid off. Every state now bristles with Wallace legions. The "po' little ol' country judge from Barbour County, Alabama"—to quote a campaign introduction by his chief fund raiser—has come a long, long way in his quest for power.

His bid for national leadership, the strongest third-party surge since Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moosers in 1912, is predicated on a single four-letter word—RACE. Wallace says he has never made a speech "reflecting on anybody of any race, creed or color." He doesn't have to. Every listener knows that he is the former Governor who stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama to bar Federal agents who would force admission of black students. He stepped aside—into the Valhalla of white supremacy. Today, every follower of the American Independent party knows where George Wallace stands. He stands on the white side.

Wallace's fundamentalist campaign rocketed out of Alabama with the fervor of a revival meeting. What is being revived is the concept of white superiority. On the flag-draped platforms, a combo plays country music, red-jacketed "Wallace girls" pass collection buckets for George, the crowd sings *God Bless America* and often recites in unison the Lord's Prayer, presumably in supplication of a white God enthroned in an all-white heaven.

Reporters who cover the "stand up for America" campaign, as I did for several days, become well-versed in Wallace theology. His dogma has its demons and saints. The demons come first in Wallace speeches. They're obviously more fun. They include professors, preachers, bureaucrats, Communists, anarchists, "guideline writers," editors, Federal judges and "free-speech people."

The works of the devil are wrought through an odd assortment of people and things that Wallace decries with gusto: those briefcases, long hair, the news media, national Republicans, national Democrats, Chief Justice Earl Warren, bigots ("the biggest bigots are people who call other people bigots"), left-wingers, Yalta, the college campus, liberals, the Kerner Commission's report on civil disorders and "ivory tower noses," down which the "Eastern Establishment" looks upon the common folk.

The Wallace saints are policemen (especially Chicago cops), firemen, military men, cabdrivers, barbers, small businessmen, beauticians, factory workers, farmers and, as Wallace announces with defiant pride, all "us pea pickers, peckerwoods and red-necks" of the Southern pinelands.

The saints will demolish the demons under President Wallace for a simple reason: "There are more of us than there are of them." It is no accident that most of the demons hold college degrees, while most of the saints have less formal schooling. Wallace, a confessed college law-school graduate, aligns himself with the anti-university crowd, and if you call that demagoguery, you must be one of those "pointy-headed pseudo-intellectuals who can't park their bicycles straight."

Wallace's crusade travels much of the terrain combed almost a generation ago by the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, another university product who heaped ridicule on the educated Establishment. Also, in a curious way, Wallace shares common ground with today's highly intellectual Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy. Both men galvanized a vast, restless body of dissent in America. McCarthy forced a warlike Johnson Administration into peace talks at Paris. Now, Wallace's growing popularity forces the Republican and Democratic candidates toward a hard line on the domestic three R's—race, riots and revolt.

Wallace's oratory dwells but fleetingly on economic matters. His campaign assumes that white voters are doing all right in the pocketbook, and if left alone by a knavish Federal Government, would continue to prosper. Seldom in American political history has a candidate promised so little bread and cake to those he wooed.

Wallace is no man of Camelot. He dreams no dreams, turns no eyes toward the stars, kindles no hopes for a bright new world of peace, tranquillity and love. Instead, he stalks our dark side, unpenning prejudice, curdling wrath and almost seeming to court the very violence he deplores. He senses an ugly mood in his fellow Americans. "They criticize me for telling people what they want to hear," says Wallace. "Well, what's wrong with that?" His crowds roar approval. What they want to buy is what Wallace is selling—a familiar old America, where the white man ruled untroubled by frightening chants of "Black Power."

If that America can be re-created only by force, George Wallace is ready. He told highway patrolmen outside a restaurant in Springfield, Mo., that "when I'm President, I'd like to let you fellows run the country for a couple of years." Later, he said the remark was "facetious." It is hard to know when Wallace is joking. The distance between his fierce oratory and his whimsy is no further than that between the gut and the heart. George Wallace wants that gut vote. This year, the heart is a lonely hunter.

END

Through Hazel Eyes

By HAZEL BRANNON SMITH

The presidential election of November 5 is easily the most important thing that will happen in 1968 —and the only event which readers of this newspaper may help determine the outcome. Don't let anything keep you away from the polls next Tuesday. Vote as though your whole life depended upon it. It just may.

For the first time in our journalistic life, we are **endorsing** a candidate for president and vice president, Humphrey-Muskie. (See editorial.)

Periodically, as our readers know, we state our choice for president and governor. But never have we actually **endorsed** a candidate or urged our readers to vote for any given candidate. This we do now because of the tremendous importance of the 1968 election to the future of our state and nation.

Each individual must bear the burden of his choice and live with his own conscience. All of us must live with the choice made by the majority. Our decision should be made only after careful, prayerful consideration.

God help the man who is elected president, whomever he may be. He faces a future of awesome responsibilities in binding together the wounds and uniting a nation torn by three years of fighting and dying in an undeclared, unjust, illegal and immoral war in Vietnam —by the bitterness and strife engendered among and between the races through years of indifference and neglect—and the historic refusal of Congress to live up to its responsibilities by implementing into law guarantees of the Constitution.

One might well wonder why any sane man would want to be president.

* * * * *

Remember, when you mark your ballot that you must place an X or check mark by each of all seven electors pledged to a given team—or your vote won't be counted.

Also, you must vote for one election commissioner in each of the five supervisor beats, or your vote will not be counted. You cannot vote just for the election commissioner contest in your own beat.

Study the sample ballot before you go to the polls

The Lexington

10-31-68 Advertiser

"Principles and Men: Truth—the

Volume 131 · Lexington, Miss. 39095 —

Coalition Of Far Right Extremists Support Wallace For President

Pol 3rd Party

A coalition of Far Right Wing extremists and extremist organizations are united solidly behind American Independent Party Presidential Candidate George C. Wallace, according to the Southern Committee On Political Ethics (SCOPE) of which former Arkansas Congressman Brooks Hays is chairman. All are overtly racist and some anti-Semitic.

Participation by extremists in the campaign of the former governor of Alabama was also documented in a study by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Copies of both reports are on file in the office of this newspaper and open to any interested reader.

The SCOPE report examines the man, Wallace, and the men behind him. It reveals his true record as governor, showing how the working man in Alabama fared under Wallace. It discusses the Wallace "answers" to national problems.

Both studies stated that while extremist organizations as such are not necessarily committed to support Wallace, although some are, most leaders and members work for him as individuals.

Among the Right Wing organizations, leaders and members actively working in the campaign for the election of the Wallace-LeMay ticket are the white Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan, Americans For the Preservation of the White Race and John Birch Society..

They include also Asa E. (Ace) Carter, Gerald K. Smith, former Dallas County (Ala.) Sheriff James G. Clark, Robert Annable of the North American Alliance of White People (a de-[illegible] of the NKKK), the Liberty

it." Rarick (then a Circuit Judge). Touchstone's paper, which has been most noted for its racist and anti-semitic views, indicated the purpose of the meeting was "to push Wallace as a realistic leader of pro-Constitution Americans."

Richard Cotton has built a reputation as an ultra-conservative commentator whose favorite target is the "Zionist-Jewish Conspiracy." Rep. Rarick, who was defeated in a primary bid for the Louisiana Gubernatorial nomination, is a last ditch segregationist.

Figuring prominently in the early stages of Wallace's campaign, as an aide and speech writer and an organizer of Asa E. (Ace) Carter, according to a report in the Birmingham News, January 25, 1967. A New York Times article of October 17, 1965 notes that "Mr. Carter is known throughout the south for his white supremacy activities." The New York Herald-Tribune, on October 13, 1965, cited Carter as the developer of "an anti-Semitic splinter group. . .within the ranks of the White Citizens' Councils movement in Alabama."

* * * * *

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Also, you must vote for one election commissioner in each of the five supervisor beats, or your vote will not be counted. You cannot vote just for the election commissioner contest in your own beat.

Study the sample ballot before you go to the polls so that you will not make a mistake in marking your choices.

* * * * *

We are still approving and recommending that our readers vote FOR the constitutional amendment contained on the ballot. As you should know by now, this amendment involves a change in the way the state's bonded indebtedness is classified—by placing highway bonds in a separate category, which is where they should be anyway.

Passage of the amendment will facilitate a greatly needed highway improvement program—a must if Mississippi is to continue our industrial growth and development.

Governor John Bell Williams has asked for passage of the amendment and such widely divergent groups as the Mississippi Economic Council (the state chamber of commerce), the Jackson Chamber of Commerce, the state A and I Board, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and many other groups have publicly stated approval of same.

Be sure and vote FOR the amendment.

* * * * *

We know there are some sincere supporters of George Wallace who honestly believe he is the answer to what this country needs.

We would not dictate to a Wallace or Nixon supporter—but before voting, we think every citizen has the responsibility of knowing who and for what he is voting.

And again we say many of those voting for Wallace are not getting what they think

Aside from not being what he appears to be, Mr. Wallace's election would inevitably bring about a police state in this country and a revolution, as we have stated before.

But the most dangerous threat afforded by the Alabamian is the fact that organized extremists of the Far Right throughout this country are supporting his campaign solidly, not necessary extremist organizations as such, although some are, but leaders and members. Those include the well known (in Mississippi and the South) white Citizens' Councils, Ku Klux Klans, Americans For the Preservation of the White Race and John Birch Society.

But other lesser known (in this area) and more radical extremists and organizations throughout the nation have made and are making important contributions do to the Wallace campaign in organizing, getting him on the ballot, fund-raising, getting out the vote, etc. They include Asa E. (Ace) Carter, Gerald K. Smith, former Dallas County (Ala.) Sheriff James G. Clark, Robert Annable of the North America Alliance of White People (a defender of the KKK), the

(Continued On Page Eight)

bers actively working in the campaign for the election of the Wallace-LeMay ticket are the white Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan, Americans For the Preservation of the White Race and John Birch Society..

They include also Asa E. (Ace) Carter, Gerald K. Smith, former Dallas County (Ala.) Sheriff James G. Clark, Robert Annable of the North American Alliance of White People (a defender of the KKK), the Liberty Lobby, the American Nazi Party The Minutemen, National States Rights Party, National Association For the Advancement of White People, the Christian Nationalist Crusade, Kent Courtney's (New Orleans) Congress of Conservatives, Congress of Freedom, We, the People, United Citizens' Councils of America (in Ohio), St. ciation, Boston's Rally For God and Country, Robert Welch General Edwin Walker (Ret.), Billy James Hargis, Dan Smeet, a New Jersey white vigilante group called PRE-ARM (People's Rights Enforced Against Riots and Murder), and many others.

Highlights on some of these organizations, as revealed by SCOPE, follow:

White Citizens' Councils

The Councilor, an organ of the White Citizens' Councils of Louisiana reveals in its November 15, 1965 issue that the Wallace candidacy was promoted in a meeting held November 8, 1965, in Montgomery, Ala. The participants were then — Governor Wallace, Ned Toughstone (The Councilor editor), Richard Cotton and Rep. John

to a report in the Birmingham News, January 25, 1967. A New York Times article of October 17, 1965 notes that "Mr. Carter is known throughout the south for his white supremacy activities." The New York Herald-Tribune, on October 13, 1965, cited Carter as the developer of "an anti-Semitic splinter group. . . .within the ranks of the White Citizens' Councils movement in Alabama."

Carter apparently enhanced his philosophical leanings through association with Gerald L. K. Smith who is today a prominent Wallace-for-President backer through his publication, The Cross and The Flag. Smith, who shares Carter's racial and ethnic prejudices, appears to have been the tutor. According to columnist Murry Kempton in the New York Post, March 8, 1965, "Ace Carter was always saying that he had studied under Gerald L. K. Smith and that Gerald knew what to do."

James G. Clark, former Dallas County, Alabama sheriff is another chief organizer of the Wallace-for-President clubs. An Associated Press dispatch from Atlanta, Ga., March 12, 1967, says: "among those at work organizing for Wallace's expected bid in 1968 is James G. Clark, former sheriff of Alabama's Dallas County and symbol of segregation in the 1965 voting rights drive at Selma.

"Clark, who has told his version of 'The Selma Story' in 27 states during the past year and a half, has been to Florida and Arizona within the past two weeks to help organize Wal-

(Continued On Page Two)

Election Officials Named By Holmes County Board Of Supervisors

The general election to be held Tuesday, Nov. 5 is being conducted under the guidance of the county Boards of Supervisors throughout the state — due to the fact that the Mississippi Legislature this year changed the method of choosing election commissioners from appointment (by the governor, secretary of state and attorney general) to election by the people. The polls open at 7:00 a. m. and close at 6:00.

Election officials appointed by the supervisors of Holmes County to hold Tuesday's election are as follows:

BEAT ONE

Lexington — A-B: J. Murrell McRae, Jamie Moore, Helen Lammons, La Plause Polk, Howard Huggins, R. R. Truitt

Lexington — C-F: Fanny Mae Cothran, Beth Warrington, Coretha Smith, Seleda James, Charles Lee Truitt, W. H. Russell

Lexington — G-H: Frank Hughes, Jo Chennault, Mary Archer, Charles Curtis, Charlie Wade, Paul Weems

Lexington — I-M: C. M. McDaniel, Nadine Pepper, Marie Moore, Willie B. Davis, Kiturah Povall, Trevie L. Siddon

Lexington — Mc-R: Nathan Aldridge, Frances Smith, V. O. Ingold, Jr., Laverne Lindsey, Velma Brock, H. V. Brock.

Lexington — S-T: Delores Killebrew, Dan G. Pepper, Janie Strider, Nathan Tate, Barbara Wade, Charles W. Bailey

Lexington — U-Z: Hilda H. Ginn, E. F. Rathell, Jr., Annie M. Gibson, Sam Green, Frances Ussery, R. L. Kealhofer

BEAT TWO

West: Return Officer, W. L.

(Continued on Page Eight)

UTILITY RECEIVES FIRST SCS AWARD — ssippi Power and Light Company has been named en of the first industrial award offered by the servation Society of ard for its outstand- nservation along 224 High Voltage) trans- 00 acres on right-of- award are, from left: r MPL; A. H. Barber, W. L. Heard, state he award for the So- dent Baxter Wilson, ed the award at the sippi State University.

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an over the top in 1948. even as the possibility it is certainly no more that — of a Humphrey vic- comes into the circle of hinkable, there also emer- a picture of how the Vice dent would win. And, ex- ed close up, it is not a y picture.

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Coalition Of Far Right Extremists Support Wallace For President

(Continued From Page One)

lace-for-President groups." He is described in the New York Post, January 31, 1957, as a "White Citizens' leader and a founder of a Ku Klux Klan group. . ."

Kent Courtney, along with Carter and Clark, was present at the behind-the-scenes organization meeting of key Wallace supporters held in Montgomery, Alabama, and reported in the Birmingham News, January 25, 1967. Courtney is quoted as saying, "I asked Carter and Clark. . .are you ready to operate. Both said yes. ."

The Houston Chronicle, November 8, 1964, describes Courtney as "President of the Conservative Society of America—a member of the John Birch Society. Courtney, through an independent in the right-wing movement, has been associated with Robert Welch, founder of the Birch Society, Rev. Billy James Hargis, a Bircher and a leader of the Christian Crusade, and Rev. Carl McIntire, leader of the 20th Century Reformation Hour."

The Chronicle article, written following the 1934 election defeat of Barry Goldwater, carries this parry with Courtney. "If the conservative control of the Republican Party is not maintained?"

"Third Party," he said simply.

Who would feed it?"

"Watch (Alabama Governor George) Wallace," he said.

A chief organizer of the American Independent Party's successful attempts to qualify for a place on the November election ballots is William K. Shearer, Secretary-Treasurer of the California Association of Citizens' Councils. Shearer, a principal speaker at the Citizens' Council of America leadership conference in Montgomery, Alabama in 1965, (reported in The Citizen, March, 1965), is also the publisher of the California Statesman, a monthly publication with ultra-right-wing leanings.

Shearer is described in a Birmingham News dispatch from Los Angeles, June 16, 1967, as "a full-time employee of the Wallace campaign of Montgomery," and is quoted as saying that "putting the name of George Wallace for President also head of the North American Alliance of White People. Testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee in February, 1966, Annable spoke out in defense of the Ku Klux Klan and argued that the "Klan itself should not be legislated out of business. It is a good organization as far as I am concerned." At the hearings, a former member of the Columbus, Ohio police department testified that Annable was a member of the Klan.

John Birch Society

John Birch Society supporters for Wallace are prominent in many states, though the Society itself has not endorsed the candidacy of the former Alabama Governor. In Pennsylvania, three prominent members of the Society have formed the Western Pennsylvania Citizens for Wallace Committee. John Mehalic, president of the local Birch chapter, is heading the Wallace team.

The Evans-Novak column in the Washington Post, February 24, 1968 notes: "The backbone of Wallace's organization in Pennsylvania is not Democratic at all but the right fringe of the 1964 Goldwater movement. Three organizers of his Pittsburgh rally were Goldwaterite members of the John Birch Society. The New York Times, April 28, 1967, also reported that the head of the Pennsylvania campaign was "John Mehalic, President of the local Birch group."

The same Times article quotes Wallace as saying, "I am not going to denounce the John Birch Society. I know a few of its members in Alabama and they are some of our finest citizens, although they didn't support me for Governor, or my wife, either."

Heading the Wallace campaign in Nevada is John deTar, a Reno physician. The Nevada State Journal, May 1, 1968, interviewing Don Hanson, Co-Chairman of the Committee, determines that the Wallace supporters are "coincidentally, all affiliated with the ultra right wing John Birch Society." In petitioning for Wallace's name on the Nevada ballot, his backers "officially created the American Independent Party

legal test involving the Lobby, the Washington Post, December 28, 1967, noted that U. S. Court of Appeals Judge Warren Burger, in a footnote to his concurring opinion denying a motion by the Liberty Lobby for an injunction against columnist Drew Pearson, pointed to a deposition stating the organization's purposes "reveals extensive money-raising campaigns to support a calculated program of anti-Semitism with racist overtones."

Ku Klux Klan

Members of the Ku Klux Klan are active and enthusiastic in the support of the candidate, Wallace. The New York Times, April 29, 1967, reported on a radio interview carried on station WKYC in Cleveland, Ohio. "Mr. Wallace was told that two of his chief organizers in the Cleveland area have long histories of association with the Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Wallace answered, 'We have not authorized anyone to organize any campaign for us, but we don't reflect on anyone who wants to support us for the Presidency.'"

A New York Times dispatch on October 1, 1967 reports that Wallace said he would continue to accept KKK backing, adding, "I would welcome the support of anyone who supported my campaign."

Two prominent Klansmen are quoted in the "Nation" May 8, 1967, in support of Wallace. Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan said "we made him Governor and we must make him President." The Imperial Wizard of the interstate Klans (Maryland and Virginia) has wired Wallace of his "100 percent support." The Atlanta Constitution, May 8, 1967, quotes Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin Craig as saying "we're not interested in Democrats or Republicans. They ought to be run out of the country. We're interested in the man running. He (Wallace) is the only man running now."

American Nazi Party

Wallace backers with past ties to the American Nazi Party are also working on the Alabaman's campaign. The March, 1967, issue of Action magazine, published by the Sons of Liberty and edited by James K. Warner, reveals the opening of a Wallace for-President Information Center. War-

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New York and Ohio a De- ratic victory depends al- entirely on the work of labor movement. But the ns are now a principal k to the kind of steps that l to be taken to broden job ortunity to reform the wel- sysem, and to start up or new progrms in educa- housing. In New York and in particular, the union lers have been using loyalty the Vietnam issue as a kind test to hold out those few urgents who are ready to e off dead center, in the ction of a more forceful gram for racial minorities.

Texas, the key lies with organization of Governor Connally. But the Connal- organization is loaded down mortgages to the business ts in the oil and construc- and space and defense ness who live off govern- favors and contracts.

us, there is an important t to the exciting drama of- by a Humphrey surge behind. For it is becoming asingly clear that a Hum- v victory would serve to un precisely those ele- s of the Democratic party h need to be unseated be- the party can govern the try effectively.

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Advertiser

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Editor and Publisher—

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In Missouri, the head of the American Independent Party is Floyd Kitchen, who is reported in Focus '67, Vol. 5 as rejecting the approaches of "those elements we regard as extremist, and this would include the Ku Klux Klan." Kitchen admitted, however, that the extremist Citizens' Council of Missouri chaired by Rev. W. C. Barlow, is working with them in support of Wallace.

Kitchen did not report that he was (and possibly still is) president of the Property Owners Association which sponsored an organizational meeting in 1964 in cooperation with the anti-Jewish and National States Rights Party for South St. Louis residents. . .Kitchen is also Secretary of the Missouri Committee for The Liberty Amendment, which seeks to abolish the income tax.

The two co-chairmen of the Wallace effort in Mississippi, William J. Simmons and Judge Russell Moore, have long been the driving forces in the Citizens' Councils of that state. An editorial in the Delta Democrat-Times on August 16, 1968 described Simmons as "tactician of the far-right, far-out racists" and adds, "So much, then, for George Wallace's claim that his is not a racist's campaign."

In Ohio, the first group to promote Wallace's candidacy was the Cleveland-based George Wallace Christian Conservative Party, with goals that included plans for the repeal of the state's Fair Housing Laws and segregation of the races. The Party leanings were evident when a spokesman was asked by the Christian Science Monitor, February 21, 1967, whether they would accept support from Jews and he replied the Party would "if they show they believe in our true Christian principles and agree with our other goals."

Home for the GWCCP as well as the state headquarters for the "Ohio for Wallace" committee is the prominent Lincoln - Jefferson Bookstore which distributes and displays material of determined and enthusiastic prejudices. Robert Annable, the Party leader, is quotes Wallace as saying, "I am not going to denounce the John Birch Society. I know a few of its members in Alabama and they are some of our finest citizens, although they didn't support me for Governor, or my wife, either."

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Leander H. Perez, the political leader of Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana, is the chief Wallace sponsor in that state. Perez was one of the leaders of the old Dixiecrat movement and of the 1964 Wallace campaign. Perez's well-known sentiments were graphically revealed in the New Orleans Times-Picayune on August 30, 1960: "Leander H. Perez Monday night raped two Federal judges and said the most dangerous group in America today are the Zionist Jews. . .Perez said 'there is a certain class of people in New Orleans today who are licking their chops in this situation — the Zionist Jews. You have no idea of the influence and the campaign they are conducting to raise funds to see this thing (desegregation) through.'"

Wallace's candidacy has been actively promoted in The Citizen, the official publication of the Citizens' Councils, whose commitments are strongly towards segregation. Apparently their political interests are mutually shared. As The New York Times reported on February 20, 1967, "The future of their organization (The Citizens' Council). . .is closely tied to Mr. Wallace's political activities."

In Hollywood, California, "the Wallace-for-President Committee No. 1" is organized by Gerald L. K. Smith. Included on the Committee is Walter White, the California field director of the Citizens' Councils of America. White's newsletters Western Front (Vol. II, No. 19), written shortly after the Arab-Israeli War, contained an article titled "A Bowl Full of Jews" describing a pro-Israel rally at the Hollywood Bowl. The article digresses for a strong endorsement of Wallace's candidacy: "It may take a miracle to save these United States from World Zionist control. That miracle may well be former Governor of the state of Alabama, George C. Wallace, who could become President in 1968 with your help."

Another Wallace backer is the Liberty Lobby, which has a well-earned reputation for strong racial prejudices. In a May 8, 1967, quotes Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin Craig as saying "we're not interested in Democrats or Republicans. They ought to be run out of the country. We're interested in the man running. He (Wallace) is the only man running now."

American Nazi Party

Wallace backers with past ties to the American Nazi Party are also working on the Alabaman's campaign. The March, 1967, issue of Action magazine, published by the Sons of Liberty and edited by James K. Warner, reveals the opening of a Wallace for-President Information Center. Warner was National Secretary of the late George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party before defecting in November, 1960. Another former member of the Party, Karl Allen, is a founder of a Wallace-for-President headquarters in Alexandria, Virginia, which opened in April, 1967. From 1961 to 1964, Allen was second-in-command to Rockwell.

The "Minutemen"

On August 24, 1968, an armed ban of ultra-right Minutemen raided a Pacifist camp in Voluntown, Connecticut. The raiders carried inflammables and wore masks. In an exchange of gunfire with state police, four of the minutemen, a trooper and a woman resident of the camp were wounded. The Associated Press identified one of the raiders as Frank D. Barker, co-chairman of the George Wallace for President committee in Norwich, Connecticut. He and five companions were charged with conspiracy to commit arson and assault with intent to kill.

All Supporters Not In Hate Groups

Certainly not all of George Wallace's supporters are leaders or members of the socalled "hate groups." Many undoubtedly turn to him because they like what he says on particular issues. But such people would benefit from an examination of the "total" Wallace — his expressed views, his actions as governor, the men behind him.

Many of the activists behind the campaign of George C. Wallace — the planners, the fund-raisers, the promoters of his Presidential effort — are not mere political supporters, though they are exercising a citizen's right of participation. **What is significant is the singular philosophy of antagonism they share toward many segments in our society, along with efforts to advance that philosophy.**

Their policies and their programs are rejected outright by most citizens. But they are now working under the Wallace umbrella and in that way gain a legitimacy that they could not otherwise achieve.

time. I was the majority whip. I was carrying out, frankly, the desire of the President. Now what is my personal position? As Senator, I always debated; as a candidate in the primaries against John Kennedy, we debated. I have debated any candidate that I could ever find, and that is my position."

His present position. Last April, Mr. Humphrey declined a three-way debate with Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy. In July, network time having been offered, Humphrey said he would debate Senator McCarthy, a week preceding the Democratic National Convention. On the eve of the Convention, he called it off.

There is educational value in seeing and hearing nominees for the highest office alongside each other. More measured comparisons can be made; the nominees' response under pressure of controversy can be better judged. Such debates ought to be standard procedure in the TV age. No law can force confrontations. But the pressure of opinion should be unrelentingly applied to that end. And Congress during the next several years ought to put its mind to how the networks can be required to allocate adequate prime time, free, to future major candidates, singly and together.

Honest George?

Pd. 3rd Party

When John Hatchett raised a storm at New York University by calling Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, and New York Teachers' Union President Albert Shanker "racist bastards," he remarked of George Wallace that "at least he is honest about what he stands for." In *New York* magazine, NBC's Douglas Kiker was quoted as describing Wallace as one who "may be the only honest politician in the US today."

One of the many disturbing things about the Wallace candidacy is that even those most concerned about his role in bringing the pathological racist undercurrents of American culture to some level of respectability tend to accept the rationale of his appeal to the politically naïve – that he tells it "like it is," or at least as *he* thinks it is. It is not a peripheral matter; millions of his votes will come from those who think they are not racists but are voting for some refreshing variety of political outspokenness. Conventional politicians are mealy-mouthed, which makes it easy for disgusted voters to equate tough talk with "honesty."

Wallace's political history follows the classic pattern of the demagogue, in all its two-faced crudity. He started as a traditional Alabama populist and as a racial moderate, until he decided he wouldn't be "outniggered" again. His record has been one of consistent chicanery and conniving. There exists not the slightest reason to believe that he would hesitate to take any position about anything that he felt would further his chances of coming to power. Those who further the myth of Wallace's "honesty," with the vague notion that they are merely giving the devil his due, are instead gratuitously contributing their dues to the devil.

Toughness to the Task

The Federal Bureau of Narcotics, formerly of the Treasury Department, and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control, formerly of the Food and Drug Administration, were quietly wedded last April 8, taking the name Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. James Goddard of FDA wanted the pair to live with him at his agency. Henry Giordano of the Bureau of Narcotics did not. For one thing, Goddard was too permissive, thinking for example that marijuana is not particularly dangerous, which Mr. Giordano saw as "just another effort to break down our whole American system."

The residence issue was solved by lodging the combined agencies with neither parent, putting them instead under the Justice Department where they could be close to the FBI. A director of the new BNADD was appointed – Mr. John Edward Ingersoll, who sits above both Mr. Giordano and John Finlator, the chief LSD controller (ex-FDA).

Not much has been heard from BNADD since April or since Ingersoll's installation in August. George Gaffney, special assistant to the director, says the agency in its first months has issued only one release to the press (on a 112 kilogram drug bust). Nevertheless, BNADD is strengthening its hand. Attorney General Ramsey Clark predicts that director Ingersoll will "bring toughness to the task." Ingersoll is not a physician or a sociologist. He is a former beat policeman (1957), a Southern police chief (Charlotte, N. C.), a counter-intelligence operative in the Army, and an official of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Since Ingersoll took over, BNADD has begun to implement the authorization given by Congress to add 100 more drug agents to its complement of 600 (only former policemen and college graduates need apply– salary, $6,980). Congress has also approved an LSD bill, which now awaits the President's signature. The new law forbids transfer of stimulants or depressants without prescription, specifically prohibits for the first time the possession of lysergic acid diethylamide (one year; $1,000), and it imposes special penalties for sales of amphetamines and barbiturates to persons under 21 (maximum 10 years and $15,000 for first offense). The stockpile of legal weapons against drug use or sale is thus growing and could be used on thousands of college students or pill-head parents.

One weapon missing, however, is full public trust in the tactics and viewpoint of the law enforcers, as is illustrated by what happened recently within the Na-

copies to Chuck M. Rod S. Kim 10/30 10-25-69 File: "Wallace"

George C. Wallace on:

Party finances

'We are solvent. Unlike the national parties that have a history of big organizational support, a new party cannot get credit. We had to pay on a cash on the barrelhead basis, and we had money left'

Electoral reform

'The attempt to submit to the states proposals for Electoral College reforms is a straight-out result of the movement I headed in 1968'

The Republicans

'I'm flattered at the talk that GOP is aiming its conservative strategy at the people who voted for me . . . It's not "Southern thinking" any more, it's not geographic, it's a national state of mind'

Urban voters

'The middle-class rebellion is understood by many politicians. In Minneapolis, Los Angeles, New York, and other cities, candidates are making "Alabama speeches"—about the only thing they're leaving out is the Southern drawl'

Labor

Pro-Wallace workers start to stir

Union leaders fear revival of support for George C. Wallace in response to federal policies and job pressures from blacks

Confrontations between blacks and white construction workers in Pittsburgh, Chicago, and other cities have brought a resurgence of labor interest in George C. Wallace—the third-party candidate in the 1968 Presidential race. Nobody knows how significant this interest might be: The next White House contest is three years away. But it has generated some private concern among labor's top leaders.

The first "Wallace in '72" signs and chants appeared during protests by whites against black pressures for more and better jobs and against federal and other public policies that appeared to favor minority job-seekers.

In Atlantic City during the recent biennial convention of AFL-CIO, a federation vice-president said: "Wallace? We have to face it, he's one of the most important and most dangerous politicians in the country today."

Symbol of protest? If the former governor of Alabama is an important politician, it is as a symbol of disenchantment and protest for workers, the middle class, suburbanites, whites angry about black demonstrations, property owners, and those fearful of the deterioration of law and order. Some 10-million backed Wallace with votes in 1968, and today his name and image are used wherever conservative groups protest whatever they fear in society.

In the case of construction workers particularly now, the fear is of a dilution of seniority lists and of possible stiff competition by blacks for jobs. To building tradesmen, blacks have had a long history of being used as strikebreakers and for undercutting wages in many parts of the country. Blacks often are the backbone of large nonunion construction jobs.

During the 1968 Presidential campaign, Wallace—candidate of the American Independent Party—oriented arguments against the Civil Rights Act toward labor by warning that it was "an attempt to destroy the seniority and apprenticeship lists of labor unions." The political argument has not been forgotten.

"Coming to pass." In his workaday office in Montgomery, Ala., recently, Wallace said that "what I said was going to happen—the threat to union seniority and apprenticeship—is now coming to pass." His desk was cluttered with letters and telephone messages from many parts of the country. Behind him were standards with the American flag and that of the state of Alabama. At his side was a large floor easel holding a portrait of his late wife, Governor Lurleen Wallace.

"I feel that any person regardless of color should be allowed to belong to a union," Wallace said. "He should be allowed to be in an apprenticeship program and to work at a job if he is qualified. But I feel that the determination of qualification, at least for union membership and apprenticeship, should be made by the union. If there is an instance where a union does not want someone to work because of color, that is regrettable. But I doubt there is much of that."

This Wallace position is generally parallel to his views on education, housing, and other issues. Where he opposes federal legislation and directives, he argues that states—closer to the people—should determine what should be done or not done. He contends this is not a racist position, and undoubtedly would similarly express "regrets" if state decisions resulted in discrimination because of color.

Labor "threatened." According to Wallace. "Bringing in a mass of unskilled workmen [by quota or preferential hiring of blacks] and putting them in unions would be a threat to labor and the effectiveness of unions in this country."

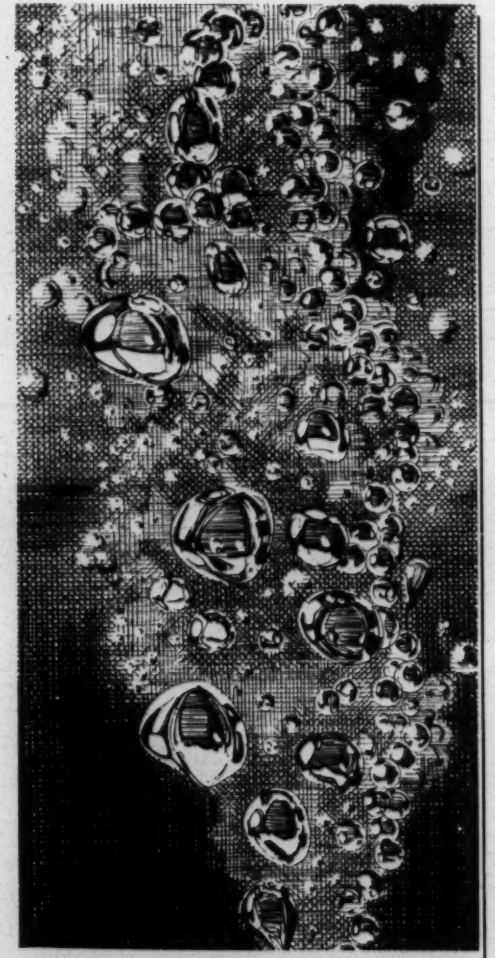
"I feel that this shows a desire on the part of someone to destroy labor and unions," said Wallace. "Unions are good and necessary and have helped to raise the standard of living of millions of people and have brought about a strong working middle class that today is the staunchest supporter and defender of the capitalistic free enterprise system of our country."

Wallace received substantial labor support throughout most of the 1968 Presidential campaign, although AFL-CIO and all major unions were formally against him. The federation's Committee on Political Education and other union political activists concentrated against Wallace in industrial centers to switch many of his labor votes.

According to AFL-CIO, "The labor movement can be proud of its dominant role in turning back the tide which in mid-September 1968 promised to permit George Wallace to accumulate over 20% of the total vote and to withhold a clear victory from either major party candidate. . . . A high incidence of strong Wallace sentiment was prevalent until late October." Labor's nationwide challenge of pro-Wallace sentiment in unions, AFL-CIO reported this month to its 120 unions with 13.5-million members, "cut deeply into Wallace's reported strength and fueled Hubert Humphrey's final bid."

Labor's favorite is again the Democrats' Humphrey; its concern, increasingly, is about the conservatism within union ranks that could make Wallace a threat again.

The third party. Wallace's American Independent Party is still alive—and it is solvent. According to Wallace, it is "an



active party in that we have people all over the country who are still interested and still meet." A recent pro-Wallace conference in Indianapolis was attended by representatives from 38 states.

Wallace has only a loose national organization, but he maintains a busy national headquarters in Montgomery. His staff of 25 or more keeps in close touch with various state parties and publishes a monthly newsletter ($12 a year) for conservatives all over the country who "embrace our ideas and the position we took in 1968." Wallace says the newsletter "helps us with our running expenses," but obviously the party does not depend on such a trickle of money for its present activities (Wallace leaves about Nov. 1 for a two- to three-week "see for myself" visit to Vietnam and other parts of Southeast Asia) or for its future plans.

These do not—now—include participation as a national party in the important Senate and House elections in 1970. Wallace says: "Our movement was organized mainly to influence trends on the national level." But some state organizations may participate—and are free to—in contests to turn Congress more to the right.

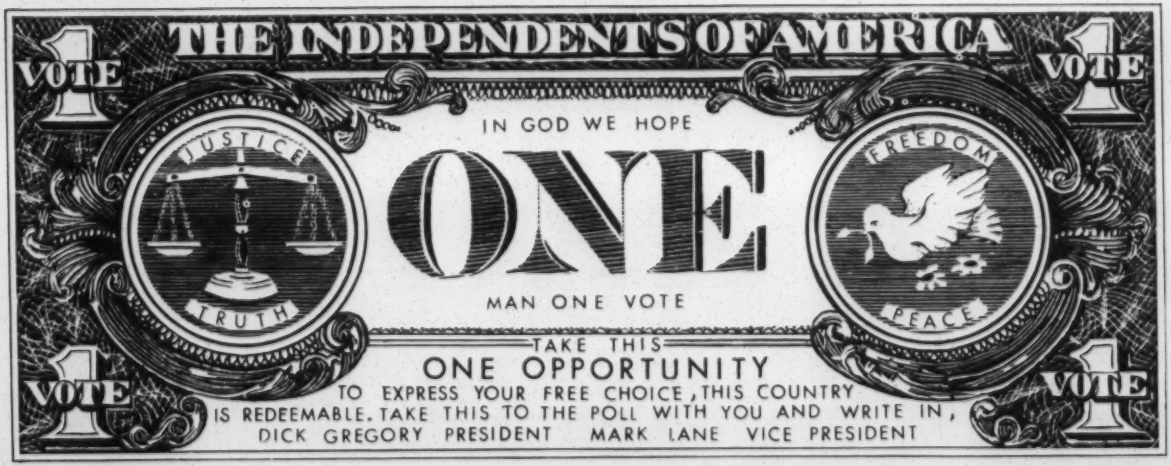
Nationally, according to Wallace, "the American Independent Party will become more active if the Nixon Administration does not carry out its commitments to the American people on basic issues." If the Administration does not, "the American Independent Party will ask at the proper time for corrective action," he added.

Second try? What about 1972? "If Mr. Nixon orients his Administration toward a program of less government spending, less government control, less social experimentation, less moral permissiveness, and more law and order, then," said Wallace, "we would be perfectly willing to bow out of the political picture, knowing that our movement had been highly successful. This is a movement that we feel would be successful because there no longer is a need for it."

Otherwise, he added, "it will be much easier to qualify in 1972—we would only need to requalify in some states and where we went into states in 1968 knowing only 25 people, we now have lists of hundreds." Money? It does not appear to be any big worry. A platform? Undoubtedly there would be "additions, innovations, and maybe some changes . . . but basically the platform would be the same."

Wallace plans to do "whatever is necessary to keep this movement alive." The forthcoming trip to Vietnam is in line with that. As for talk of his running for another term as governor of Alabama in 1970, Wallace insists: "I have no special political plans at the moment insofar as Alabama races are concerned. . . My options are open. If it is necessary for me to run for an office, I will. If it is not necessary to run for office in order to keep the movement alive, then I will not run."

Pol - 3rd Parties


THE INDEPENDENTS OF AMERICA
1 VOTE
1 VOTE
IN GOD WE HOPE
JUSTICE
TRUTH
ONE
FREEDOM
PEACE
MAN ONE VOTE
TAKE THIS
ONE OPPORTUNITY
TO EXPRESS YOUR FREE CHOICE, THIS COUNTRY
IS REDEEMABLE. TAKE THIS TO THE POLL WITH YOU AND WRITE IN,
DICK GREGORY PRESIDENT MARK LANE VICE PRESIDENT
1 VOTE
1 VOTE

Pol. 3rd Party

Committee on Political Education

WILBUR HOBBY
AREA DIRECTOR
COPE AREA NO. 3
BOX 175
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Plain Talk 68

George Wallace plays the rich man's game. He caters to race hate, collects thousands of dollars from hardworking people, gets everybody steamed up, leaves town, spreads his hate someplace else, works the same old shell game in another place—and never talks about his miserable record as governor of Alabama, a state he put at the bottom of the heap.

He scorns the federal government, but he gets much more back from the U.S. Treasury than his state pays in. He put a crushing sales tax on the people of Alabama which put a heavy burden on the working people—black and white—of that state. And he's dead silent about tax loopholes, mainly because some oil millionaires are suspected of lining his pockets so he can spread his message of hate and fear and distrust.

How Wallace is hoodwinking the honest working people of this country

The only program he has for America is more of what he did to Alabama, and that's not much to brag about. Next time he shows up in your town ask him about oil depletion tax loopholes, his 6 percent sales tax, and all the other things he's done against the working people of his state.

Birmingham: Murder Capital

George Wallace makes a great point of claiming that "the streets of Washington, D.C. are not safe to walk at night."

Yet FBI figures show that the murder rate in Washington is 7.7 per 100,000 population, not far above the 5.6 per 100,000 national average.

But in George Wallace's Birmingham, the murder rate is 12.2 per 100,000.

What Wallace did in Alabama

- raised sales tax on food to 6 percent—4 percent State, 1 percent County, 1 percent City
- highest sales tax—lowest property tax of any state—poorest schools
- boosted beer and cigarette taxes
- doubled the cost of drivers' licenses
- tripled the cost of license plates
- recommended through a law that corporation taxes can be raised only by a constitutional amendment
- killed all proposals for a minimum wage law
- blocked all attempts to repeal Right-to-Work laws
- opposed all attempts to increase workmen's compensation

Members of the John Birch Society and White Citizens Councils and related groups are serving as electors and/or holding down key campaign posts in the state organizations behind the Wallace candidacy, according to a preliminary survey released by the Institute for American Democracy (IAD).

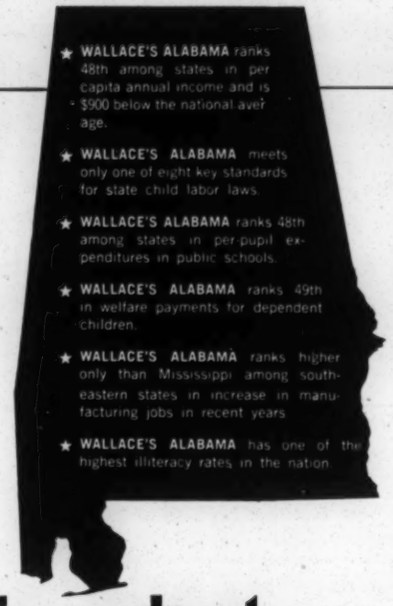
"In the event of a political stalemate, these electors presumably would hold the balance of power," Charles R. Baker, IAD executive director, observed in a memorandum.

Noting that Birch Society and White Citizens Councils organizers took the lead in setting up the state Wallace campaign organizations in 1967, Baker concludes, "The Wallace movement clearly is composed of Birchers, racists, anti-Semites as well as no doubt sincere and unaffiliated supporters of Wallace's positions."

The IAD survey noted Birch ties to 22 state Wallace organizations and Citizens Council links to 10 state Wallace efforts.

"The voter has to decide to what extent the Birchers and racists would influence the 'Wallace movement' in event of a deadlock and the extent to which Wallace would draw on this shifting and uneasy base for appointments if elected," Baker said.

He named Birch leader Robert Welch and Citizens Council leader Leander Perez of Louisiana as two of the key men in the movement behind Wallace.



Is this what we want for all America?

MURDER—Alabama's rate is the highest of any state in the nation—11.7 per 100,000 population—and more than 90% higher than the national average of 6.1 per 100,000 population. In Wallace's capital, Birmingham, the murder rate is even higher—12.4 per 100,000. *(U.S. Dept. of Justice, FBI Uniform Crime Report 1967—Crime in the United States.)*

AGGRAVATED ASSAULT—Alabama's rate is the 4th highest among all states in the nation—183.5 per 100,000 population—and is more than 40% higher than the national average of 128.0 per 100,000 population. *(U.S. Dept. of Justice, FBI Uniform Crime Report 1967—Crime in the United States.)*

POVERTY/LOW WAGES—Alabama's per capita personal income in 1967 was $2,163. It ranks 48th among the states and is $996 below the national average! But that's not all—39.1% of Alabama's families earn under $3,000 per year. *(U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, August 1968; Bureau of Census.)*

"SOAK THE POOR" TAXES—Alabama has the highest sales tax of any state in the country. Wallace raised the sales tax on food up to 6%. He raised the tax on beer and tobacco, doubled the cost of drivers' licenses and tripled the cost of auto tags. *(S.C.O.P.E.)*

ILLITERACY AND LOW EDUCATION STANDARDS—Alabama ranks 49th among states in per pupil expenditures and has one of the highest illiteracy rates in the country. *(Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education; U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.)*

UNEMPLOYMENT—Alabama jobless rates are among the highest in the nation—4.3% as compared with the national rate of 3.5%. During his tenure as governor, Alabama had the lowest percentage increase in manufacturing jobs of any southeastern state. (S.C.O.P.E.) 38 states have higher jobless benefits than Alabama! *(U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security.)*

LOW WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BENEFITS—43 states have higher benefits than Alabama. (U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Standards.) Don't lose an eye or a finger in Alabama! Your finger is worth less than $2,000 and your eye a little over $5,000. It's three times that in Michigan or Connecticut. *(S.C.O.P.E.)*

Pol - 3rd Party
Pres

EXTREMISTS AND THE WALLACE CAMPAIGN

by American Jewish Committee

The racist, ultra-rightist and anti-Semitic support for former Alabama Governor George Wallace's calculated effort to run for the Presidency in 1968 began as early as November, 1965. Since then, numerous individuals and hate groups with racist and anti-Semitic overtones have expressed their backing and support for Wallace with varying degrees of intensity.

On November 8, 1965 Governor Wallace conferred in Montgomery with Ned Touchstone, Richard Cotten and Rep. John R. Rarick (then a Circuit Court Judge), according to a report in The Councilor (November 15, 1965), the racist and anti-Semitic organ of the White Citizens' Councils of Louisiana edited by Touchstone. The author of the article speculated that the purpose of the meeting was to "push Wallace as a realistic leader of pro-Constitution Americans." Since Touchstone was present at the meeting, it seems logical to assume that his paper's report of a decision to "push Wallace" was based on more than mere "speculation." Touchstone's paper has been, in its own words, a "consistent backer" of Wallace and was an early promoter of a "Draft Wallace" movement. That paper's active promotion of Wallace for President in 1968 included accepting advertisements supporting him and distributing petitions, Wallace license plates and automobile stickers.

Richard Cotten, who is currently addressing audiences on behalf of Wallace's candidacy, is an ultra-conservative radio commentator. A decision by the Federal Communications Commission regarding a complaint against a radio station that carried Cotten's broadcasts took note of his anti-Semitism: "The Commission has concluded that the Cotten...broadcasts referred to...did contain statements that can be regarded as anti-Semitic, and that will surely be highly offensive

Cal. Third Party
mat. 1968

DON'T

Let GEORGE Do to the United States

What GEORGE Did to Alabama

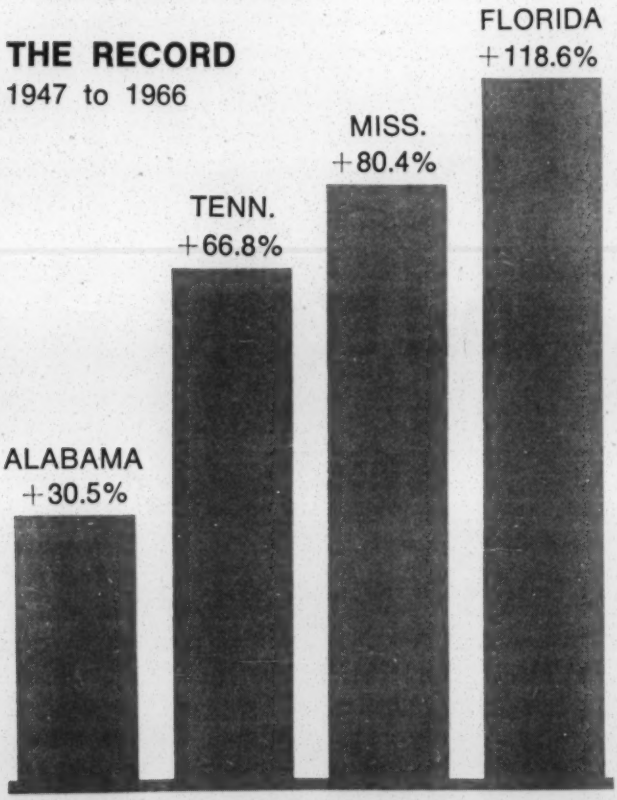
- HIGH CONSUMER TAXES
- LOW WORKER BENEFITS
- HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT
- LOW WAGES
- HIGH CRIME
- LOW SCHOOLING

With George doing it, Alabama has:

HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT

- Alabama has an unemployment rate of 4.3% — well above the national rate of 3.5%.
- New jobs are hard to find in George's Alabama. *Alabama Business*, a monthly economic report, put it this way:
  "1967 was, quite frankly, a disappointing year for the Alabama economy."
- Manufacturing employment in 1967 was actually lower than in 1966 — in George's state.
- How does Alabama stack up against other Southeastern states? The chart below, using figures from the U. S. Labor Department, tells the story. Of all the Southeastern states, Alabama had the lowest increase in manufacturing jobs between 1947 and 1966. And a good part of Alabama's increase came from federal installations, like the NASA facility at Huntsville.

THE RECORD
1947 to 1966



With George doing it, Alabama has:

LOW WAGES

- Alabama earnings last year were 32% lower than the average for all of the United States. Income per person in the United States was $3,137. But in Alabama it was $2,166 — $971 less than the national average.
- Alabama wages in 1967 placed that state in 48th place, only two from the bottom in the nation.
- Average hourly pay in Alabama last year was $2.40, or 43 cents below the national average. This meant the average worker in Alabama received $17.20 a week less for working 40 hours than did the average worker in the rest of the country.

Birmingham is the high wage city in Alabama. Yet even there wages fall behind other cities in America. These comparative wage rates give a picture of what George has done for Alabamians:

City	Union Negotiated Hourly Rates for Building Trades Carpenters, July 1967	Union Negotiated Hourly Rates for Bus Drivers July 1967	Average Hourly Rates for Automotive Mech. in Mfg., 1966-67	Average Annual Salary Paid to Teachers 1966-67
Chicago	$5.45	$3.41	$3.53	$8,221
Cleveland	5.54	3.25	3.45	7,700
Denver	4.81	2.88	3.22	7,591
Detroit	5.06	3.17	3.72	8,580
Minneapolis	4.53	3.05	3.60	7,732
San Francisco	5.20	3.65	4.19	10,076
Seattle	4.68	3.30	3.60	8,026
St. Louis	5.57	3.09	3.55	7,328
BIRMINGHAM, ALA	$4.00	$2.62	$3.09	$6,141

(Note: the figures above were provided by the U. S. Department of Commerce, the U. S. Department of Labor, the U. S. Bureau of the Census and the National Education Association.)

With George doing it, Alabama has:

HIGH CONSUMER TAXES

- George promised Alabamians he would not raise their sales tax. He did. To 6%, the highest rate in the nation. And the 6% applies to food purchases.
- George doubled the cost of drivers licenses, tripled the cost of auto tags.
- George jumped the taxes on beer and tobacco.
- Alabama's constitution, under George, prohibits any taxes on business for the first 10 years. Even this bait hasn't brought industry flocking to Alabama.
- With George doing it, Alabama needs help. And the federal government provides it. Alabama, under George, received $2 in federal tax funds for each $1 the state contributed.

With George doing it, Alabama has:

LOW SCHOOLING

- The U. S. Census Bureau reports that the average child in Alabama gets only 9 years of schooling.
- In Alabama, with George doing it, illiteracy caused one in eight draftees to be rejected in 1966, nearly double the national average.
- Alabama, under George, had 194 schools with two teachers or less in 1965-66.
- Only two states in the nation provided less money per pupil to educate its children than did Alabama in 1967-68, the National Education Association reports.

With George doing it, Alabama has:

HIGH CRIME

- FBI records show that in 1965, when George was governor and chief law enforcement official of Alabama, the state had a murder rate of 11.4 for each 100,000 persons.
- FBI records show that in 1965 the murder rate for all of the United States was 5.1 for each 100,000 persons — and would have been lower except for Alabama's high toll.
- George cries that "the streets of Washington, D. C. are not safe to walk at night."
- FBI reports show that Washington, D. C.'s murder rate is 7.7 per 100,000 population. In George's major city of Birmingham, the murder rate is 12.2 per 100,000, according to the FBI. Alabama's murder rate, in fact, was the highest in the United States when George was Alabama's governor and chief law enforcement officer.
- Alabama ran well ahead of the nation in aggravated assault when George was governor and chief law enforcement official, FBI reports show. In the United States, 106.6 cases of aggravated assault were reported for each 100,000 people in 1965 — and Alabama's mark the same year was 149.1 per 100,000. Only three states had a greater degree of aggravated assault, according to the FBI.

With George doing it, Alabama has:

LOW WORKER BENEFITS

- If you are laid off in Alabama, be prepared to exist on the average unemployment compensation check of $30 a week — a full $10 below the national average. When Alabama's unemployment compensation law was passed in 1939, the benefits amounted to 87% of the average weekly wage. Since then, including the time that George was doing it, the figure has dropped to 43%. Only seven states do worse.
- Each year 2,000,000 workers are injured on the job, including thousands in Alabama. But with George doing it, Alabama workers receive among the lowest compensation for job injuries in the nation. For example, should you lose an eye on the job you will receive: $17,390 in Connecticut, $13,122 in Michigan, $10,700 in Illinois. But in Alabama you get $5,156. Only nine states pay lower maximum disability benefits than does Alabama.
- Alabama has no "equal pay for women" law.

CWA

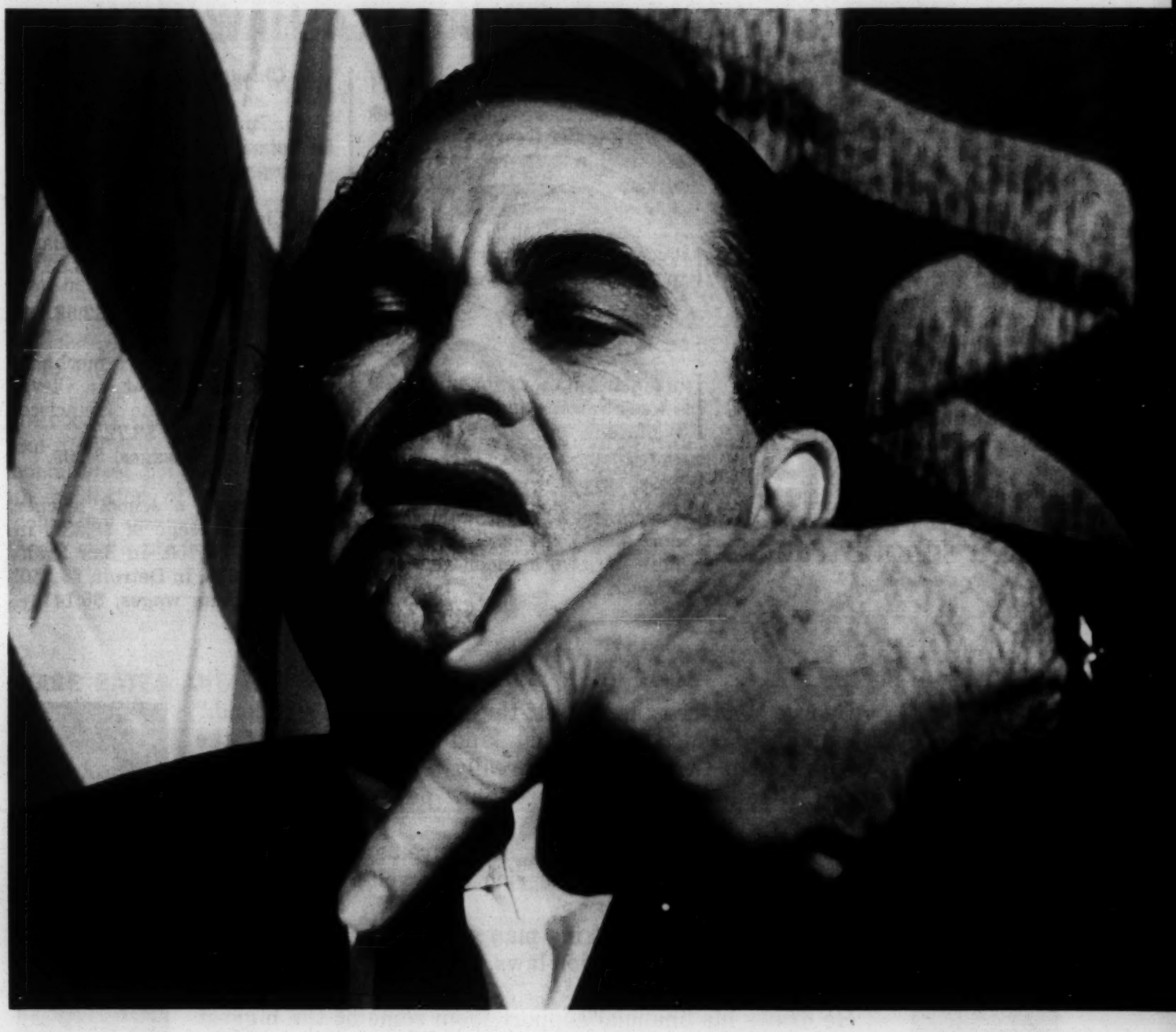
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Joseph A. Beirne,
President

W. A. Smallwood,
Secretary-Treasurer

SINGLE COPY 50¢

THE WALLACE LABOR RECORD



- Working for Birmingham Wages
- The Truth About Law and Order
- Out of Work—Out of Luck
- No Future for Children
- Who Wallace's Friends Are

Katy make a new file — this letter plus proposal —

Poor white — Atlanta Metro Area (Special Project)

February 24, 1970

Mr. Peter White
Southern Council on International and Public Affairs
3400 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Peter:

Enclosed is a copy of the proposal for a study of the problems of the poor white population in the metropolitan Atlanta area. It summarizes our mutual agreement regarding the focus and extent of the study. You will note from the budget that we are requesting a grant of $4,800.00 to cover the cost of a project director and a research associate to the project. Other administrative costs will be assumed by the Southern Regional Council as indicated in the proposal.

Walter Anderson has already been secured to be the project director with a primary responsibility for field interviews and Miss Lois Copland has been secured as research associate.

We are grateful for your organization's interest in this project and look forward to its successful conclusion.

Please be in touch with me if you have any questions regarding this undertaking.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council

PA/km

James McGovern
Emory F. Via

Special Project Study of

Poor Whites in the Atlanta Metropolitan Area

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Purpose of Study. This project will seek to develop reliable data on the economic and social situation of the poorer white population in urban Atlanta. Through interviews with residents and others, insights will be developed further regarding the problems that poorer whites see as confronting them, their attitudes toward social forces and institutions, and the role of social institutions in meeting the needs of this segment of the population.

Administrative Procedure. The project will be administered through the Southern Regional Council, Inc., under the director of its Resources Development Center. A project director will be selected who will work within the guidlines of this proposal, who will assist in the general supervision of the project, and who will have primary responsibility for the field aspects of the project (interviews and on-site observations).

A research associate for the project will be hired to compile the basic data and to assist the project director, including occasional field interviews. The research associate may need to perform some clerical duties. The Southern Regional Council will also provide some clerical assistance.

Office space, equipment, and supplies will be provided by the Council. The grant for the project will be made to the Council which in turn will supervise expenditures, see that salaries are paid, and provide adequate financial record keeping. Since this is a temporary, short-range project (two to three months) fringe benefits and other employee rights normally accorded full time staff will not accrue to project employees.

Research Administration. The geographic areas where poor whites tend to be concentrated in the metropolitan area will be listed accompanied by a statement of each of the more important neighborhoods regarding population density, extent of integration, and tendency to be transient. From the list and descriptions, two neighborhoods of somewhat differing characteristics will be selected for study. One of these areas will be designated as the primary study area. Final decisions regarding what proportion of attention to pay to each neighborhood will be delayed until the study is under way.

From sixty to one hundred interviews with local residents will be conducted. There will be a serious effort to assure representativeness of those interviewed in general, but interviews will also be sought from individuals of special knowledgeableness or whose own circumstances reveal significant problems. Although survey instruments will be used (one or more questionnaires) the project will not attempt to develop a "scientific" sample for interview purposes. However, interviews are meant to be in-depth, objective, and to accurately reflect the feelings and needs of the people on whom this study focuses.

The project director and research associate, with assistance from the Resources Development Center director will develop an adequate questionnaire(s) for interview purposes.

A bibliography of literature relating to the white poor will be compiled. Special attention will be paid to those materials which have special relevance to poor whites in Southern urban situations. The research associate will compile the bibliography, select those materials most relevant to this project and prepare such memorandums as will be instructive in the conduct of the project.

The research associate will also compile data from census sources and from appropriate area agencies to develop a profile

of the metropolitan poor white population. Such profile will be supplemented by relevant observations from the field surveys and literature in the field.

Some interviews may be conducted by an investigative reporter selected by SRC, who shall be paid from SRC funds.

Final Report. The project director with assistance from the research associate shall be responsible for a final report which will include the "profile," a summary of the most pertinent literature, a tabulation of interviews, and appropriate interpretative commentary.

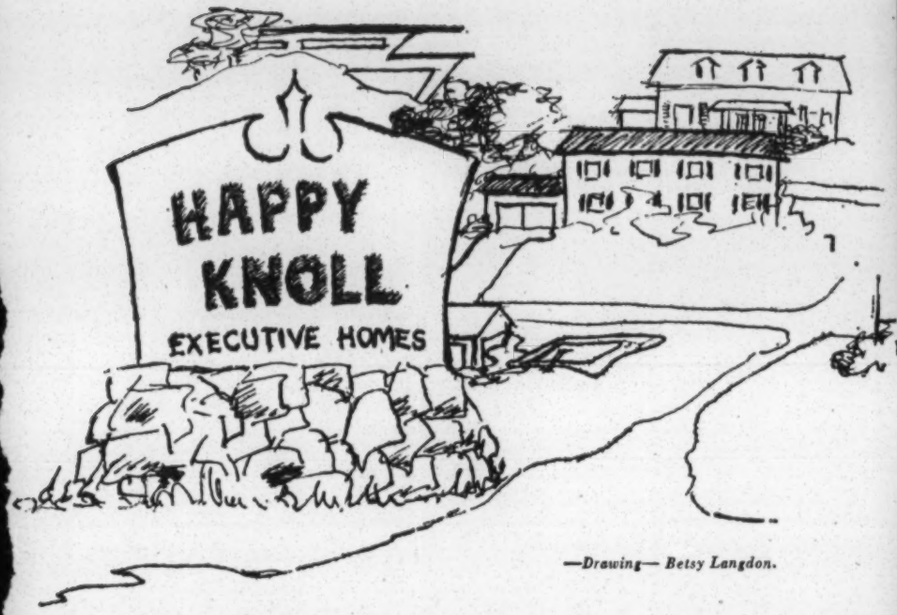
Limitations. The project shall not exceed three months in duration unless it has been reconsidered and agreed to by all parties. Editorial supervision, the final decision as to whether to report the results of the project, and the form of the report shall rest with the Southern Regional Council. The project is limited to information gathering, interpretation, and reporting. It will not engage in local action projects or community organization efforts.

Funding. The Southern Council on International and Public Affairs will provide funds for the salary costs of the project director and the research associate. Office space, materials, incidental stenographic assistance, editorial assistance and research supervision will be provided by the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council will not tap the granted funds for administrative overhead purposes.

Budget. (Based on maximum of three months operation).

(Project Director salary @ $1,000./month	$3,000.00
Research Associate salary @ $150./week	1,800.00
TOTAL*	$4,800.00

(*Costs assumed by SRC listed under "Funding")



—*Drawing— Betsy Langdon.*

—*Bruce Davidson (Magnum).*

WHITE PIETIES AND BLACK REALITY

By ROBERT COLES, M.D., *research psychiatrist for the Harvard University Health Services.*

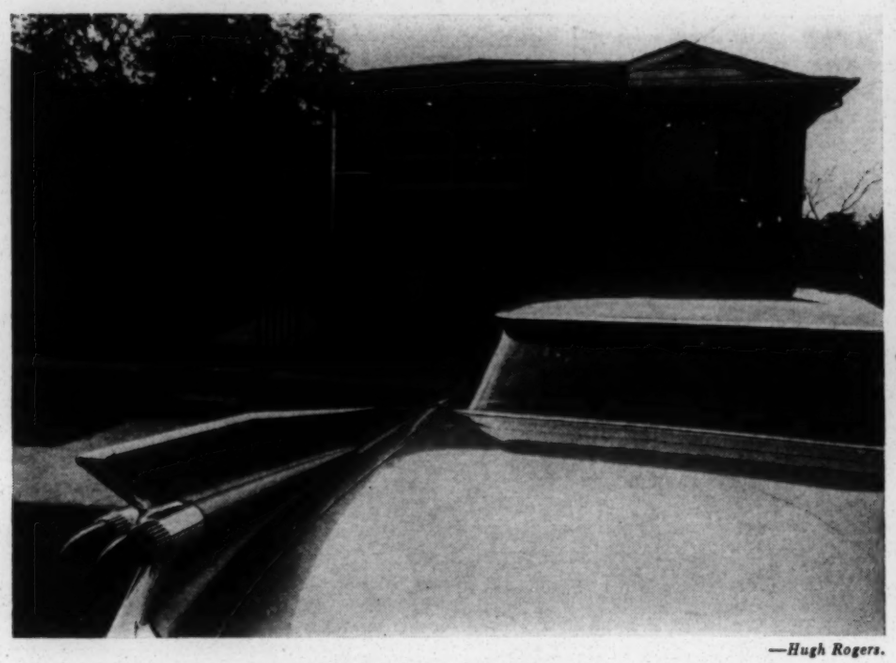
FOR NEARLY ten years I have been trying to find out how white and Negro families come to terms with this nation's continuing racial problem. I started my work in the South, where the Negro began his terrible American experience. There I have watched white and Negro school children make at least the beginning of a break with the past. Later I went North —and, ironically, found myself studying the same problems I had seen in the South: what school segregation means to children of both races; what it means for Negro children to leave "their" schools for "white" ones; what happens in the lives of those who wage a social struggle and those who oppose it.

I have come to see certain changes in this country even in my not-too-long lifetime. For instance, I believe that outright prejudice—racism—is much less respectable than it used to be; prevalent and enormously significant, yes, but more subtle and devious. Both in the South and the North I talk with people of both races who go to greater lengths than they once did to disguise their feelings—from themselves as well as from others. True, the loudmouthed fanatics —also of both races—are making their voices heard as never before. But I think the ethic of racial tolerance and understanding commands enormous lip service today—something that may be no real achievement at all, particularly since our white middle-class "tolerance" can apparently live side by side with all sorts of sly and devious forms of racism.

We do not yet know, for example, exactly what, if anything, the so-called white backlash means politically; but I think educators all over this country have no doubt that a significant number of American parents think of themselves and their children as "white," and respond nervously, fearfully, and angrily to the idea that Negro children will gain, through the schools, what they certainly have failed to gain as owners of homes. "Keep them where they live, and let our boys and girls go to school with children who live near them." I heard those words from a white suburban woman who thought that ten Negro children bused into her all-white town would be the prelude to a disaster— and it did not take a psychiatrist to confirm the fact that she truly feared what "busing," as she derisively called it, would inevitably portend.

She is not poor—far from it. She is a well-to-do woman with four children who attend a reasonably good school in a suburb of greater Boston. I talk with her because I want to know what she and her children *do* see happening, now that a handful of Negro children have come "out" there, participants in a small program that aims to introduce at least a few Negroes from Boston's growing ghetto to the advantages of the first-class schools outside the city. She speaks not in the ignorant, hysterical words of the "poor whites," whom the North has in as much abundance as the South. Hers are the careful, polite phrases of the woman who wants to make sure the listener appreciates her education and her loyalty to America's various pieties: "I don't think this is a good idea, busing the children. I've given a lot of thought to this, and I'm as fair-minded as anyone, I believe. I'm not against the Negroes. They're Americans, and they're entitled to get their rights. I think it's terrible the way they treat them down there in Alabama and Mississippi. That's why we're having all our trouble up here; the Negroes were abused down there.

"But we're not in the South, and up here it's up to every person to be himself and live where he wants and do what he wants. I don't want any special favors, and I don't think the Negro should get any. He's one type of person, and so are we all. No one is perfect, and no race is perfect—I believe that. In the Depression years we all had a bad time, and some



—Hugh Rogers.

—Bruce Davidson (Magnum).

A New Jersey suburb and a doorway in Harlem—"Our white middle-class 'tolerance' can apparently live side by side with all sorts of sly and devious forms of racism. . . . For every phrase that urges 'equality' there is one that urges 'privacy.'"

of us are still struggling, and we're white. Now my husband is doing well, and I think we're as comfortable as we could want to be. Frankly, I believe a Negro has to work hard just like us, and he's entitled to what he can get—just like us. Not one cent more, though—he's not entitled to one cent more.

"So, if Negroes want to move out here, that's one thing; but, to bus them in—that's unheard-of. It's against all our traditions, and I think it's bad for the Negro child and bad for ours."

Again and again I have asked her why it's "bad," in contrast to new or strange or "unheard-of." Sometimes she will back off, and say she is no expert, educator, or psychologist who is qualified to make such judgments. She is, on the other hand, a mother, and she has her feelings. What are they? They spell out, finally, the child's right—and need—to be with his "own." Who are a child's "own"? In the beginning she answered that they are "neighborhood children." Later she became more expansive, philosophical—and open: "Well, I think children are very sensitive to the people they're with, and I think they learn better when they're in a class with children they know, and who live near them, and who share the same 'outlook,' you might call it. You can't expect children to adjust to all sorts of strange people who have different habits and think about different things. I say this integration business is for adults to settle. Until we do, let's leave our children out of it.

"School is where you learn how to read and write—and then all the other things you have to know to get ahead in this world. If my sons and my daughter spend all day talking about race and all that, I ask you how will they have time to get an *education*. They'll be made nervous and worried about civil rights, but they won't know as much as they would if the school ignored skin color and taught them *American* history —not human relations and civil rights and all these brotherhood subjects that take up valuable school time.

"If a lot of Negroes came in here, I'll have to admit it—we'd sell and move. The property values would go way down. There'd be more trouble between people, and delinquency and worse, like in the city. And, worst of all, the children's education would suffer—I know it would."

She knows exactly how her children's education would suffer. Negro children —and she's sure of it—don't want to learn, not the way hers do. They deserve the best—the very best—but they are not entitled to more: to anything that would put the "future" of her children in jeopardy. That's what school is all about: Children are made or broken, given the right boost forward, or forever doomed. Though everything in her home suggests comfort and security, her words and the feeling behind them tell another story—how nervous many middle-class people can be about a system that seems to reward them rather generously.

"Today, it's education that's the most important thing. Without a good education, from a school that's recognized as first-rate, you can't get into a good college, and without a college degree now —well, you're through. You go back down the ladder your parents or grandparents climbed up—that's the way I see it.

"That's why I don't want my children's chances ruined. If the Negroes come out here it wouldn't make any difference how hard my kids would work—the rug would be pulled right out from under them. The school would lose its reputation. We'd be one of those 'troubled' schools, full of fights and suspicion, and the teachers would lose heart. You can't always prove what goes to make a reputation, but you sure know when you're losing one."

Through her talk I hear such worries again and again. Alive in America's bountiful suburbia, she nevertheless fears the possibility of loss, of a sudden fall, of damage to her children's future. I drive up to her home and see its attractive, cozy setting; then I hear her talk, and I leave wondering how many days before the bank foreclosure will occur and the creditors will arrive. She is not alone in this great, rich, mighty, but deeply apprehensive nation.

Certainly she is harder to dismiss than her much poorer counterparts, the so-called backlash parents who live inside the cities, in white, lower-middle-class sections. It is easy, I suppose, for those of us who are relatively well off and carefully "liberal" to pity and scorn the poor white, be he Southern or Northern. I hear it all the time: "They" are so insecure that they "need" to hate Negroes, "have" to find a "scapegoat."

Meanwhile, we pay little or no attention to ourselves, or to those not very unlike ourselves. We fail to see that in middle-middle-class or, indeed, upper-middle-class suburbs the Negro's presence in either a home or a school is quietly, thoroughly, and—in the clutch—decisively spurned. The rejection is more polite, more subtle, more rationalized,

more evasive, less abrasive, less hysterical, less violent than the kind we have seen on TV in those pitched battles in, say, Chicago's West Side or Milwaukee; but, at heart, it is no less decided a slap, a rebuke, a dismissal.

Those who reject and scorn others, however, do feel guilty. I find that they have to talk and talk and talk. Initially I anticipated that this part of my research would cause me considerable difficulty. Would people really be frank and honest with me—or, for that matter, with themselves? Would they be willing to say what was *really* worrying them, in contrast to what they *said* was going wrong?

After a while, one sees the value of repeated and long conversations. Slowly we talked about racial matters, and slowly I began to see how torn and conflicted even outspoken racists, let alone self-styled liberals or moderates, can be. Here, for example, is a brutally and avowedly racist father speaking: "They're no good. They've never done anything for this country but cause it trouble. You have to tell them everything twice. But they're doing a good job over there in Vietnam, and some of them can be real reliable. We recently hired three in our accounting division—we had to. Actually, they turned out better than I ever thought. One of them is very smart, and I'd trust him even with higher responsibilities.

"The way I see it, they have to prove themselves. I don't believe most of them can. They're not up to us. But any that are—well, I'm for them. If a man can work his way up this system, without government handouts and free-loading, then I'm ready to shake his hand. That doesn't mean I want him around me all the time, but that goes for whites, too; there are a lot of white people I respect, but don't like."

In contrast—or, perhaps, not in contrast—are these words from a genuine, certified, self-proclaimed "moderate liberal": "I'm against bigots, white or Negro. I believe in fair play, and in an even break for everyone. We need more dialogue, more communication between the races. But the extremists—they're the ones who are pushing things, and making it hard to move along. The way I see it, you have to go slow, and get people used to changes. You can't just force new ideas, new programs on them. I believe you need a lot of discussion, and time—that's the most important thing, time. That's why we've got to punish the extremists and stop and think this whole thing over. We can't be destroyed by violence and hasty moves."

He is a lawyer—and I swear that I hear every cliché in American life come out of his mouth, given enough of the "time" he so constantly mentions. I've

(*Continued on page* 77)

Up from Hate

By THEDFORD SLAUGHTER, *a junior at Western and Olin High School, Birmingham, Alabama. His article was written at the end of his experience last summer in the Yale University Summer High School.*

SOMETIMES I still feel uneasy, completely out of place when I'm the only Negro in a crowd of *them*. I find it difficult to believe that there is no "catch" to my seeming absorption into the Yale Summer High School community. At home, sometimes they pass by with pretended innocence and unconcern, and then spit on the sidewalk behind us to demonstrate their contempt; or they scream "black nigger" from the relative safety of passing cars. I hated them for their open arrogance and viciousness, but I hated them even more for their estimate of *us*—their certainty that we were ignorant and bestial. I could not see a Lindsay, or a Bill, or a Bob among them; they were white and therefore evil.

Here, I have begun to differentiate. I see John and Bob instead of two whites. But when I go back, in the old surroundings of my hate, will they no longer be evil? If I wasn't mistaken about those at home, can I set aside the old image and wait hopefully until I return up North, or move to some other place where there is no civil strife, to find the new image again? Can I turn myself off and on like a machine to suit the situation? Now that I know how different places are, how will I take the shock of being called "nigger" again; or will it actually be a shock? Has the summer program really awakened me to an extent that I am purged of all the hatred toward the whites that I have harbored?

Not having attended an integrated school and knowing full well the strength of Jim Crowism, I don't know how I felt when the first white kid challenged me on an issue and proved me wrong. Did I feel that I could never be right because I was inferior? Did my submerged hatred almost compel me to bridge the gap in one leap and give Whitey a good kick in the ass? Or did I concede, "OK, next time I'll be right"? Even now I'm not sure what my initial reaction was.

It is difficult to write these things for fear of being misinterpreted. I don't want to create the impression that I'm appealing for sympathy with the old line, "God help the poor, depressed Negro of the ghetto!" I make no such appeal, nor am I an advocate of Black Power. These are just questions I ask

—*Charles Harbutt (Magnum).*

Many others, like Thedford Slaughter, ask, "Will I ever be entirely free of this hatred, or has it grown in me for so long that it *is* me?"

myself relentlessly. I don't know the answers. If there is anything I hate, it is the idea that the Negro must be pitied. If you really want to help a Negro, don't bathe him in self-pity or he'll probably drown in it.

Chances are that my present conflicts will subside as soon as I return home because my guard will be up. I may be able to take their verbal attacks without flinching.

WOULD it really be possible to adopt a whole new set of ideals in seven weeks? Can I destroy in a moment sixteen years of hatred? Is it as great here as I think? I have nothing against the guys at Yale Summer High School, but I constantly wonder if prejudice doesn't linger behind some surreptitious face. I find it almost inconceivable that two places could be so different—one a hellport of sore spots, the other a Utopia. Then, too, I wonder if here is really Utopia. Do I value the things I have here only because I have been deprived of them for so long at home down South?

As the end of the term approaches, I ask myself, "Can I really still hate so much? Is all of the hate still there just waiting to be awakened by some kind of white backlash? Do I hate as an act of self-defense because I know that I'm hated? Or do I hate because I'm evil, too?" Will I ever be entirely free of this hatred, or has it grown in me for so long that it *is* me, now and inseparable? I'll find out soon. Yes, real soon. But as of now, I don't know. I just don't know.

LITTLE ROCK TEN YEARS LATER

By JOHN EGERTON, *staff writer for the Southern Education Report.*

IN THE SCHOOL desegregation struggles of the past fourteen years, Little Rock has a darkly notorious image that most of its citizens would like to forget, and last September they almost did just that—but not quite. Near the close of the month that marked the 10th anniversary of the Little Rock school crisis—the granddaddy of them all—the voters of the Arkansas capital city had a chance to exchange the segregation albatross for a bird of another feather. By a margin of more than seven to five, they kept the albatross.

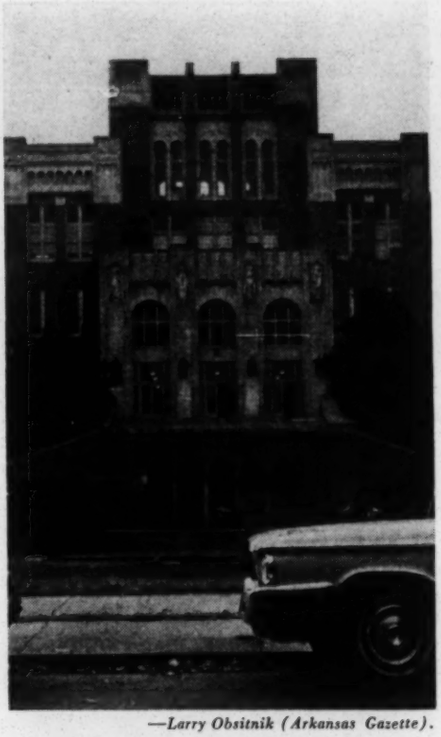
At issue was a school board-commissioned survey detailing ways of eliminating segregation throughout Little Rock's public school system of 24,500 pupils. Commissioned a year ago, the survey report was brought to the voters for approval and was voted down. Defeated with the report were two school board members—James M. Coates, Jr., and Warren K. Bass. Mr. Coates, especially, had been a prominent supporter of the study.

Little Rock has made great strides toward school integration since the crisis of 1957 when President Dwight Eisenhower sent in paratroopers to guarantee the safety of nine Negro teenagers enrolling in the all-white Central High School. But like many urban centers around the country, it is far from achieving that goal. The trend, on the contrary, is from desegregation to resegregation—a pattern all too familiar in the big cities of the North—and a closer look at some enrollment and population statistics bears out the point.

Although twenty-six of the system's forty-two schools have biracial enrollments, nineteen have a combined total of barely 450 Negro students. The other seven have 1,615. Four of the seven, which were formerly all-white, are now 40 per cent Negro, and one of those is 72 per cent Negro. All of these are located in the center of the city.

Even more significant is the steadily increasing citywide percentage of Negro enrollment. In 1964, 29 per cent of the total public school enrollment was Negro. This fall, while total enrollment had declined over the three years, the proportion of Negroes in the schools had climbed to 35 per cent. If the present trend continues, schools in the center of the city will soon be predominantly Negro, while suburban schools will remain largely white.

"Jimbo" Coates has been watching those trends since he was elected to the school board three years ago. In that race he was opposed by liberal elements in the community who remembered that in 1958 he had given up his Democratic seat in the Arkansas legislature and switched to the Republican party. But Coates, a big, ruggedly handsome six-footer, wasn't suited to type-casting; he wanted to cut his own mold, and to



—*Larry Obsitnik (Arkansas Gazette).*

Little Rock Central High School—symbol of a segregation controversy.

everybody's surprise, he did. At meetings of the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools, he heard the lament of school officials from Detroit, Philadelphia, and other big cities, and when he compared their racial problems with Little Rock's, he recalls now, "I finally got the picture."

In the early spring of 1966, Coates was instrumental in getting the school board to declare that it wanted "an appropriate long-range plan" for complete desegregation of the system. The board then took bids from several university research teams to have such a plan drawn up, and it subsequently selected the University of Oregon's Bureau of Educational Research to make the $25,000 study. Last June, after more than seven months' work, the Oregon team gave the school board a 207-page final report.

The essence of it was that Little

—*Wide World.*

—*Wide World.*

(Left) In 1957 Governor Orval Faubus used the National Guard to prevent Negro children from entering Central High. Shortly thereafter President Eisenhower sent in paratroopers (right) to guarantee the safety of Negro children who were enrolled at the school under a federal court order.

Rock, with a relatively modest outlay of $10,000,000, could in just two years achieve "an integrated high-quality educational program for all children" in the district. It could be done, the report said, by abandoning eleven antiquated schools and building four new ones; reorganizing schools from a six-three-three to a five-three-two-two grade pattern; pairing the all-Negro Mann High School with Metropolitan, a desegregated vocational-technical high school; altering the existing freedom-of-choice plan to guarantee at least a 25 per cent minority enrollment in each school; and providing a transportation system (the schools do not have one) to implement the pairing and free-choice arrangements.

THE report was released at a hastily called press conference on a Saturday morning. Only twenty-five copies were left in Little Rock. No preparations had been made for detailed and widespread interpretation of the report. The result was a rash of rumors and misunderstandings. The school board, with six of its members at least tacitly in favor of the report's objectives—if not its specific methods—was never able to gain the initiative in seeking community support.

For two months the Oregon Report was Little Rock's hottest public issue. Organizations were formed to oppose it, and two or three groups which had favored the making of the survey generally supported its recommendations. The two daily newspapers were split on the issue. In mid-July, Superintendent Parsons surprised the proponents of the plan by coming out against most of its major recommendations, and a majority of his administrative staff followed suit. In the text of the report, the Oregon researchers concluded that the mood of the Little Rock community toward school integration was one of "generally passive acceptance." It was probably their biggest miscalculation.

Against the rising opposition, Coates was the chief spokesman for change. Early in the dispute he expressed his "wholehearted support for the report in principle," saying that the gist of it was "that if we all participate in a reasonable, proportionate share of integration, nobody will be doing more or less than anybody else." He wanted the school system to use the report as a resource for achieving integration, and he pointed out that such an approach would not require blanket acceptance of every recommendation in it.

At a meeting on July 27, the board approved the pairing of Metropolitan and Mann high schools, but all the other major recommendations of the Oregon Report—grade reorganization, altering of the freedom-of-choice plan, a partial transportation system, and the abandonment of old schools and construction of new ones which would lead to fewer and larger plants and a modified educational park arrangement—were not acted upon. After the meeting, Coates said the board had put the report "on the shelf," making of it a dead issue.

BUT it was very much alive. Coates sat at a table in the Top of the Rock Club on the eighteenth floor of the Tower Building and watched a summer storm roll down the Arkansas River out of the northwest. "I'm no liberal," he said. "I'm a Bob Taft Republican conservative. But we've got to do something, and I can't run away from that fact. We have perpetuated the dual school system, leaving worn-out schools to Negroes in the center of the city and building nice new ones for whites in the suburbs. I live out there, too, but I know we can't keep on getting away with that. The ones who holler loudest about this report include some people who don't even yet acknowledge the 1954 decision—they're upper class Ku Klux Klan types. Most of the people who are raising all the hell were the so-called liberals of ten years ago. They want integration for everyone but themselves—and these are my friends and neighbors."

—Gene Prescott (Arkansas Gazette).

James M. Coates, Jr., supported the Little Rock integration plan this summer and was defeated in his race for re-election to the city school board.

The Oregon Report was, for all practical purposes, the only issue in the school board election. The opponents of both Coates and Warren Bass ran on a single-plank platform: total rejection of the report. Bass steered clear of the issue, ran on his past record, and was beaten anyway. Coates based his race on the necessity of eliminating racial imbalance at the secondary level. During a debate near the end of the campaign he noted that Central High School was on the way to resegregating and said, "If we allow the central city to deteriorate, we just better get ready to get into bed with Detroit and some other districts."

He made frequent references to Northern school problems. "Look at us," he said. "Our city hasn't grown to unmanageable size; we don't have an extremely large Negro population; we don't have private schools draining off white students; we don't have ghettos like Harlem, and a large part of our suburban area is still part of the city school district. We've got a golden opportunity to balance and stabilize this thing, and to make our schools better for all our kids. If we don't do it now, we'll end up like Washington or Philadelphia."

THE voters weren't listening. About one-third of the registration turned out—considered above average for a school board election—and Coates lost by 2,127 votes. In the silk-stocking fifth ward, his "friends and neighbors" defeated him by a margin of 2,756 votes. Had he broken even there, he would have won re-election handily.

Before the election, the school board voted to direct Superintendent Parsons to produce his own plan for eliminating racial imbalance by next January 25. At an earlier stage of the controversy, Parsons was quoted as saying, "If someone had charged me with developing a unified, desegregated school system, I don't know what else I could have done other than what the Oregon team did." Now he is charged with doing that. It remains to be seen whether the newly constituted board will hold him to the task.

Little Rock has come a long way since 1957. Its record in school desegregation is more praiseworthy than that of many cities, North or South. It still can reverse its image of defiance and become a model of equal educational opportunity. There remain on the school board some members—perhaps as many as four—who are firmly committed to the elimination of racial imbalance and inequality in all schools of the system. But, as in many American communities, time is running out for Little Rock. Until the electorate, the school administration, and the board realize that, the albatross will remain in Little Rock.

LITERARY I. Q. ANSWERS

Column One should read: 10d, 9e, 1h (Brecht), 6a (Durrell), 4g, 8f, 3j, 7b, 2c (Hawthorne), 5i.

Appalachia

Poor white Org.

Appalachia is a promise we have not kept

GEORGE'S BRANCH, KY.

Eight full years after America became aware of Appalachia, hunger hangs on in the hollows as strip miners dismember the mountain land and a stubborn poverty threatens to create an American peasantry

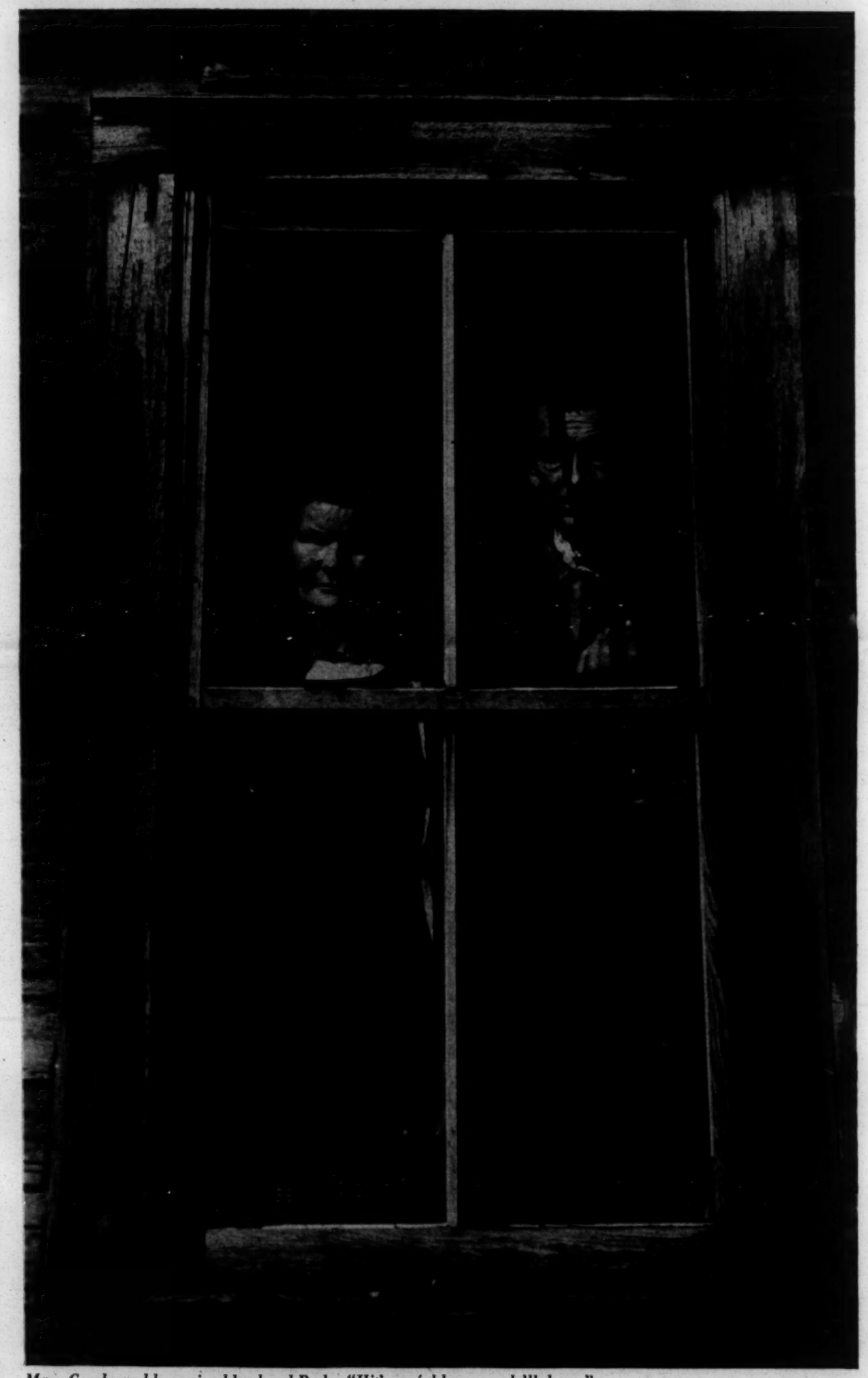
HIGH OVER THE GIANT, colorless mountains, the sun gapes lamely through the mist and smoke and bright-gray overcast as a faintly dingy Ping-Pong ball with no warmth. Low-hanging, drabby clouds drape themselves in layers to blur the tops of the mountains, but farther on down the slopes, the grayness thins and uncovers swarms of strange yellow machines of all shapes—scrapers, scoopers, drillers and things with enormous wheels—all scuttling over the mud-gray-brown earth. Farther down still are scattered shacks stilted above the stench of mud. But here, too, and everywhere else, is the constant cranky, coughing growl from engines of yet more machines that loom up yellow and big and busy in the wet fog. Bulldozers and other tank-treaded things with slithery functions belch, whine and spew black fumes as they gouge deeper into a nearby mountainside, toppling trees and boulders.

Soon they will start reaming and lifting out the vein of #9 coal that lies in a layer throughout this and the surrounding sea of other mountains. And soon the few houses in this particular hollow will be deserted, for wherever strip-mining machines come to gut the hills, the mountain people must find whatever other shelter they can.

Some time back, in a hollow a mile or so west of this mountain, a man and his wife and four children lived for a year and a half under a rock ledge until they could move down into one of the 30 or so houses that make up bone-poor George's Branch, Ky.

George's Branch is temporarily safe, for here the coal and gas companies ran into blown-up bulldozers and ad hoc guerrilla resistance from the people. One who resisted was Rado Combs, 48, former miner, former farmer, father of 11 and—as a result of his recalcitrance—now a physically and mentally destroyed soul with no job, no income, no welfare and no hope. The

continued



Mary Combs and her ruined husband Rado: "Hit's awful how people'll do ye."

BY WILLIAM HEDGEPETH
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAUL FUSCO

E. Via

THE FOURTEENTH STREET AREA

An Interim Study Made By

COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF THE ATLANTA AREA, INC.

August 1969

Prepared by:

Duane W. Beck
Executive Director

Approved by:

Executive Committee
September 4, 1969

INTERIM REPORT ON THE FOURTEENTH STREET AREA
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
August 1969

The neighborhood under discussion has boundaries of Charles Allen Drive on the East; Piedmont Park on the North and East; Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Peachtree Streets on the North; Spring Street on the West, and Ponce de Leon on the South.

It is estimated that some 20,000 people, mostly young, single or divorced, live in this area. Because of the high transiency rate in this area, only rough estimates can be made as to the different groups of people who live here. The staff at the Twelfth Gate Coffee House estimate that some 5,000 students attend various technical and specialty training schools, such as Massey Business College. It is estimated that another 5,000 young people attend the various colleges and universities located throughout the Atlanta area. Approximately 5,000 people who could be classified as white-collar workers also reside in this area. There is another group classified as older working and non-working people. This number is not known. Also, there may be as many as 1,000 individuals who are interested in the arts residing there.

The longhaired or hippie population is estimated at about 3,000, and this report is concerned to a great degree with this group because it is so obvious in its presence.

There appears to be no single value system which prevails in this area. Many of the young people are developing different living patterns and life styles, and this is not restricted to the hippie population. This appears to be an area in which many differences in style of living are permitted. One characteristic remark is, "This is one of the few places in Atlanta where individuals can learn to be people and relate to one another as people." It is characterized by a rejection of material possessions and a "slower pace" of life.

The area seems to have changed rather rapidly. Most of the young people who live in this area are in effect rejecting a pattern of living. They appear to be highly intelligent--perhaps some of the brightest young people to be found in the metropolitan area. The young population is questioning the values of the general society vaguely classified as middle-class. An observer will continually hear phrases such as a "society based on love and cooperation must be developed." There is constant referral to the material-oriented society as the "sick society."

In these conversations one is impressed with the determination of many of the youngsters to change the society in which they live and they feel it can only be done while they are young.

There appears to be a widespread usage, both within the hippie colony and among the other young people, of the psychedelic drugs. Marijuana, better known as "grass," and LSD seem to be the most

popular. Among the more experienced hippie population there is a great fear of the hard narcotics. Heroin and methedrine (speed) are called killers and people are urged not to get involved with them. Some of the longer-term residents in the hippie colony have reported that a year and a half ago there were very few hard-narcotic addicts in the area. But there has been an increase in numbers of heroin and speed users and an increase in number and intensity of "pushers" of these drugs.

The area within this neighborhood which is best known to the "straight" world is Peachtree Street between Eighth and Fourteenth Street and Fourteenth Street itself. It is along these two streets, both of them heavy traffic arteries, which the longhaired population, or street people, are seen. The Peachtree area especially could be characterized by the observer as being an open-air theatre in which the longhaired people serve as actors and draw thousands of people from outside of their area to see and observe what is going on. The longhaired people go out of their way to put on a show for the sight-seers. The type of exchange which goes on between the longhaired population and the sight-seers could best be summarized as that of mutual baiting. The longhaired population takes great delight in "freaking" the sight-seers in the area.

The type of business activity in the area is changing. Very little of the business is controlled or owned by the hippies. There

appears to be a great deal of permissiveness in the kinds of movies which are shown in this area and in the kind of literature which is now being sold as opposed to a year and a half ago. It is not the hippie population which patronizes these theatres or buys this literature. Another phenomenon recently occurring is the development of topless or go-go bars in the area. Again, these are not operated or owned by the hippie community but by other business interests. It is reported that girls from the hippie community do dance in these bars but this is because they need work and their participation in this kind of "business activity" is called exploitation.

A huge structure is being built on the corner of Fourteenth and Peachtree Streets called The Colony. It has become a target of hostility in the hippie community. It is felt that the group of developers behind this project has organized a conspiracy to eliminate the hippie population from the community.

Among the hippie colony one can find people from all over the United States and a very large number of youngsters from the Atlanta area. Many Atlanta youngsters from Northwest Atlanta, Fulton and DeKalb Counties and Buckhead have come to live in this area. Some of these youngsters are in conflict with their parents and could be classified as runaways, although it is reported that a number live in the area with allowances from their parents. It is reported that there are a number of thirteen-fourteen-year-olds, boys and girls,

residing here and experimenting with drugs. Another group called the weekend or commuter hippie moves in and out of the area. They are attracted to the area, experimenting with drugs and it is reported they are carrying drugs back to the suburban communities in Atlanta.

The Community Council became involved because after the raid on Fourteenth Street in which an estimated 200 young people were arrested, there was increased tension and much talk of violence. It is known that there are a number of SDS (Students for Democratic Society) members using the tensions to advocate violence and attacks on the police force. There is no indoor meeting place for the hippies so there have been meetings in an open area behind an establishment called Atlantis Rising. The exhortations toward a violent confrontation with the police have led some of the more stable members of the hippie community to seek connections with the "straight" world in an effort to decrease the pressure from the police and also to deal with some of the problems which the members of the hippie community have.

As an observer on this scene talks with members of the long-haired community, one is presented with many examples of selective and repressive enforcement by the Atlanta police force. On the other hand, one is also told of the policemen who have some understanding of the community itself and work well with the hippie community. One of the detectives, a man called Pate, is referred to by almost every resident with whom a conversation has been held. There is a feeling

that Detective Pate was transferred because he understood too well the problems of the community. Two additional officers now operating in the area are also said to be quite understanding of the problems of the people in that area. A prediction is made that these two officers will also be transferred. There is an accusation made against the police that their enforcement tactics are directed toward the users of psychedelic drugs and that few if any arrests are made of the hard-narcotic users or the pushers. The conclusion that has been reached by many of the hippie community is that the police are part of a conspiracy to drive them out of the community.

In addition to the police raids on drugs and drug-users, the hippie population reports that outsiders—"rednecks"—come into the community, drunk, disorderly and sober and openly assault members of the hippie community. If police are called in or notice the hassle, the odds are that the longhairs will be arrested and that the disorderly straight people will be let go. Recently there was an incident of gunfire from cars into a crowd of people and into a head shop on Eighth Street. It was reported in both instances that the members of the hippie community were arrested. Certain members of the hippie population have reported that physical beatings are administered to the longhaired street people and that women in the area are being raped. There is a great deal of resentment toward the people who come into the area looking for women for immoral purposes.

A result of all this discussion is that members of the community have cited lack of police protection, police harassment, discrimination in jobs, lack of trash and garbage collection, ill health and lack of recreation and meeting facilities as major problems in the area. To deal with these problems it has been suggested that the hippie community start a community citizens' patrol in order to protect themselves from the outsiders who come in. One side observation is that the motorcycle riders (bikers) who frequent the area and the hippie community at one time hassled constantly until some understanding was reached. However, the community patrol is directed at the outsider who now comes in and perpetrates activities characterized as typical KKK assaults which formerly were perpetrated in the black community.

The longhaired people state that job discrimination is prevalent and what they would like to have is their own job development and referral center. They also indicate there is no facility in which they can meet or have music concerts. Since they are barred from the park and from street areas in the community they are without any kind of community facility in which they can display their talents. Music, light shows and graphic art shows are considered to be the latest in forms of culture and entertainment.

One of the members of the community reported that the hippie population is facing a survival situation. The activities of the

police force are threatening to many of the young people and those who are inclined to violence are beginning to listen to those who advocate violence as a technique of exposing the decay of the "middle-class" society. The people thoroughly endowed with the "love"philosophy of the hippie movement are inclined to retreat from violence and provide at this time a major strength in preventing any violent activity. The more gentle members of the community cannot be organized into violent activity. Continued police activities can, however, drive many of these people out of the area, leaving a vacuum in which violent activity and confrontation with the police could occur.

Numerous residents of that area have indicated that if violence does occur a large number of Atlanta middle-class youth in the area will be involved and some of them will be injured, perhaps killed. One of the remarks made is, "Man, these are your kids." One question asked was, "Are the adults in our society getting out of hand?" This was said in all seriousness and is a reversal of the question that adults in the Atlanta area are asking, "Are the youth getting out of hand?" Many of the young people—not only the hippie population—feel that our highly competitive, aggressive society is moving down the road to self-destruction. They believe that the only way to save the society is to change it into a cooperative society in which people have respect for one another. They feel that this respect is lacking

and that the discrimination and harassment of the longhaired community is an example of the inability of the greater society to tolerate differences.

Those people who have been observers of the hippie scene in many areas—both hippies and non-hippies—point to the Haight-Ashbury area of San Francisco as an example of what will happen in Atlanta. It is said that the harassment by the San Francisco police drove the true hippie out of the Haight-Ashbury area, permitting organized crime to push hard narcotics and convert the area from one which was truly an experiment in new patterns of living to a totally unacceptable, high-crime-rate slum area. The hippie community has written off Haight-Ashbury as a total loss. It is reported that present law enforcement tactics in this community will drive off those people who are committed to non-violence, allowing the development of an area in which hard drugs are pushed and used and that this will in turn increase the crime rate because $100-$200 per day addictive habits are supported mainly by criminal activity. It is said that the present policy of the city will ultimately lead to the deterioration of the Fourteenth Street area, increase the crime rate, and in turn drive out all responsible people.

It is reported that the other society does not understand and makes no attempt to understand what is going on in the hippie community. The primary fear is related to drugs. It is reported that

businessmen in the community and real estate developers are pressuring the police force to harass the hippies and that this, combined with the fear of drugs, is creating great pressures on the city administration to move along with current policy. It is said, however, that some parts of the business community are thriving on the outsiders who are drawn into the area because of the permissive activity allowed and because of the uniqueness of some of the merchandise that is sold in some of the stores on Peachtree.

A year ago the city of Boston was faced with a similar situation. The area selected by the hippie community for occupation was around the Boston Commons. In the summer of 1968 this area was inundated with thousands of "hippies." It is reported that the police stepped up their arrest rate in order to contain the hippies, creating tension. The influx created an attractive nuisance which drew in outsiders, especially belligerent groups such as motorcycle riders. There were a number of beatings inflicted upon the hippie community.

A city councilman and attorney, John Saltonstall, was a resident of the Beacon Hill area into which the hippies moved. It is reported he was a first-hand observer of some of the police tactics and also the beatings inflicted upon the hippies. A leading Republican lawyer, John Sears, was a resident of the area. The present mayor of Boston, Kevin White, is also a resident of the

Beacon Hill area. It is reported that these men were instrumental in changing the policies of the police force. A curfew was imposed upon the Commons and a community patrol, composed of the hippie community, was instigated with the knowledge and cooperation of the police.

As in the case of every other hippie community, the outside community had little understanding of the hippies. It is reported that a psychologist, Dr. Stanley Kramer, was hired by the mayor in the summer of 1968 to be his personal observer and adviser in developing city policies in regard to this problem. The health problem in this area of Boston also became acute and the administrator of Massachusetts General Hospital, Dr. John Knowles, developed treatment clinics for the hippie population—also a policy change.

As a result, the area near the Boston Commons has not degenerated into a high-crime area and a high-narcotics area as did the Haight-Ashbury.

Special attention must be called to the health problems of the population in this area. In talking with some volunteer physicians who work with the Twelfth Gate and operate a clinic two nights a week, it is reported that infectious hepatitis is endemic to this area and reaching epidemic proportions. Hookworms, pinworms, and malnutrition are prevalent. The clinic has treated people for cut feet, injuries incurred as a result of beatings and for venereal

infections. Members of the hippie community, because they are using psychedelic drugs, are afraid to reveal themselves to the official institutions. There is no evidence that the Fulton County Health Department has developed any kind of program to deal with these health problems. Grady Memorial Hospital is used as a place of last resort because of the attitudes of many people at Grady regarding hippies and the old fear of being found out as drug users.

After talking with a number of people in the area who are trying to do something about the various problems, it is this observer's opinion that no existing institution in the community is prepared, because of its attitudes or traditional delivery methods, to develop a service program in this area. Members of the community itself have rebelled against organization and structure and are very skeptical about participating in even a self-controlled organization which might deal with some of these problems. Those who are or could be leaders are sensitive to the fact that they may be getting too far away from some of their followers and will retreat from leadership positions if there is any hint of criticism.

The typical type of structure which provides services and programs does not appear workable in this area. Part of the code of the people who live in this area is that they will not tell on others and fear that organization will lead them into "ratting." They feel that the runaways in the area, because of some of the

contacts they have had with parents who have come into the area looking for runaway children, have a real beef with their parents and under no circumstances, unless both parent and the child are ready, will they tell parents where children are located. Yet, many of the older hippies indicate the thirteen to fifteen-year-old youngster in this community is a definite threat to them because of indiscriminate use of drugs. The indiscriminate use of drugs is also reported by physicians. Parent-children problems were illustrated by one of the workers at Twelfth Gate who said he was approached by a parent and offered money to locate his child and tie him up so that he (the parent) could come and get him and take him home. The same worker said he was recently called by a child who said his father was traveling in the community, that they were going to have a conversation and he needed a referee and requested that one of the workers from Twelfth Gate come down and perform that role.

All this indicates a breakdown in communication between parent and children and a disintegration of the family in the suburban, middle-class communities. The extent of this breakdown is not known. However, the large number of youngsters who come into this area would lead one to believe that the middle-class family structure is suffering from the pressures of the society.

The Twelfth Gate Coffee House staff has enumerated some eighty different types of problems which are prevalent in this area. The major of these is the breakdown in communication between members of the 17-25 year community and the hippies with the greater society. They feel that the business community and the political leaders of the city are attempting to deal with this community and develop policies without having any understanding of how that community works or how the young people feel. An observer from the outside community begins to feel that in many instances the Twelfth Gate group has struck on the primary problem. Those who set policy for the community do not know how the Fourteenth Street area operates. It has been suggested by different observers that the "straight" community and the Fourteenth Street community must find ways of talking with each other before a better policy can be developed by the city.

"Hippie residents have indicated a desire to help work out solutions to the "runaway" problem and the drug-use problem. They say that the "straight" community cannot solve these problems without their help, yet offers to help have been turned down.

There are many accusations and unsubstantial rumors, especially about police harassment and a lack of police protection accorded residents. There are enough stories to indicate substance and raise questions in regard to the police. Since the testimony

of "hippies" is likely to be discounted, it appears that an impartial group of community citizens might have to act as observers to restore full confidence in our police force.

have the merit of exhibiting sensitivity to the attractions and repulsions of several positions on several possible continua. He hasn't got it all down neat and clear, but anyone who has, in this sphere, is almost sure to be wrong or superficial. For Walzer there are citizenships of different kinds and degrees. Which sorts of obligations who owes to whom, or what are matters depending upon both the ideal framework, and the role fulfilled in practice by the agent whose obligations are in question. In any real, existing polity, we must expect to encounter degrees of alienation and integration. The wholly alienated man will naturally withdraw (physically or spiritually) or rebel. The wholly integrated man will be consumed by his loyalty. But few of us, whatever our choice of ideals on these continua, are either wholly alienated or wholly integrated. Toward the one end, professors at Harvard or Michigan (however critical at times) are usually rather well-integrated fellows, and ought to see themselves so; toward the other, revolutionary conspirators may understandably feel themselves at odds with the polity they hope to overthrow. Needed is a fuller understanding and appreciation of the intrinsically tangled condition of one whose alienation and citizenship are both well grounded. These real tensions Walzer (and, incidentally, Joseph Tussman also, in *Obligation and the Body Politic*, 1960) treats deeply and well.

It is, in my judgment, a grave theoretical fault to ascribe all moral and political obligations to one kind of source, *any* one kind. Walzer makes that mistake. Following Alexander Sesonske (*Value and Obligation*, 1964) he seeks to account for every obligation as arising, in some way, from the self-commitment, explicit or implicit, of the one obligated. "These are essays in consent theory," he writes on the first page, "or rather applications of that theory to the political situation of my own contemporaries. . . . The paradigm form of consent theory is simply, *I have committed myself (consented): I am committed (obligated)*" [italics his]. A theoretical defense of the proposition that obligation derives only from consent he expressly declines to give. "I am simply going to assume of the many obligations I discuss," he writes, "that they can have no other origin. . . ." This assumption flows in part, I think, from his healthy desire to steer very clear of supernaturally imposed duties or claims. To succeed in that, however, one is not obliged to adopt this (or any) variety of philosophical reductivism. Many different aspects of the human condition, all genuinely empirical, may give rise to obligations. Of these, deliberate consent is only one.

Although the assumption that all obligations flow from consent is mistaken, its adoption turns out not to mar these essays seriously, for several reasons. First, Walzer is not simple-minded about "consent"—the term gets broadly enough stretched to encompass other needed factors not normally put under that heading. Second, very many obligations *do* arise from self-commitment, and these, often central in political issues, are not affected by the overgeneralization. Third, the claim that all obligations arise from consent seems to have been tacked onto the book, chiefly in its Introduction. Most of the essays do not refer to it or rely upon it.

That not all obligations do flow from the consent of those obligated may be roughly shown by some quick counter examples. I have an obligation not to injure others gratuitously, quite apart from any consent or commitment of mine. I have obligations to my parents, and perhaps to my siblings, whether or not I did or would consent to the care they gave me. I may have obligations to myself, without any consenting involved. And I probably have obligations to the community whose language I speak and whose manners of thought and action I absorb, without anything like deliberate consent.

Obligations such as these may be consonant with those consciously taken on, by words or deeds, and at times they may not be. Ironically, it is often these non-consent-originating obligations which contribute to the complexity Walzer's analyses help unravel. If all obligations did flow from self-commitment alone, the untangling of the obligations of the citizen in his several roles would still be mighty complicated, but it would then be much less complicated than, in fact, Waltzer has shown it to be. □

THE NATION

Exiles from the Mountains

"Poor Whites"

9/28/70

UPTOWN: Poor Whites in Chicago. *By Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander. Harper & Row. Illustrated. 435 pp. $10.*

STUDS TERKEL

Mr. Terkel is the author of Division Street . . . America *and* Hard Times: An Oral History of the Depression *(both Pantheon).*

"I've not eaten for nine days in Chicago once. You get real faint."

"The golden rule: whoever has the gold makes the rules."

"You wanted that baby, you hold it."

"You know they've made it a damn felony to commit suicide. It's my sonofabitchin life and if I want to take it I'll take it."

"I hate the damn niggers as bad as I hate my own damn guts."

"If the poor people won't do it, I don't know who will."

Thoughts, grumblings, reflections, strange insights recurring out of grief, despair and cheap wine—all fused into a poetic, soaring rage. It is the story of poor Southern whites in an alien and hostile country, Chicago. They are interned in a ghetto of furnished rooms and subdivided flats—rents payable by the week, of course—in that once posh area, Uptown. It's Chicago, all right, but it could be Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati or any such place to which the ex-miners, hard-rock and hard-luck farmers have come so reluctantly. It will never be "home" to them, any more than it is to a Deep South black imprisoned in one of those obscene housing projects.

The story of the mountain people in exile is one that academic sociologists never fail to miss: the *potential* of a neighborhood as well as its bleak reality. The authors of this terrible and wonderful book have lived in the neighborhood and *know* the men and women. They are not interested in types. Most important, they let their neighbors speak for themselves.

> I say take all the leaders that the country has, the leaders of all the countries, put them in an airplane, give them M-1 rifles and one bandoleer of ammunition, take them over there and parachute them out, say, "Now, dammit, fight!" I'll bet there'd never be a shot fired and I bet the war would end.

That's John Dawson talking. He's 42 and with his young, weary wife, Etta, and several small kids he came from Georgia. Name any kind of horny-handed work; he's done it. Name the fights and the lousy wars; he's been in them. He's an authority on day-labor exchanges, too. John and his friends call them by their right name—slave labor markets. The contractor picks up the $2, $3 an hour the job regularly pays; the "hillbillies" get a buck fifty.

John also knows how lead poisoning works. His little girl, Lila, ate some of that sweet-tasting plaster. At a nearby hospital, where she almost died, medical case workers call it the paint-eating "syndrome" and attribute it to "bad parent-children relationships." Of

course, they refused to tell the landlord his building was lethal. Why should they? Building Commissioner Fitzgerald, friend and appointee of Richard J. Daley, described efforts to impel landlords to redo their poisonous walls as a step toward communism. Dawson is aware of all this and lots more. "The city of Chicago is not fit for a man's life to walk down the street in the daytime much less at night." He's not talking of the gangs of rootless boys—though they do jackroll, not having much else going for them. His mind is on the cops.

> They get you in a car, and if you ain't got no money you go to jail; but if you have money you give them the money and that's it. They'll drop you off and say, "You get home the best way you can."

The Chicago patrolman explains it somewhat differently:

> By instinct a police officer knows who he's stopping. If he proves he's honest, if he lives on the 3600 block of Lake Shore Drive, you apologize and thank him. If he's a shady character, you take him into the station. Lower class people, they feel they can walk all over the police. . . .

Etta, like her husband, doesn't quite understand the moral dilemma of our city law and order men: "We are always sayin' 'Yessir.' When we goin' to start sayin' 'No sir' to them?"

It is the *waiting* that is so infuriating. The waiting at the welfare office, the waiting in the out-patients' room, the waiting at the day labor agency. . . . A community organization, JOIN (now defunct) played a role in replacing apathy with intransigence. Initiated by young radical students, the authors among them, it was eventually taken over by the "hillbillies" themselves. Glimmers of awareness are there at all times, but the odds are so heavy that the rage turns inward, and they clobber one another. Every hero of this book, narrators all, knows why poor turn on poor and white against black. It's so hard to throw all those monkeys off their backs. The cause is not so much racism as their conditioned feeling of worthlessness.

And yet in Uptown, Margaret Jamison, as well as John and Etta, met Big Dovie Coleman and Little Dovie. Black women. Margaret was as racist as they come, but when Big and Little Dovie came out of jail after a welfare sit-in, she embraced them: "From one jailbird to another!"

That's what this book is about: the *potential* of a neighborhood. It is most eloquently expressed by Bobby Joe Wright, 18. Until recently, he'd been just another midnight cowboy, making it with desperate, lonely homosexuals. Listen to Bobby Joe now:

> *Explaining My Lai*: All those children and people over there gettin' killed, our young boys gettin' killed. And you know who's the first one they grab over there? It's the hillbilly, the guy from the South. Now what I think they should do is take every asshole that had any say-so about this war, stick *them* over there in uniform, not as a general, not as a major or somethin'—as a Pfc., man, like they're the first ones to hit the beach; and let them hit the beach and let them dive bullets. Then they'll really see what they started. All they see now is—well, here's a war and we can make money off of it.
>
> *Explaining himself*: But now, knowin' all the stuff I do know, I don't think I could drop back into the society which I came from. I can't go into a factory and work eight hours a day for twenty years, not unless I know that I'm buildin' for somethin' in that factory, somethin' that's not just gonna be better me. I'm not lookin' for better me. I'm lookin' for better everybody.

The photographs match the language: there is a feeling tone. The tradition of Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange is maintained; and of James Agee. Certainly it is far more Nelson Algren's Chicago than Richard Daley's. □

Remembering Orangeburg

THE ORANGEBURG MASSACRE. By *Jack Nelson and Jack Bass. World Publishing. 224 pp. $6.95.*

JOSEPH C. GOULDEN

Mr. Goulden, a Washington journalist, has written books on AT&T and the Gulf of Tonkin incident. His latest book, The Money Givers, *a study of foundations, will be published by Random House in early 1971.*

In May 1970, National Guardsmen fired a rifle salvo into crowds of student demonstrators at Kent State University, killing four of them and wounding ten others. The subsequent moral outrage brought the nation virtually to a standstill in protest.

In February 1968, highway patrolmen fired shotguns and pistols at student demonstrators retreating from a night time confrontation at South Carolina State College, in Orangeburg. When the two second fusillade ended—a newsman called its fury that of a "small war"—three youths lay dead or mortally hurt, and twenty-seven wounded. All but two

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CARNEGIE QUARTERLY

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

VOLUME XVIII/NUMBER 4

FALL 1970

The World of Whitetown: Neglected Blue-Collar Communities

"I'd like to tell you why we are troubled. First, we are tired of being politically courted and then legally extorted. Second, we are sick and tired of institutions, both public and private, not being responsive or responsible to the people they were instituted to serve. Third, we feel powerless in our dealings with these monoliths. Fourth, we do not like being blamed for all of the problems of black America. Fifth, and perhaps the key, we anguish at all of the class prejudice that is forced upon us."

The speaker is Barbara Mikulski, a third-generation Polish-American from Baltimore, and there is little question but that she speaks for millions of the inhabitants of what Peter Binzen calls *Whitetown USA* in a book which his publisher (Random House, $6.95) subtitles "a first-hand study of how the 'silent majority' lives, learns, works, and thinks." By now, conditions in the black ghettos are probably infinitely more familiar—in a vicarious way, of course—to middle- and upper-middle-class Americans than is life in the blue-collar neighborhoods rooted tenaciously, yet precariously, in the centers or on the fringes of our cities: Boston's Charlestown, New York's Belmont, Chicago's Uptown, Philadelphia's Kensington.

Most Whitetowns are jammed into dreary industrial landscapes; but then there is Los Angeles, where even the slums look good and a school official told Mr. Binzen, "We have the world's richest poverty areas." Whitetown, says Mr. Binzen, is really "more a state of mind than a geographic entity; its boundaries shift as housing patterns shift." (He quotes the remark made about racial and ethnic changes in an old Jewish section of Brooklyn: "If you want to know the truth, today when people say 'Flatbush' they mean the place where the Negroes aren't.")

People forget that, in the metropolitan areas, twice as many white as nonwhite families live in "official" poverty, and of course many Whitetowners don't quite qualify for that governmental distinction. They are poor but not poor enough to get help. Usually earning from $5,000 to $10,000 a year, the Whitetown husband and father works hard as a truck-driver or turret lathe operator or policeman or longshoreman or white-collar clerk—perhaps at more than one of these jobs—to buy and hold on to his fourteen-foot-wide house and new color television set.

"The only place we feel any sense of identity, community, or control is that little home we prize," says Miss Mikulski. "But there again we feel threatened by black people."

Kensington as Prototype

After looking at the Whitetowns of a number of cities, Mr. Binzen zeroed in on Kensington in Philadelphia, where he is urban affairs editor of the *Bulletin*. During a year of

Poor white

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUA

1/16/71

The Yardstick:

Working-Class Poor Alienated By Snobbery of 'Intellectuals'

By Msgr. George G. Higgins

I **HAVE ALWAYS** thought of the Christian Science Monitor as being, by all odds, one of the best newspapers in the United States but, frankly, have never thought of it as being particularly sensitive to the problems and needs of middle and lower-middle class Americans who work with their hands for a living. On the contrary—to be completely open about the matter—it has always struck me as being rather aristocratic, not to say elitist, in its editorial point of view.

This is no longer true of the Monitor, however —if indeed it ever was—as witness its lead editorial, "Elitist and Hard-Hat," in a recent issue. The point of this editorial is that a new form of snobbery appears to exist on a very broad scale.

"It exists," says the Monitor, "on the part of many of those in America whom it pleases to believe that they work solely with their minds and operates against those who work wtih their hands. This snobbery has come to be described as 'elitism,' a term increasingly applied to the fairly broad spectrum of those engaged in specifically intellectual activity of whatever nature."

The result of all this, the Monitor concludes, "is a rising resentment, discomfort and frustration on the part of those not included in this elite class and who therefore believe that they are looked down upon."

The Monitor's point is well taken. In other words, there is no doubt in this writer's mind that the sense of alienation being experienced today by many of the working-class poor in the United States stems, in large measure, from the justifiable feeling on their part that they are being looked down upon by the so-called intelligentsia.

The Monitor is not alone in deploring this phenomenon. A number of liberal spokesmen—who themselves are generally thought of as belonging to the intelligentsia—are currently speaking out very forcefully against this new elitism referred to above. Michael Novak, for example, in a recent review in Commonweal of Charles Reich's best seller, The Greening of America, pointedly reminds his liberal peers that "one key to our failure lies in the huge perceptual gap that separates us from the American people and especially from the worker."

OUR PHANTASIES about the working-class poor, Mr. Novak continues, are "vile." To illustrate this point, he then cites a passage from The Greening of America which caricatures, "the plumbers, gas station attendants, and truck drivers around us" in the most patronizing of terms and leaves the impression that the typical hard-hat is some sort of fascist moron who "has fled all his life from consciousness and responsibility . . . is in turmoil against his own nature . . . (and) in his agony . . . has recoiled upon himself."

In short, Mr. Reich concludes, the subject in question "is what the machine left after it had its way." Mr. Novak says that the margins of his copy of The Greening of America carry an anguished exclamation mark at the "ignorance" displayed by this passage.

The December issue of the distinguished Jewish monthly, Commentary, in a series of three related articles, pays its respects to these self-appointed members of the new American elite and lets them have it with both barrels. Norman Podhoretz' introductory editorial sets the tone for this entire series.

By its own account, Mr. Podhoretz points out, the counter-culture "opposes the predominant values of the American middle class. It has every right to do so. But the fact that it describes these values in terms that are drenched in an arrogant contempt for the lives of millions and millions of people, the vast majority of whom are considerably less affluent and less privileged in every other social regard than the typical counter-culture loyalist, is to be sufficient indication of the ludicrousness of the claim of superior humaneness which it is always making on its own behalf."

More power to Mr. Podhoretz. It's about time that someone of his stature in the so-called intelligentsia had the nerve to blow the whistle on the new elite.

Bayard Rustin Says:

MIND

January 1971

White Poor

EV

The White Working American

by

Irving M. Levine

THE MONTHLY REVIEW OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

White Poor ~~EV~~

Defusing tensions

Ethnics: a positive approach

By Gil Scott
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

A program aimed at defusing tensions between ethnic and racial groups across the United States now is gathering new strength.

Launched two years ago with grants from several foundations, the National Project on Ethnic America focuses on the problems of lower-middle-class whites, or ethnics. Many of them are second- or third-generation people of European heritage.

Now, with a recent grant of $262,536 from the Ford Foundation, the project, organized by the American Jewish Committee, will expand its work over the next two years. Project officials believe the work could have a direct bearing on many of what they say is about 40 million ethnics in the United States. These constitute a large part of the nation's blue-collar workers.

Salaries of these workers range as high as $12,000 a year; many own their own homes.

The ethnics believe their interests largely are overlooked, and that they are as powerless as the poorest of America's blacks, said Irving M. Levine, director of the project, in an interview.

Projects under study

Some of the project plans for the next two years include:

- Training and "sensitizing" professional and neighborhood leaders to develop new programs and strategies for their constituencies.
- Convening the best representative thinkers to design public policy to meet needs of lower-middle-class whites, and at the same time advance the cause of other ethnic and racial groups.
- Designing programs to deal with young white workers; devising new career opportunities and work-study programs; and developing means of increasing "positive" contact with black job and collegiate counterparts.

The pilot project, says Mr. Levine, was an experiment in getting the feel of neighborhoods.

"There's been very little progress in this country around such problems of community organizations in white communities. Some of the organizations have been of the negative style . . . to keep blacks out, or to protect what people have. We're looking for positive organizations and positive goals," Mr. Levine explains.

The project has involved itself in neighborhood experiments in Philadelphia and Baltimore and has worked diligently to bring diverse groups together on mutual problems in Chicago and New Jersey.

Single issues first

"You work together on single issues and then you work together on other issues," is the way Mr. Levine outlines the methodology of the project.

By creating "bridge" issues, those issues on which the different groups share similar concerns such as law enforcement, health and day-care centers, unemployment, job training, housing, and education, friction and mistrust may begin to erode, Mr. Levine argues.

Miss Judy Herman, project coordinator, says coalition between blacks and ethnics is not the immediate goal.

"Let the coalition come by itself," she suggests. "In some cases they won't work together, but will work parallel. Not everybody is ready for coalition, but instead of working against each other, we're trying to help them work at least in the same direction, so when they are able to gain enough self-confidence to work with other groups, the mutual interest will be there."

In Baltimore, the ethnic project spent a year organizing a community-action program in a predominantly Polish neighborhood. Black and white opposition sprang up against a proposed new highway that threatened both groups' homes. Now they're working on other problems that involve their mutual interests.

Motive emphasized

"People are more concerned about improving their own lives than in making other people's lives miserable," Miss Herman contends. "They soon realize they have to join coalition to do that and they don't mind that at all."

In Philadelphia, project personnel organized a program to train neighborhood leaders in the Kensington section, an area composed of blue-collar Italians, Irish, Polish, and blacks.

With project staff members working through the Lighthouse, a settlement house, the Lighthouse greatly increased services and attention to the social, psychological, and economic problems of the whites while continuing its programs for blacks.

In addition, the project has convened and involved itself in national and local conferences of leading labor, ethnic, religious, and human-rights groups in Providence, R.I.; New Haven, Conn.; Chicago; St. Louis; Los Angeles; Kansas City Mo.; and Detroit.

"What we've been doing is turning the country onto the idea that the blue-collar workers have to be worked with and not just condemned," Miss Herman maintains.

Local programs initiated

The conferences, she says, spurred local projects ranging from an ethnic-studies curriculum in public and parochial schools in Chicago to a statewide coalition for new priorities in New Jersey.

Mr. Levine says it is difficult putting together "packages that contain goodies for everybody," but that is just how basic the goals must be.

The "Black agenda," as he calls it, demands America's first priority, because those needs are most critical, Mr. Levine says. "But the lower-middle-class whites are the second agenda and we're going to have to deal with both agendas at the same time to get the black priority adopted."

In its own way, the American Jewish Committee is working toward "integration with identity," he says.

"What it really means is that small-group identity would be much more important and that we have to learn to keep lines of communication open, build new bridges, and assert a new American consensus on this."

He concedes that this emphasis on white is a strategic move, based on the premise that this group must be understood and dealt with as an entity unto itself.

"Not to do so," he asserts, "can only lead to a continuing and accelerated conflict, with the real danger of victory for a reactionary repressive majority."

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NATIONAL PROJECT ON ETHNIC AMERICA
A Depolarization Program of THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

PEOPLES APPALACHIA

A CRITICAL RESEARCH REPORT FROM THE PEOPLES APPALACHIAN RESEARCH COLLECTIVE

Vol. I, No. 6 Spring, 1971

Appalachian Studies: A NEW LOOK AT OURSELVES

A funny thing happened on the way to this PA. It involved a few months delay in getting out this issue.

A political science professor and some student section leaders of the major introductory social science course at WVU (about 400 students) confronted us with the following proposition: Unless somebody pulls together an "Appalachian Reader," we'll have to drop the Appalachian Studies portion of our year's "problems survey" (they'd already been into race, environment, and poverty).

We in PARC had been talking for some time about the need for more Appalachian Studies courses and experiences, especially at West Virginia University, the regional heartland's largest university just next door to us. But, we felt that the region and its people were resource material enough without need for a "reader." But, if that was their hang-up, why not? *We'd* learn something.

We're now preparing a second volume of the reader that emphasizes more personal "testimony" from the region; radical problem-analysis; description of vital mass movements and their potential; and possible strategies

INSIDE PA

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These are some of the questions and responses by the individual interviewed.

Location:

Grant Park and Northside Drive and 10th Street.

Family Infomation:

1. Heads of household interviewed: 59%

(Total - 70 interviewed)

2. Those other than heads of household: 41%

Others are: wife, daughter, sister, daughter-in-law, teen-age youth

3. Sex of head of households interviewed:

male - 76% (70 responses)
female - 24%

4. How many in household:

1 or 2	17%	
3 or 4	29%	(70 responses)
5 or 6	41%	
7 or 8	13%	

5. How long have you lived in Atlanta:

Under 1 yr.	1%
1 to 5	14%
6 to 10	9%
11 to 15	13%
Over 15	50%
All life	13%

6. How long have youllived in this neighborhood:

Under 1 year	15%	
1 to 5 yrs.	38%	
6 to 10 yrs.	19%	(70 responses)
11 to 15 yrs.	8%	
Over 15 yrs.	20%	

7. Where did you live before coming to this neighborhood:

Other poor white transitional neighborhoods (going from white to black) -- 59 out of 70 made this type of response.

8. Where did you live before coming to the city:

Elsewhere in Ga.	82%	
Out of Ga. but in the South	16%	(70 responses)
Outside of the South	2%	

9. Is there more than one family living in household: 18%

10. Marital status of head of household:

Married	73%	
Single	18%	(70 responses)
Divorced	6%	
Other	3%	

Employment:

11. What kind of job does head of household have:

Roofer - semi-skilled
Mechanic - skilled
Mill weaver - semi-skilled
Truck driver - semi-skilled
Cook - semi-skilled
Laborer - unskilled
Gas station attendant - unskilled
Maintance worker - semi-skilled
Heavy duty operator - skilled
Tree trimmer - unskilled
Carpenter - skilled
Tile layer - skilled
Nurses aide - semi-skilled
Floor finisher - semi-skilled
Parking lot attendant - unskilled
Waitress - unskilled
House painter - skilled
Factory worker - unskilled
Water Dept. worker - unskilled
Stock girl - unskilled

There is some doubt about the level of the skill of those marked"skilled". These are probably not full craftsmen.

12. How long on this job:

Under one yr.	13%
1 to 5 yrs.	53%

6 to 10 yrs.	22%	
11 to 15 yrs.	9%	(70 responses)
Over 15 yrs.	3%	

13. How regularly does he work:

    Five days per week 62% (54 responses)

14. Are there other adults in the household working:

    30% (16 responses)

15. Adults in household looking for jobs: 23% (10 responses)

16. Number unemployed: 22% (12 responses)

17. If one is a housewife, is she looking for a job: 8% (8 responses)

18. Any workers in family belong to a union: 10% (5 responses)

19. Any special reason why members of family who want jobs do not have them: (13 responses)

    Reasons:

    Disabled - had a stroke
    Too old
    Sick
    No one to take care of baby
    Can't find one he can keep
    Broken arm
    Mother is sick
    No one to take care of granddaughter
    Must stay with senile mother
    Husband doesn't want wife to work

20. What would you say your total family income is each week:

$25-49	5%	
50-74	21%	
75-99	47%	(70 responses)
100-124	22%	
125-174	5%	

21. Are you reasonably well satisfied with your job:

    yes - 22% (70 responses)

22. Where do you think you could go to get help in finding a better job:

Don't know - 83% (70 responses)

23. Would you move to another neighborhood if you could get a better job:

yes - 88% (70 responses)

Education:

24. How many years of school did the head of the household have:

None	1 person
Four years	3 persons
Five "	7 "
Six "	12 "
Seven "	8 "
Eight "	14 "
Nine "	12 "
Ten "	8 "
Eleven "	3 "
Twelve "	1 "
College "	1 "

25. Have any members of the family had vocation or skill training:

yes - 10% (8 responses)

26. Number of youth in school:

None	34%
One	15%
Two	11%
Three	27%
Four	11%'
Five	1%
Six	1%

(70 responses)

27. Age of person interviewed:

18-25	16%
26-35	16%
36-45	36%

46-55 19%
56-65 11%
65 or over 2%

28. Number of youth dropped out: 25% (30 reponsed that they had children drop out of school)

Why:

Epilepsy
Didn't like school
Wanted to get married--was pregnant
Didn't like school--wanted to make money
Tired of school
Needed to bring in income
Got married
Didn't like trade assigned to him
Joined Army
Couldn't do work
Felt he wouldn't learn anything
Didn't like colored students
Mother wanted him to get a job
Got in fight with coach, was thrown out
Boys he was running with dropped out so he did

29. Do they get free lunches:

yes - 13% (34 responses)
no - 88%

30. Do you think your children are getting a good education:

yes - 69%
no - 20% (43 reponses)
don't know - 11%

31. In what ways could the school be improved:

Don't know - 73% (40 reponses)

32. Do you feel that the children have good teachers:

yes - 44%
no - 10% (42 responses)
don't know - 46%

33. Do they understand your children:

yes - 38%
no - 10% (41 responses)
don't know - 52%

34. Do you have difficulty helping your children with homework:

yes - 79% (44 responses)
no - 21%

Why:

Can't understand new methods
Illiterate
Can't read too well
Out of school too long
Too tired

35. Do you feel that integration has worked out all right in the school your children attend:

yes - 40%
no - 51% (41 responses)
don't know - 9%

36. What kind of education would you like your children to have:

High school 38%
Training for a skill 37% (54 responses)
College 25%

37. Would any adults in this family be interested in furthering their education:

22% interested (15 responses)

38. Do you know of any place where you can get this education:

27% knew where they could go (70 responses)

Housing:

39. Type of living quarters: If a house, do you

Own	10%
Rent	17%
	(70 responses)
Apartment	42%
Duplex	24%
Other	7%

40. Number of rooms:

Two rooms	4%
Three "	22%
Four "	26%
Five "	37%
Six "	7%
Seven "	2%
Eight "	2%

41. Rent by month:

Under $50	23%
50 to 60	12%
61 to 70	17%
71 to 80	3%
81 to 90	5%
91 to 100	5%
Over 100	35%

42. If you rent, will the landlord make repairs when asked:

yes - 26%
no - 49% (70 responses)
don't know - 3%
sometimes - 22%

43. How long have you lived in this house or apartment:

Under 1 yr.	23%
1 to 5	62%
6 to 10	6% (70 responses)
11 to 15	-
Over 15	9%

44. Condition of house:

Good 16%

Fair 48% (70 responses)
Poor 36%

45. Does your neighborhood have trouble with rats or bugs:

yes - 93% (70 responses)

46. Do you expect to be moving this year or next year:

yes - 33% (70 responses)
no - 61%
don't know - 6%

47. Do you know of any place you cold go to get help in finding a place to live if you have to move:

yes - 11% (70 responses)
no - 89%

Services:

48. Do you know of any health or medical service in this neighborhood:

yes - 30% (70 responses)
no - 70%

49. Do you or other members of the family have medical or hospital insurance:

yes - 38% (70 responses)
no - 62%

50. If you need medical treatment, how is it paid for:

Self 50% (70 responses)
Other 50%

51. If you need a lawyer, do you know where you can go to get one:

yes - 36% (70 responses)
no - 64%

52. If you couldn't afford to pay for the lawyer, where could you get legal assistance:

Legal aid 17%

Don't know 77% (70 responses)
Other 6%

53. What do you think about the police protection in this neighborhood:

Good 47%
Bad 33% (70 responses)
Don't know 20%

54. What do you think of the policemen who work in this neighborhood:

Good 43%
Bad 17% (70 responses)
Don't know 40%

55. In what ways do the police help the neighborhood:

Positive comments 21%
Don't know 56% (70 responses)
Negative comments 23%

56. What complaints do you have about the way the police do their jobs:

None 74% (70 responses)

57. Has your family made use of the Welfare Dept. or surplus food:

yes - 29% (69 responses)
no - 71%

58. Social Security: 22%

59. VA: 7%

60. Employment service 3%

61. If you need to borrow money, do you go to a

Bank: 5%
Loan company: 49% (70 responses)
Other: 23%
Both: 23%

62. Do the children have a place to play in the neighborborhood:

yes - 40%
no - 56% (70 responses)
don't know - 4%

63. Are you active in church affairs:

yes - 16% (70 responses)
no - 84%

64. What are some of the good things about your neighborhood:

Positive comments 59%
Negative comments 20% (70 responses)
Don't know 21%

Some remarks made: Quiet; everybody minds their own business; nothing but cheap rent; close to downtown.

65. What are some of your neighborhood's problems: (70 responses)

Some remarks made: Drunks; wild dogs; fire alarms; police make noise; fighting; stealing; tearing down houses; trash all over; "mean young'uns".

66. Are there special problems in your family that you need help on:

yes - 29% (20 respnses)
no - 61%

Some remarks made: To get together in one place; medical expenses; don't know where to move; drinking; someone to care for an ailing mother; better house for children.

67. What do you think can be done to straighten out the problems in your neighborhood:

Suggestions - 39% (70 responses)
Don't know - 58%

Some remarks made: Dog catchers; police for hot rodders; stop Ga. Tech. from taking houses; more playground equipment.

Recommendations:

Whatever new initiatives are undertaken, the development of an active and progressive poor white community will be slow and painstaking. Years of inertia and apathy on the part of social agencies and the poor whites themselves will be difficult in overcoming. Still it can be done. The following recommendations we believe, will lay the basis for genuine community development and community organization in poor white areas.

1. Social welfare agencies must demonstrate that they are not simply in the community but a part of it. Channels of communication must be opened up between the people and the agencies. One fact that organizations such as Economic Opportunity Atlanta, and Model Cities must recognize is that Black Outreach Workers and Neighborhood Aides cannot organize in poor white communities. Poor whites are distrustful of any outsiders, but especially of Blacks. The schools could make greater efforts to reach the parents. The Parents and Teachers Association concept has failed in poor white areas, failed at least to attract significant numbers of poor whites to meetings. Time now devoted to by teachers and administrators to these meetings might more usefully be spent with individual visits to parents

to discuss their children's problems and the school program in general. Because poor whites are as appreciative of personal contacts as they are hostile to mass meetings, this might be one way of arousing their interest in the schools.

2. Little has been done in poor white areas either to keep teenagers in school and check the high drop-out rate or to help those who have already dropped out. Teenagers, as we have noted earlier, drop out both to help increment their families' incomes and because the schools' curriculum is irrelevant, as they see it, to their needs. A system of neighborhood trade schools could be set up with a modest investment of time and money which would encourage potential dropouts to stay in school. The training fields in such neighborhood centers would of course be limited to those skill areas where there is an interest and where there are good job opportunities. Automotive mechanics is clearly one of these areas. One of the many local abandoned gas stations/garages could be rented and turned into a training center, using retired mechanics and/or volunteer professional mechanics as instructors, Automobeile Dealers and other garages might defray some of the costs of such an operation as well as providing jobs for those who completed the course.

Students should be paid a small stipend to attend the neighborhood school; these payments would also be conditional on the students performing satisfactory work in high school. Potentially this type of center could expand its activities to include remedial courses in academic subjects as well as serving as youth center for recreational activities. The main point is that the neighborhood training center would provide the two most important incentives to keep potential dropouts in school--money and the chance to learn a skill.

Nonetheless, those young people who have already dropped out should not be excluded from such a program. They should be allowed to participate in training as space permits for whatever programs are ultimately designed for dealing with the dropout problem. Its thrust should be preventative rather than curative.

This type of school could partially pay for itself by servicing vehicles from the neighborhood as well as selling gas but in strictly economic terms its principal benefit would be that potential welfare victims would be made into productive tax paying citizens.

Using a similar approach, a program could be devised for girls. Only here a store front would be converted into a combination beautifician and secretarial school.

3. Since most adults in poor white neighborhoods already have at least part time jobs, there is little problem with unemployment, but there is under-employment and little chance for advancement in their jobs, since many of them are functionally illiterate. Poor people, black and white, should be paid to attend remedial courses. This would demonstrate to them in the here and now that a better education is financially rewarding. Cash

payments are also necessary because there are almost no day care centers let alone evening care facilities and there must be some way of paying for a baby sitter.

Once they have acquired the basic reading and math skills they could then participate in the skill training at the neighborhood training centers.

There is no magic formula for solving the problems of any ghetto, black or white. It is particularly difficult to accomplish anything in a community where there is not even a hint of local leadership, as is the case in the poor white community. Moreover, there is no way of artificially inducing community leadership. We believe that leadership will surface as poor whites see that social action agencies are genuinely interested in their problems and that there is some hope of revivifying their communities. Family pride, fear of outsiders, individualism and a long tradition of resistance to community action create formidable barriers to any form of community organization. Add to this the backlog of distrust, frustration and disappointment left by those agencies that supposedly serve their community and the task would seem impossible. But it can done. It is impossible to exaggerate the need for constant personal contact with the people. The success of any venture in a poor white area ultimately depends on the involvement of the residents. This in turn requires persistent contact between the program developers and the members of the community. Any program must begin with the simple but time consuming process of knocking on doors and explaining, cajoling and finally gaining the interest and trust of the residents. Then and only then would programs stand an even mediocre chance of success.

Type of questionnaire used: B

Poor White

CONFIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

We are asking questions of people in this neighborhood, to find out some of your problems and what can be done about them. We want to find out how the various services can be more useful in helping you with your problems. We will not ask for your name, and any information you give us will be confidential.

1. Location of interview (area of city, to be filled in by interviewer)

_____

2. Are you the head of the household? a. Yes _____ B. No _____

If not, specify _____ (To be filled in by the interviewer)

3. Is the head of the household a. male _____ or b. female _____

4. How many people live in this household? a. in school _____

b. pre-school _____ c. employed _____ d. unemployed _____ e. other 1. retired _____ 2. disabled _____
(16 or older)

5. How long have you lived in Atlanta? _____

6. How long have you lived in this neighborhood? _____

7. a. Where did you live before coming to this neighborhood? _____

_____

b. Where did you live before coming to the city? _____

8. Is there more than one family living here? (For example, is your son or daughter married and living here?) If yes, who? _____

_____

9. Is the head of the household a. married _____ b. single _____

c. divorced _____ d. widowed _____ e. other _____

Employment

10. Where does the head of the household work? _____

_____

11. What kind of job does he have? _____

_____

12. How long has he been on this job? _____

_____

13. (If less than a year) Where did he work before that? _____

_____

14. Why did he leave his last job? _____

_____

_____

15. How regularly does he work? a. days per week _____

b. hours per day _____

16. Are there other adults in the household working? _____

17. Where do they work? _____

_____

_____

_____

18. Are any adults in the household looking for jobs? (16 years or older)

a. _____ b. How many? _____

19. Number unemployed (16 years or older looking for employment) _____

20. If one is a housewife, is she looking for a job? _____

21. Do any members of the household work at more than one job? _____

22. Do any of the workers in the family belong to a union? _____

23. Is there any special reason why the members of the family who want jobs do not have them? _____

_____

_____

_____

24. What would you say your total family income is each week?

$25-49 $50-74 $75-99 $100-124 $125-174 $175 or over

25. Are you reasonably well satisfied with your a. job _____

b. pay _____ c. hours _____ d. type of work _____

26. Are the other workers in the household satisfied with their jobs?

_____

_____

27. Where do you think you could go to get help in finding a better job?

_____

_____

28. Would you move to another neighborhood if you could get a better job?

_____

Education

29. How many years of school did the adults in the family have?

a. _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 (other) _____

b. _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 (other) _____

c. _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 (other) _____

d. _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 (other) _____

30. Have any members of the family had vocation or skill training?

_____

31. Number of youth in school and grades. List:

a. _____ b. _____

c. _____ d. _____

e. _____ f. _____

31y. What is your age? 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 65 or over

32. a. Youth dropped out _____ b. ages _____

c. Why? _____

_____

33. How far do your children walk to school? _____

34. Do they get free lunches? _____

35. Do you think your children are getting a good education? _____

_____

36. In what ways could the school be improved? _____

_____

_____

37. Do you feel that the children have good teachers? _____

_____

38. Do they understand your children? _____

_____

39. What kind of education would you like your children to have?

a. high school _____ b. vocational _____

c. training for a skill _____ d. college _____

e. other _____

40. A lot of parents have difficulty helping their children with homework.

a. Is this true for you? _____ b. In what ways?

_____

_____

41. What school do your children attend? a. high school _____

b. elementary school _____ c. other _____

42. Do you feel that integration has worked out all right in the school your children attend? _____

_____

43. Would any adults (out of school) in this family be interested in furthering their education? _____ a. high school _____

b. skill training _____ c. other _____

44. Do you know of any place where you can get this education?

_____

_____

Housing

45. Type of living quarters: If a house, do you a. own _____

b. rent _____ c. apartment _____

d. duplex _____ e. other _____

46. Number of rooms _____

47. Rent by a. week _____ b. month _____

48. If a house, do you pay a. rent _____ or b. monthly payments

_____

48. If you rent, will the landlord make repairs when asked? _____

_____

49. How is this house or apartment heated? _____

_____

50. How long have you lived in this house or apartment? _____

_____

51. (Condition of house, to be filled in by interviewer) a. very good

_____ b. good _____ c. fair _____ d. poor _____

comments _____

_____

52. Does your neighborhood have trouble with rats or bugs? _____

_____

53. a. Do you expect to be moving this year or next year? _____

b. If yes, why? _____

_____

54. Do you know of any place you could go to get help in finding a place to live if you have to move? _____

_____

Services

55. a. Do you know of any health or medical services in this neighborhood?

_____ b. Where? _____

_____

56. Do you or other members of the family have medical or hospital insurance? _____

57. If you need medical treatment, how is it paid for? _____

_____

_____

58. If you need a lawyer, do you know where you can go to get one?

_____

_____

59. If you couldn't afford to pay for the lawyer, where could you get legal assistance? _____

_____

60. What do you think about the police protection in this neighborhood?

_____

_____

_____

61. a. What do you think of the policemen who work in this neighborhood?

_____

_____

_____

b. In what ways do the police help the neighborhood? _____

_____

_____

62. What complaints do you have about the way the police do their jobs?

_____

_____

_____

63. a. Are there people in this neighborhood who receive assistance from the Welfare Department or surplus food? _____ b. Has your family made use of these services? _____

c. Assistance from Social Security? _____

d. VA _____ e. Employment service _____

64. If you need to borrow money, do you go to a a. bank _____

b. loan company _____ c. other _____

65. Do the children have a place to play in the neighborhood? _____

66. Are there any recreational facilities such as a. playgrounds _____

b. youth centers _____ c. other _____

67. Are you active in church affairs? _____

68. Is your church active in neighborhood affairs? _____

69. What are some good things about your neighborhood? _____

_____

_____

_____

70. What are some of your neighborhood's problems? _____

_____

_____

_____

71. Are there special problems in your family that you need help on?

_____

_____

_____

_____

72. What do you think can be done to straighten out the problems in your neighborhood? _____

_____

_____

_____

P 9 73	A Ever heard of these agencies?		B Do you know where located?		C Have you ever used these agencies?		D Do you know what these agencies do?		Comments
Agencies	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	
1. EOA									
2. Salvation Army									
3. Ga. Employment Service									
4. Vocational Rehab									
5. Grady									
6. Police									
7. Recreation Dept.									
8. Sanitation Dept.									
9. Housing									
10. Legal Aid									
11. Atlanta Area Tech									
12. County Health Centers									
13. Day Care Centers									
14. Visiting Nurses									

74. Do you belong to any clubs, civic groups or church organizations in your neighborhood? _____

_____

75. Who would you pick as a community leader? _____

_____

76. Where do you buy your food? a. supermarkets _____

b. farmers market _____ c. neighborhood stores _____

77. How do you pay? a. cash _____ b. credit _____

c. both _____

_____

Interviewed by

Date _____

L = Leader
R = Resident at Random
RR = Resident Referral by Another
DK = Don't Know

Comments of Interviewer:

White Poor

Agricultural Economic Report No. 124

WHITE AMERICANS IN RURAL POVERTY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE / ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

THE URBAN POOR WHITE

A Study of Atlanta's Poor Whites

Sponsored by:

Southern Regional Council
Southern Council on International and Public Affairs
Metropolitan Atlanta Commission on Crime and
Juvenile Delinquency

Walter G. Anderson, Research Project Director

Lois Coplan, Assistant Research Project Director

Robert Troy, Project Consultant

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Although some research has been done on the problems of the rural poor white, especially in Appalachia, there are almost no current data on his urban counterpart. This is in spite of the fact that poor whites are more numerous in some cities than poor blacks. In Atlanta, according to the "Manpower Report of the President" (March 1970), "the proportions of Negro and of white unrelated individuals with incomes below the poverty line were about equally high."

Just as black Americans, Indians, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are minority groups, so too are the poor urban whites, despite their apparent ethnic and racial ties to white America. The poor urban white has suffered discrimination in employment, education, housing and in treatment by social welfare agencies. The problems of urban America have been so intertwined with the civil rights movement that researchers as well as social activists have generally regarded the problems of poor urban whites as secondary if not peripheral.

As far as federal programs are concerned, the poor whites have certainly been underemphasized or disregarded as a poverty factor in the urban center. At least one front in the war on poverty -- that of the poor white -- has remained all quiet. Part

of the reason for this apparent lack of attention by social agencies lies with the poor whites themselves. While the black community, by organizing itself, has learned how to bargain with agencies in order to raise their level of life, poor whites remain aloof, apathetic, and atomized.

This study, done by the Southern Regional Council under the aegis of the Metropolitan Commission on Crime and Delinquency and the Southern Council on International and Public Affairs, focuses on such areas of white ghetto life as housing, employment, income, education and community involvement. We felt that the most important untapped reservoir of information on urban white poverty was among the poor themselves.

A questionnaire was designed to elicit not only hard data items such as income, family size, etc., but to allow respondents to speak at length about their problems. Open-ended questions as well as just chatting with the people were the principal techniques used to get at this information.

The 70 individuals interview respondents were randomly selected from two predominantly white poverty neighborhood in the Atlanta Metropolitan area, the Tenth Street-Northside Drive area and the Grant Park area. Thirty-six families were visited

in the former area, and 30 in the latter. The formula used to pick respondents was to select the third house on a new block and every tenth house thereafter. During the pre-testing of the questionaire, we visited one family each in the Knight Park, Memorial Drive, Blair Village and Cabbagetown areas.

The two main areas were selected because they are fairly representative of other white slums in the city. Like other poor white neighborhoods, these two areas are undergoing rapid and dramatic change. The Tenth Street-Northside Drive area may soon disappear because of an urban renewal project, while the Grant Park area is becoming a black neighborhood.

A typical interview would last at least one hour, and a significant minority lasted up to one and a half hours. The study lasted a little more than twelve weeks; consequently the sample taken was small. Moreover, there was little time to refine the interviewing instrument. Thus, both the statistics and the oral responses cannot be considered as conclusive, but merely suggestive.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE AREAS

Grant Park Area:

This area is located in the southwest section of Atlanta

near the Grant Park Zoo, and Summerhill, a large black ghetto.

Since 1960 this area of large single dwellings has changed rapidly from a middle-class neighborhood, composed of businessmen, professional and skilled people who considered it a "nice place to live" to what is now considered a white slum area. The change occurred when Negroes started moving into the surrounding area, Summerhill, and not surprisingly, the exodus of middle-class whites was quick.

Most of the houses were sold to "absentee landlords" who converted them into three to five room apartments. Now, as many as six families live in a house, paying $25 or $30 a week, depending on the size of the apartment. By charging on a weekly instead of a monthly basis, the owners collect an extra month's rent yearly.

The neighborhood is in poor condition. Houses need repairing, but the landlords and housing inspectors seem unconcerned. The streets, some of which are unpaved, have potholes and unsatisfactory lighting. Trash pick-up is at best sporadic.

The youth of the neighborhood pose another problem. Teen-age crime is extremely high. This is due particularly to the lack of recreational facilities and high rate of school

dropouts.

Tenth Street-Northside Area:

Another area which has seen extensive change is the 10th Street-Northside Drive area. This area is bordered on the south by Marietta Street, on the north by 10th Street, on the west by Northside Drive, and on the east by Hemphill Avenue. Although conditions are relatively the same as the Grant Park area, the reason for the change is different. Goergia Tech's expansion is responsible for changing an area of modest single dwelling units into duplexes and apartments. There is still a sizeable segment of white elderly people living there who cannot afford to move. Generally those few homes that are kept in repair are owned by this segment. The school's expansion has forced many tenants as well as homeowners to move into other areas of the city.

HOW PEOPLE RESPONDED TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

There were several qualities we found characteristics of a large majority of the people interviewed. They seem to possess a certain amount of stability, in that most of the households are headed by males living with their spouses. A large majority of the families have lived in Atlanta over 15 years, and in their present neighborhoods between one and five years. A great

majority of the heads of households are employed, and have been on their jobs more than a year. For the most part, they work regularly, five days a week, eight hours a day.

Another important characteristic of the people we interviewed is that they seemed unwilling to commit themselves or to express their feelings on such matters as how they feel about their jobs, the police in the neighborhood, their children's education, and special problems of their neighborhood and family. For example, the largest number answered "yes" to the question: "Do you think your children are getting a good education?" but answered "Don't know" to the questions "In what way can the school be improved?" "Do your children have good teachers?" and "Do the teachers understand your children?" In spite of the fact that many of the people interviewed work at menial, low-paying jobs, most of them answered that they were satisfied with their jobs. This reluctance to speak openly is in part a reflection of a long tradition of isolated rural whites. This rural aloofness is still a potent force in the city. Significantly, when asked what they liked best about their neighborhood, the respondents in most cases answered: "people mind their own business."

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The first part of the questionnaire dealt with general characteristics of the interviewees. Fifty-nine per cent of those interviewed were heads of households, 40 per cent were wives, and 1 per cent held some other relationship to the head of the household. Of these heads of households, 76 per cent were male and 24 per cent were female.

Thirty-six per cent of those interviewed were between the ages of 36 adn 45, 19 per cent between 46 and 55, 16 per cent between 26 and 35, 16 per cent between 18 and 25, 11 per cent between 56 and 65, and 2 per cent over 65.

The largest group, 41 per cent have five and six in the household, 29 per cent have three and four, 17 per cent have one and two, and 13 per cent have seven or over.

Fifty percent have lived in Atlanta over 15 years, and 13 per cent have lived in the city all their life. Fourteen per cent have lived in Atlanta between one and five years, 13 per cent between 11 and 15 years, 9 per cent between 6 and 10 years, and only one percent under one year.

Most people had not, however, lived in their neighborhood for as long a period. Twenty-one per cent had lived in

their neighborhoods between one and five years, 11 per cent under one year, 9 per cent between 6 and 10 years, 5 per cent between 11 and 15 years, and 10 per cent over 15 years.

The overwhelming majority of people interviewed had not traveled a great distance to move to Atlanta. Eighty-two per cent came from elsewhere in Georgia, 16 per cent came from outside of Georgia but in the South, and only 1 per cent, or 2 per cent came from outside the South.

In only 18 per cent of the households were more than one family living, for example, a married son or daughter, or retired mother or father.

One of the most indicative characteristics of stability is that of the marital status of the head of household. Seventy-three per cent of those interviewed were married, 18 per cent divorced, 6 per cent widowed, and one person, or 3 percent answered "other."

EMPLOYMENT

The section of the questionaire on employment indicated that low-paying, unskilled jobs, rather than unemployment, are characteristics of urban poor whites. Seventy-three per cent of the heads of household are employed, 8 per cent unemployed, 12 per cent retired, and 7 per cent disabled.

Of those employed, most work at jobs that can be classified as unskilled or semi-skilled. Fifty-three percent have been on their jobs between one and five years, 22 percent between six and ten years, 13 percent under one year, 9 percent between 11 and 15 years, and 3 percent over 15 years.

As noted earlier, most of the people interviewed worked regular hours. Sixty-two percent worked five days a week, and eight hours a day. Only four percent classified their working days and hours as irregular.

In 30 percent of the households, others besides the head were working. Twenty-three percent of the households had people over 16 years old looking for jobs, but only four housewives, or eight percent were looking for jobs. Nobody in the households interviewed worked at more than one job.

The largest group of families interviewed, 47 per cent have a total family income of between $75 and $99 a week. An appreciable percentage, 21 percent, have a total family income of only $50 to $74. Twenty-two percent gave the total family income as between $100 and $124, 5 percent between $25 and $49 and 5 percent between $125 and $174.

On the question of job satisfaction, the largest group, 72 percent, of the heads of households said they were "reasonably well satisfied" with their jobs. Of the other workers in the households, 61 percent were said to be satisfied with their jobs.

The answers to the question "Where do you think you could go to get help in finding a better job?" indicate the poor whites' lack of orientation toward social agencies. Eighty-three percent answered that they did not know where to get help. Only three people named the State Employment Office, one person named the Labor Department and one named EOA. Although a large percentage expressed satisfaction with their jobs, 88 percent said that they would move to another neighborhood if they could get better jobs.

Poor whites in many cases will not admit that there are basic problems in their families. For example, while doing the study, a section of the questionnaire was developed to determine the salary range of employed individuals. However, it became evident that poor whites would normally overstate their income. One resident said that he worked as a laborer for the Sanitation Department in the city of Atlanta, which pays such a worker $16.40 per day - $82.00 per week. Yet when asked what his income was, he

asserted that he made $100-$125 per week. This kind of anser was not uncommon throughout the interviews. An aide for a local social action agency (EOA) was interviewed by mistake, yet the results should be noted. This individual who supports nine school children, an unemployed wife and himself makes $1.60 per hour, eight hours a day, five days per week giving him a grand total (gross) of $64.00 per week.

This of course, is so far below the poverty level that it would take a steam shovel to dig up a minimum wage. However, even though the agency is required by Federal Guidelines to hire the poor, it seems apparent that they want the individual to stay poor. This same agency has held press conferences demanding that businesses in the community pay more money to uneducated and unskilled labor and offer them an opportunity to learn a skill. This double-standard by social agencies is really not uncommon; in fact, it is all too common.

EDUCATION

Most parents were seemily unconcerned both with the high dropout rate and with the quality of education their children were receiving. Of the parents with school-age children (64 percent), only 20 percent expressed any displeasure with their children's education, while 69 percent thought their childrens education

was adequate, and 11 percent were not sure.

This unwillingness to criticize institutions which are clearly not responding to their needs is not surprising in view of what poor whites have experienced in the city. Most of these parents are themselves dropouts, the great majority having never gone past the eighth grade. An even more depressing statistic is that only 22 percent of those interviewed expressed any desire to get additional training of any sort. Few have found the schools worthwhile enough to continue their own education, or to convince their children to stay in school.

Fully 25 percent of the families with school-age children in the sample had at least one child who had dropped out of school. The exceedingly high dropout rate among poor white teenagers illustrates not only how poor whites have failed in the school system but how the school system has failed poor whites. In case after case students reported overcrowded classrooms, and more importantly, the lack of courses in critical skill areas such as shop and mechanics.

None of the students, even those who were still in school spoke with any pride about their school. Instead, they complained about young, inexperienced teachers who were unable to maintain or-

der in the classroom. "They let us run over them," as one embittered student said. A few mentioned that black students at the school were too rough for them. Only one dropout, however, used integration as the principal cause for his leaving school. Most students and even recent dropouts expressed satisfaction with the way integration has progressed. The most important single reason for leaving school listed by dropouts was that they must work to supplement their family's income. This, despite the fact that most dropouts find it difficult to get even the most menial of jobs.

Although 75 percent of the parents expressed the pious wish to have their children at least finish high school and another 25 percent hoped their children could go on to college, few were able to do anything to accomplish this objective. Eighty-two percent of those queried with school-age children admitted they either couldn't or wouldn't help their children with homework. A few stated that their children never get homework. They could understand this practice but they never questioned teachers about it.

A few voiced the usual shibboleths about the importance of a high school diploma, but even they did not seem to be convinced. The schools make no attempt to reach the parents, and

the parents who feel ignorant and powerless will rarely even criticize the schools, let alone attempt to change them. Like many poor blacks, they may not respect a person with a great deal of formal education, but htey are usually intimidated by such an individual. They are reluctant to disagree with someone who is "well-educated."

Only rarely and then apologetically would any of the respondents offer criticism he thought might offend the interviewer. This would happen most frequently when we would discuss the school integration situation. People with negative feelings about integration would invariably preface their statements with something like this: "Well, y'all may not like this, but . . ." or "Course I grew up different."

Nonetheless, they were more vocal on this question than on any other. When asked whether they thought integration had worked out, 51 percent of the parents responded negatively. Comments ranged from "the colored people ought to have their own schools -- just as good as the white," to "niggers get anything they want." A few said that their children didn't seem to mind, but that they could not accept it because they had "not been brought up that way."

Many felt that their children were being neglected be-

cause of the large influx of Negro students into the schools. One mother said, "Everyone wants the niggers to have a chance, but nobody cares about my children having a chance." Still others maintained that Negroes fight too much and were a bad influence on the white students. They said that Negroes ought to "settle things between themselves" before coming to white schools.

Nine percent of those interviewed did not care about the integration of the schools. A surprising forty percent felt that integration was to some degree successful. Responses in this category ranged from "Colored have a right to go to the same schools as white" to "I don't really mind my children goin' to school with niggers but hey should do it more slowly."

Others said that although they didn't like the idea initially, it had worked out satisfactorily. A typical comment was "Hell, they ain't any worse than our own." Most of those who spoke positively about integration limited their statements to the elementary schools. "Integrated high schools, " one such respondent said, "leads to race mixin' and that's against the Bible." Interestingly, the students and dropouts we spoke to were virtually unanimous in their approval of integrated schools.

When asked whether they felt their children's teachers (some of whom are Negro) were adequate, a plurality said they did not know (46 percent). Many said they had no way of judging since

they were themselves uneducated. Forty-four percent believed that their children had good teachers. Only one respondent named race as a reason for poor teaching. She said she didn't want her daughter taught by "no nigger teachers."

In a similar vien, most of the respondents (58 percent) did not know whether the teachers understood their children, while 38 percent felt that they did understand their children, and only 10 percent believed they did not. In the latter category, the parents' most common remarks were that either the teachers did not give their children enough personal attention or that they were not strict enough with them.

Only 30 percent of the parents felt that the schools could be improved. Most of this group believed that ending the overcrowding would solve the school problem. Only a token few said that the schools should get rid of "nigger teachers," or "nigger principals."

The school system has obviously accomplished little to involve urban poor white parents in the schools or to keep their children in them.

HOUSING

The section of the questionaire on housing shows that a sizeable number of the people interviewed pay premium rents for substandard housing. They are, however, supplied with armies of roaches and rats at no additional costs. The largest group,

42 percent, live in rented apartments, 24 percent live in duplexes, 17 percent live in rented houses, 10 percent live in houses which they own, and 7 percent live in other types of housing.

The median number of rooms per family is 4.8. Thirty-five percent of the families pay their rent by the week, so that in most cases it totals over $100 per month. In fact, when all rents were totaled on a monthly basis, 35 percent were found to be paying over $100 per month. Twenty-three percent pay under $50 per month, 17 percent pay between $61 and $70 per month, 12 percent pay between $51 and $60 per month, 5 percent pay between $81 and $90 per month, 5 percent pay between $91 and $100 per month, and 3 percent pay between $71 and $80 per month.

When asked if the landlord would make repairs when asked, only 26 percent answered definitely "yes." Twenty-two percent answered "sometimes," 49 percent answered"no," and 3 percent said they didn't know.

A majority of the people interviewed, 62 percent, had lived in their house or apartment between one and five years, but a significant minority, 23 percent, had lived in their present dwelling less than a year.

The interviewers were asked to rate the condition of the houses. The largest group, 48 percent, were rated as "fair," 36 percent as "poor," and only 16 percent as "good."

The question "Does your neighborhood have trouble with rats or bugs" was used as a means to get people to tell whether their own houses had rats or bugs. Ninety-three percent answered "yes" to this question.

The respondents were then asked whether they expected to be moving this year or next year. Only 33 percent answered "yes." In the Tenth Street area this reveals that although Georgia Tech will be taking over much of the property, a large number of people still do not know that they will have to move.

When they were asked "Do you know of any place you could go to get help in finding a place to live if you have to move?" only 11 percent answered "yes." One person said that Georgia Tech would help him find a place to live, and one person named EOA.

Thus, having to move is just one more problem dealt out by life, with nowhere to turn for help.

THE COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

One of the major findings of our survey was that many of the needs of the people interviewed are not being met by any community services, and that the services of the agencies which now exist are not well known or utilized by poor whites. This was pointed out especially in the field of health services. It has been shown in many studies that poor people are more prone to ill health than other economic groups. But only

30 percent of the people questioned knew of health or medical services in their neighborhood. Most of these named Grady Hospital, which really is not a "neighborhood" health service. A few people mentioned a facility on Howell Mill Road, but said that since it is open only two hours a day, it was usually impossible to use the service.

The need for medical services is dramatized by the finding that only 30 percent of the people questioned have medical or hospital insurance. Fifty percent of the respondents said they pay for medical treatment themselves. Others named Grady Hospital, Medicare and Medicaid as ways of paying for treatment.

When asked about legal services, only 36 percent of the people said they know where to get a lawyer when they needed one, and only 17 percent named Legal Aid as a means of getting free legal assistance.

Most of the people questioned gave non-commital answers to questions about the police. To the question "What do you think about the police protection in this neighborhood?" 47 percent made generally favorable comments, 33 percent gave negative comments and 20 percent said they didn't know. The negative comments included such things as "too slow," "you never see them except when you don't want them" and others along this line. When asked "What do you think of the policemen who work in this neighborhood?" 43 percent made favorable comments,

17 percent made unfavorable comments, and 40 percent said they didn't know.

To the question "In what ways do the police help the neighborhood?" the largest group, 56 percent, said they didn't know, 23 percent said the police didn't help the neighborhood at all, and only 21 percent made positive comments, but these were not specific.

But when asked, "What complaints do you have about the way the police do their jobs?" only 26 percent voiced complaints, such as "too slow," "never around when you need one," "treat people like dirt," etc. The police, therefore, are viewed more as a necessary evil than as a positive force in the neighborhood.

It is difficult to tell how many people questioned use the services of the Welfare Department or surplus food, since many did not give any clear answers to these questions. Understandably, it would be difficult to answer such questions when asked by an outsider. Only 64 percent, in fact, answered the question "Has your family made use of the services of the Welfare Department or surplus food?" Of these, only 29 percent answered yes. Only 22 percent said they received assistance from Social Security, and 7 percent from Veterans Administration.

Recreational facilities for children are another sorely needed service, as indicated by the study. Only 40 percent of those with children said that their children had a place to

play in the neighborhood. Most of these were in the Grant Park area, and specified that the park was the children's only place to play. But observers of the neighborhood have noted that Grant Park has deteriorated into a place largely unsafe for children.

The church is not a significant force in poor white neighborhoods, as indicated by the question "Are you active in church affairs?" Only 16 percent answered "yes" to this question, and of these, only four said that their church is active in the neighborhood.

Not only are most of the people not active church members, but the majority do not consider themselves members of any organization. When asked "Do you belong to any clubs, civic groups or church organizations in your neighborhood?" only 13 percent answered "yes." The further lack of orientation toward organization in the neighborhood is indicated by the fact that only 28 percent could name someone they considered a leader in the neighborhood. This also shows, of course, the people's refusal to get involved, as well as lack of leadership in the neighborhoods.

A section of the questionnaire contained a list of community services, and asked whether the respondents had heard of these services, whether they knew where they were located, whether they had ever used them, and whether they knew what the services did. The services that almost everyone had heard of

were Grady Hospital, the Salvation Army, and the Georgia State Employment Service. 100 percent of those questioned heard of Grady and knew where it was located. Ninety-six percent had used it, and 100 percent knew what it does.

One hundred percent had heard of the Salvation Army, but only 43 percent knew where it is located. Only 21 percent had ever used it, and 55 percent knew what it does. The Georgia State Employment Service had been fairly widely used. Ninety-five percent had heard of it, 68 percent knew where it is located, 57 percent had used it, and 70 percent knew what it does. Earlier in the interview, when people were asked where they thought they could go to get a better job, 83 percent had said they did not know, and only three people named the Georgia State Employment Service. Perhaps this was because the service was not named directly in the question, or perhaps it was because they do not consider it to be helpful in finding them a "better" job.

Such services as EOA and Legal Aid seemed to mean little to the respondents. Only 48 percent had heard of EOA, only 28 percent knew where it is located, only 12 percent had used it, and 25 percent knew what it does. Thirty percent had heard of Legal Aid, 23 percent knew where it is located, 18 percent had used it, and 23 percent knew what it does.

The questions about problems in the neighborhoods and the family revealed the respondents' tendencies to keep to

themselves, to be non-commital, and not admit to having problems. To the question "What are some good things about your neighborhood?" 59 percent made positive comments. These included "cheap rent," "good people" "people keep to themselves" and "nobody bothers you." Twenty percent said there was nothing good about their neighborhood, and 21 percent said they didn't know. On the question "What are some of your neighborhood's problems?" 66 percent responded with a definite problem. These included the need for playgrounds, and such problems as drinking, no street lights, fighting and stealing. Five people listed Negroes' moving in as a problem.

When asked "Are there special problems in your family that you need help on?" only 29 percent answered with a specific problem. Most of these concerned more money to pay expenses, especially medical expenses.

To the question "What do you think can be done to straighten out the problems in your neighborhood?" 39 percent gave suggestions. These included better recreational facilities, more police, and cheaper rent. Racial feeling, especially the feeling that all the attention is being given to poor blacks and none to poor whites, came out in such remarks as "They've got a youth center and a low-rent project for niggers, but nothing for white people," and "get some of the money the niggers get from the government." Two people responded "tear the neighborhood down and rebuild it," and one advocated simply

"tear it down." One suggested, "get a bomb." Only one respondent made this proposal: "If all the whites got together, maybe something could be done." She added that this was impossible because "nobody trusts anybody."

C O N C L U S I O N S

Unlike most other American institutions, poverty does not discriminate on the basis of race. Like other disadvantaged minority groups, poor whites suffer from job discrimination, maleducation, poor housing, and political alienation. But in contrast to the Negro community, the Puerto Rican community, and other ethnic groups, other poor whites have little cohesion as a community.

It is not simply income that separates the poor urban white from the rest of white America. Although they share many values with the middle class whites, others are peculiarly their own. Foremost among these is their lack of concern about receiving a formal education either for themselves or their children. Dropping out of school is not considered a drastic step; rather it simply represents the observance of a time-honored family tradition. Comprehensive training in skill areas that interest many young poor whites such as automotive mechanics are not available to them at the schools. The trade school in the area--Atlanta Area Tech--cannot accommodate all who wish to enter--but even if it could, most of the parents and many students

we spoke to were unaware of its existence.

The almost complete lack of involvement of the institutional churches in poor white communities matches the poor whites' almost complete withdrawal from institutional churches. Poor whites do not feel at home in their neighborhood churches, for with the exception of a few Holiness and other hard-core fundamentalist churches, most of the larger churches are like the outposts of an alien and hostile civilization. In their trek from the country to the city, churchgoing is one of the customs they have lost, and this contributes to the alienation they feel in the city.

But his anomie extends beyond the institutional churches. Poor whites have little knowledge of and less faith in the secular agencies which are supposed to help them in their communities. This reflects three deeply ingrained attitudes of poor whites. First, for poor whites to use these agencies is tantamount to admitting the crime of being poor, which for them is the humiliating symbols of both an economic and moral failure. It also puts them on the same level as the blacks.

Secondly, the rural distrust of outsiders has been amalgamated into their urban lives intact. Few people even know who their neighbor are and don't care to, let alone the "foreing" agencies that work in the communities. The word "community" is used loosely here for there is no feeling of "communitas" in this group. Thirdly, the social welfare agencies have not

made any concentrated effort to reach these people, and when on the few occasions they have dealt with the problems of poor whites, the results have not inspired the confidence of the poor.

One of the results of this absence of any internal cohesion and leadership in the poor white community is political emasculation. Although not part of the regular interview, about a dozen respondents were asked about their political views. Not one of them knew who their alderman was or who the mayor or vice-mayor was. One respondent had heard of Fletcher Thompson, whom he identified as the mayor of Atlanta (he is actually the 5th District Congressman). Yet those respondents who had lived in the country before coming to Atlanta could name their county road superintendent, school superintendent, County Judge, Criminal Judge ("Big Judge"), and other local officials, as well as telling you who their kin were.

This personal involvement in rural politics provides the poor white with a certain ego gratification, even if it does not give him any real power. Though the poor white has no real power in this system, he does have some of the trappings of power. Just being able to call the sheriff by his first name and vice versa makes him feel that he has some worth. City politics, which are by nature depersonalized, destroys this intimate relationship between rulers and ruled. Only rarely

do poor whites actively participate in the political process in the urban context.

One of the few times that poor whites banded together to fight the political structure was in September, 1969, in the Northside Drive area. The community school was closed due to urban renewal and the children were obliged to cross a very busy street with no street light or policeman to assist them to the other side.

The community went through the proper channels to get their street light, only to be turned down at every point, all the way to the mayor of Atlanta. They were finally told that one could not be placed to stop the flow of traffic to the downtown area. The community then on the first morning of school stopped traffic to allow all the youth to cross--and again did the same thing at three in the afternoon--when the children came home.

With television and newspaper reporters making this demonstration headlines, the community had a traffic light installed within five days and the poor whites had won in their confrontation with the power structure.

A week later, within 10 blocks of the poor white community, a black resident called City Hall and stated that if a traffic light was not up within three days the neighborhood would have 500 people on the street blocking traffic. Needless to say, they received the traffic light by only making a phone call.

The social fragmentation in the poor white community has not, so far, seriously damaged family stability in these areas. In fact it appears that individuals look more to their families for help since none is forthcoming from the outside, thus enhancing the authority of the family. Unfortunately the family unit does not have the resources to deal with most of the problems that arise--health, employment, education, etc.--and so without any adequate response the problems remain and fester.

Life in the white ghetto has a dreamlike quality. The residents have withdrawn to a cocoon-like docility, their hopes having been raised and dashed so many times that they can no longer face reality for what it is. Meanwhile the social welfare and educational groups who are supposed to work with this community as well as with other oppressed people, regard the poor white as a phantasm which, if diligently and persistenly ignored, will disappear.

[Aug. 15, 1972]

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Via

DATE:

FROM: BE

COPIES:

SUBJECT: Tucker Visit

I'm involved in meetings all Wednesday morning but will pull out for a few minutes to meet Tucker. Full speed ahead!

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: George Esser DATE: August 15, 1972

FROM: Emory F. Via COPIES:

SUBJECT.

I have been in touch with Everett Lee's office regarding his coming to Atlanta to meet with us. They indicated last week that his schedule was extremely tight which he confirmed by phone yesterday. After discussing our various interests with him, he agreed to come to Atlanta on September 11. He was friendly, responsive, cooperative; but this is the earliest date he could get here.

I asked Lee if he would recommend someone associated with him to pull together the data for our population distribution maps and charts and to write an accompanying narrative on regional population characteristics. He has suggested Mr. Jack Tucker who is a doctoral candidate working with Lee. Lee understands that we put any such papers through our own editorial processes and has agreed that he will serve as a reader to review papers.

I have given Tucker a broad outline of what we want and he will be in the Council's offices 9:30 A.M. on Wednesday, August 16. We can determine if he is interested in the project and if we feel that this is a good way to proceed. I would expect that Tucker could be of some preliminary help to Lucy Watkins, George Harris, and myself prior to going to Oak Ridge. The feeling from the meeting of the TF Chairmen and Harry on Monday was that the trip to Oak Ridge should be scheduled ahead of Lee's visit since his visit is to be so late.

I assume that you would like to sit in on the discussion with Tucker. I think he will be here at least all morning. What time would be most convenient for you?

EFV/gms

Maps

11 or 13 Southern States

1) racial Distribution

2) change of Bl. population

3) Bl. migration
net - balances of ins & outs -

Mex - Am in Texas -

Nat'l Health Survey -

Evans County -
Research -
Hames, M.D.

New Folder

Population Characteristics Pamphlet
Univ of Ga. - SRC

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: George Esser

DATE: August 21, 1972

FROM: Emory F. Via

COPIES: Bob Anderson
George Harris
Lucy Watkins

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH JACK TUCKER
and EVERETT LEE

A proposed pamphlet and map(s) on regional population characteristics will be discussed with Jack Tucker and Everett Lee on Tuesday at 12:45, sandwiches available if you desire. Can you attend?

We have already discussed this matter with Lee by phone and with Tucker (recommended by Lee) in a visit here. We had not expected to get to see Lee until his visit on September 11 to discuss generally the use of census data by SRC.

Tomorrow's meeting will be primarily on the proposed pamphlet since Lee is stopping by on his way to the airport. He will probably be here for an hour or an hour and a half.

Tucker is now proposing to cover the following: Racial distribution by county, degree of change, migration by county--all of these are proposed as maps; age distribution by race; racial distribution by SMSA and in-city; education and income characteristics; housing characteristics (esp. lack of plumbing and crowding); voting age population at least on a state basis; there would be black/white comparisons, national and regional comparisons, and states within region comparisons.

We are currently thinking in terms of a first publication, a general one, with possible other studies to follow or at least other studies that utilize census data. We would like to see this first publication come out as soon as possible, but we should know better where we stand on time after tomorrow's meeting.

EFV/gms

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 19, 1972

Mr. Jack Tucker
Department of Sociology
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Jack:

The last two weeks have been extremely busy. However, I wonder if you could give me an informal program report. Do you have a draft narrarive yet and were you able to locate a map which could be sent to us?

Also, I think you should give me some indicationa of how your time on this project is running.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

OAK RIDGE NATIONAL LABORATORY
OPERATED BY
UNION CARBIDE CORPORATION
NUCLEAR DIVISION

POST OFFICE BOX X
OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE 37830

November 15, 1972

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

The paper which I presented at the SRDG meetings is presently undergoing internal review and revision. As soon as it is available for external distribution you will receive a copy. In addition, your name has been added to our mailing list to receive our working papers.

In general, my studies have used 1964 and 1969 County Business Patterns data to determine if there are significant differences in employment growth between the central counties and suburban counties and between regions. Using previous studies, I have tried to determine if my results indicate a continuation of past trends such as those found by Dan Creamer or whether the more recent patterns deviate significantly from the past.

I hope this delay will not be an inconvenience. Thank you for your interest in our endeavors.

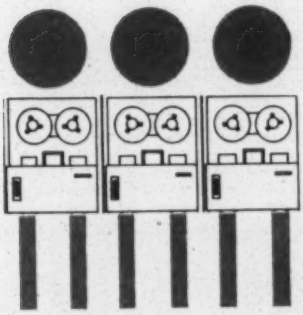
Sincerely,

CHPatrick

Clifford H. Patrick
Research Economist

CHP:js

[Nov.?, 1972]



Demographic Research

oak ridge

ORNL
Oak Ridge National Laboratory
Urban Research Section

SRDG
Southern Regional Demographic Group
Oak Ridge Associated Universities

ORPRI
Oak Ridge Population Research Institute
Oak Ridge Associated Universities

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

December 5, 1972

Dr. Dan Price
Center for the Study of Human Resources
University of Texas
Garrison Hall 300
Austin, Texas 78712

Dear Dan:

We're facing a problem here at SRC which I discussed with Ray when he was here for the annual meeting last weekend. Much of what we need from the Census Bureau is just unobtainable, even on the personal visit of one of our staff members. Apparently, there is such a backlog of orders for census material that GPO and the Census Bureau say it will be six months before anyone can expect to get even basic population and housing publications by state. Well, fortunately, we have most of those, although we lack certain other special reports now on order. Gradually, we will come up with those. But my main concern is that a set of maps would simplify the four reports planned by our four task forces, giving us a graphic way of presenting certain very rudimentary ~~facts~~ demographic facts in relation to the state of health, housing, education, and economic development in the South. While we do have four of the Census maps, we're lacking those listed on the attached page. Ray said there's a possibility your department might have an extra copy or two of some of them. If so, and if you can spare them, we would be very grateful.

Another question: given the probability that we will be reproducing Census maps, but with our materials plotted in on them, do you know the Bureau's regulations on ~~xxxxx~~ their use? I assume, of course, that one would attribute them to their source, but I am not sure whether copyright laws apply to reproduction of government materials. I do expect to write to the Bureau when we are far enough along to face such details, but it would be good to know ahead of time before we begin to base too much on maps already done.

I hope to get down to Texas sometime in January for a few days to get an overall view of the research now going on at the Center. It will be good to get a chance then to talk with you, for there's much I need to learn. Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Lucy

(Mrs.) Lucy R. Watkins
Research and Information

cc: Dr. Ray Marshall

Maps - GPO Series GE-50 (We have Nos. 38, 39, 42, and 43)

No. 41 - Percent Change in Population by Counties of U.S. - 1960-70.
42"x30" - 25¢. Cat. No. C3.64/2:41.

No. 36 - Older Americans by Counties of U. S. - 1970.
30"x42" - 50¢. Cat. No. C3.64/2:36.

State-County Subdivision Maps - of 11 Southern States (Virginia, N.C., S.C., Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas) - 1970. 36"x48" - 20¢ each.
These are the maps that also show locations of all incorporated places and those unincorporated places for which separate population figures are published. Cat. No. C3.62/6: (state).

U. S. County Outline Map - 1970. 26"x41" - black - 20¢ (We need about 5.)
blue and black - 25¢ (We need 4.)
Cat. N. C3.62/2: (color)

Either a map showing the distribution of black population by County (actually 5 of these would help), or the 8-page special census report entitled "Distribution of Negro Population by County" (20¢) which contains two maps, one indicating the number of Negroes in each county, and one indicating the percentage in each county. Its catalogue no. is C3.223/12:970/1.

If you have any extra copies (or even one) of the latest map of the Economic Development Districts and Funded Redevelopment Areas, U.S. (or just the South) 24"x36". I may be able to get these directly from EDA. We haven't tried there yet.

We need several other maps, but I really don't know if they exist. If you know of a source, we'd appreciate knowing.

Percentage of land in agriculture - shown in some good graphic way like color shadings.

Percentage of land in forests. This would be good if it indicated forests held by corporations.

Density (or dispersal) of manufacturing. I must confess I don't know whether a map of this kind would be done by manufacturing jobs, capital investment, or gross profits. I think indication of manufacturing jobs would be better for our initial purposes.

Distribution of rural industrialization - again by jobs created might be better. I know that Ray said the Center had been doing some work on identifying rural industries by counting those outside a 50-mile radius of SMSA's. Have you all also plotted these on a map? If it is published, it would be a help to both our housing task force and our economic development task force.

Has the old poverty map been reissued? Or do you know of a more recent one? We need something that shows percentage of poor by state, even by county if possible; by family income preferably, but by per capita income would be fine.

Is any of the housing data plotted on maps yet? Our housing task force is interested in dilapidation (by census definition) and anything showing low-income housing dispersal.

Although I didn't mention it in my letter, we would, of course, expect to reimburse the Center for anything you might be able to spare. George Harris will be in Austin on Dec. 15-16 for your rural development meeting, and he could bring back whatever you can give us. Again, thanks.

P.S. Pardon my typing. Our whole information staff is busy at a rush job of gathering material which may be of help to the Memphis School Board as they face their court-ordered desegregation.

Econ. Dev. Districts and funded Redevelopment Areas. (latest) U.S. Dept. of Commerce, EDA, Office of Dev. Organizations - map - 24" x 36" (blow-up of South if possible) (2)

% land in agric.
% land in forests
density of mfg.
distrib. of rural industrialization
poverty map - % poor or income by color shading
housing data plotted on maps

No. 36 - Older Americans by Counties of US - 1970
30" x 42" - 50¢
Cat. # C3.64/2:36

State - County Subdivision Maps
11 Southern states - 1970
36" x 48" - 20¢ each
(also show locations of all incorporated places and those unincorporated places for which separate pop. figures are published)
Cat. # C3.62/6: (state)

U.S. County Outline Map - 1970
26" x 41" - black - 20¢ (5)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

GPO

GE-50 ✓ No. 38 - Population Density by Counties of US-1970
42" x 30" — 30¢
Cat. # C3.64/2:38

✓ No. 39 - Percent of Pop. Urban by Counties of U.S. -1970
42" x 30" - 30¢
Cat. # C3.64/2:39

No. 41 - Percent Change in Pop. by Counties of US-1960-1970. 42" x 30" - 25¢
Cat. # C3.64/2:41

✓ No. 42 - Pop. Trends by Counties of U.S. 1940-1970
42" x 30" - 25¢
Cat. # C3.64/2:42

✓ No. 43 - 1970 Pop. as a Percent of Max. Pop. by Counties of US
42" x 30" - 30¢

No. 40 - ~~Net Migration~~ Standard Metro. Statistical Areas - 1970
35¢
Cat. # C3.64/2:40

No. 44 Net Migration by Counties of U.S. - 1960-70
30¢
Cat. # C3.64/2:44

Fate

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA 35486

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
P. O. BOX 6126

January 30, 1973

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Sorry that I was unable to call you Friday, but Dr. Lee unexpectedly left Athens Thursday afternoon and didn't return until the weekend. However we did get to discuss the paper at some length and have decided to do the following if it meets with your approval:

1. Add some discussion of longer (50-60) trends than using 1960-1970 change alone. p. 3.
2. Tabulate those countries with greatest absolute gains and losses over the decade. p. 5.
3. Add some discussion on page 8. re: turn around counties (if possible). Our data is yet to be fully analyzed.
4. Page 15--Clarification of Migration to "Urban" Areas
5. The biggest job--the section an SMSA growth and black redistribution will be re-worked almost completely.
6. Figures for SMSA population in large table at end of paper will be checked and reworked.

Thanks for bearing with me and being patient in getting the finished product. I shall begin work immediately and if I don't hear from you otherwise, it should be completed shortly.

Give my regards to your staff.

Sincerely,

C Jack Tucker

C. Jack Tucker
Assistant Professor

dj

January 31, 1973

Mr. Jack Tucker
Department of Sociology
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Dear Jack:

I know this must be a busy time for you, but the sooner we can see a revised draft the happier we would be.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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GEORGE H. ESSER, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

March 29, 1973

Mr. Mike Garland
Data Use and Access Lab
Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D.C. 20233

Dear Mr. Garland:

Thanks so much for your call regarding the accuracy of the map "Negro Population as Percent of Total Population, by Counties of the United States: 1970 (Bureau of the Census, GPO Stock No. 0301-2288). Buncombe County, North Carolina, which you say is the only true error on the map by some amazing coincidence was the first county picked by our staff person to check as she began to make our own map. This led to our further checks and the call to you. We would be very much interested in seeing any explanatory note regarding those counties in Virginia where the percent of Negro population includes the population of independent cities.

Enclosed are tables showing examples of our other difficulties. "Attachment A" shows selected counties for Alabama and North Carolina. Of eleven counties, ten show discrepancies between the First Count data (HUD-ORNL tapes) and the printed (PC(1)-B2) Census data. We would like to know if these differences are because of the adjustments made in characteristics after the first

count. "Attachment B" simply shows the discrepancies between our data (First Count) and the map. We would assume that these differences are also related to the adjustments made regarding characteristics.

We greatly appreciate your assistance. Let me know if you need a wider selection of counties showing discrepancies between the two sets of data.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Program Officer

EFV/gms

ATTACHMENT B

Discrepancies between SRC Data from First Count and Census map on Percent Negro Population.

	County and State	Percent Negro Population
Inconsistent:		
1.	Cleveland County, Ark.	10.0--19.9 on census map 20.0--in our data
2.	Drew County, Ark.	30.0-49.9 on census map 29.9 our data
3.	Saline County, Ark.	Less than 5.0 on census map 5.9--our data
4.	Washington County, Ala.	20.0-29.9 on census map 30.3 in our data
5.	Brantley County, Ga.	5.0-9.9 on census map 10.0 in our data
6.	Chatooga County, Ga.	5.0-9.9 on census map 10.0 in our data
7.	Douglas County, Ga.	5.0-9.9 on census map 11.0 in our data
8.	McIntosh County, Ga.	30.0-49.9 on census map 52.6 in our data
9.	Walker County, Ga.	Less than 5.0 on census map 5.0 in our data
10.	White County, Ga.	Less than 5.0 on census map 5.9 on our data

ATTACHMENT A

ALABAMA

Black 1970 Data:	(First Count Tapes)	Census book Ala. Negro 1970 data:
Autauga	6,933	6,911
Baldwin	10,576	10,569
Barbour	10,409	10,389
Bibb	3,920	3,850
Blount	764	629
Bullock	7,972	7,965

North Carolina

Black 1970 Data:	(First Count Tapes)	Census Book N.C. Negro 1970 Data:
Alamance	17,099	17,099
Alexander	1,521	1,440
Alleghany	289	236
Anson	10,598	10,908
Ashe	283	205

4/11/73
Completed
[illegible]

Separate copies

to
1) Tucker
2) MM
3) Bretcher
4) Lacy

f.y.i

[illegible]

4/9/73

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Social and Economic Statistics Administration
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

April 9, 1973

Mr. Emory F. Via
Program Officer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

As we discussed by telephone, a number of adjustments for Virginia cities were made in the preparation of the GE-50 Maps. The enclosure shows how the independent cities were combined with adjoining counties.

In regards to the problem of the counts for Blacks obtained from the First Count tapes, printed versions of the numbers you provided are contained in the Advance Reports (PC(V2)) released in late 1970 and early 1971. The figures in these reports are the same as those on the First Count tapes (and are also incorrect).

Counts of the Negro population for counties in 1960 can be obtained from Tables 25 and 28 of the PC(1)-B reports (1960). Each table requires some aggregation since Table 25 presents race data for county subdivisions (but not the total county), and Table 28 presents race data crossed by sex for counties.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can provide any further assistance.

Sincerely,

Michael G. Garland

MICHAEL G. GARLAND, Chief
Data Access and Use Laboratory
Data User Services Office
Bureau of the Census

Enclosure

4/9/71

Adjustments of data for Virginia cities in preparation of GE-50 Map Series

Virginia Independent Cities Shown Separately

1) Chesapeake
2) Hampton
3) Lynchburg
4) Newport News
5) Norfolk
6) Portsmouth
7) Richmond
8) Roanoke
9) Virginia Beach

Virginia Independent Cities Combined with County or Counties:

1) Alexandria - Arlington Co.
2) Bedford - Bedford Co.
3) Bristol - Washington Co.
4) Buena Vista - Rockbridge Co.
5) Charlottesville - Albermarle Co.
6) Clifton Forge) - Alleghany Co.
7) Covington)
8) Colonial Heights - Chesterfield Co.
9) Danville - Pittsylvania Co.
10) Emporia - Greenville Co.
11) Fairfax - Fairfax Co.
12) Falls Church - Fairfax Co.
13) Franklin - Southampton Co.
14) Fredericksburg - Spotsylvania Co.
15) Galax - (split 50/50 (Carroll Co.
(Grayson Co.
16) Harrisonburg - Rockingham Co.
17) Hopewell - Prince George Co.
18) Lexington - Rockbridge Co.
19) Martinsville - Henry Co.
20) Norton - Wise Co.
21) Petersburg - Dinwiddie Co.
22) Radford - Montgomery Co.
23) Salem - Roanoke Co.
24) South Boston - Halifax Co.
25) Staunton) - Augusta County
26) Waynesboro)
27) Suffolk - Nansemond Co.
28) Williamsburg - (split 50/50) - (James City Co.
(York Co.
29) Winchester - Fredrick Co.

[4-12-73]

This is a revised edition from Tucker's draft.

GROWTH OF PLACES BY SIZE AND BY COLOR OF POPULATION*

by

Jack C. Tucker and Everett S. Lee**

One of the recommendations of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future was that consideration be given to a population distribution policy. With the fall in the birth rate this recommendation takes on additional importance. If we are indeed approaching zero population growth, increase in one part of the nation must necessarily be at the expense of others. This, of course, is not new. The growth of the cities has been due in no small measure to migration from the countryside, an unplanned but necessary redistribution of population which has had enormous consequences for both metropolitan and rural areas. In recent years we have seen the rapid expansion of suburban areas along with the decline of the central city and the outright depopulation of the countryside. There are now about 500 counties in the United States that are so depleted of young adults that deaths exceed births, and growth in the central cities is essentially nil. Thus we have on, the one hand, suburbs that are growing into each other to form gigantic conglomerations, while decline characterizes most of the countryside.

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*Paper presented at the Southern Sociological Society Meeting, April 12-14, 1973

**University of Georgia

A continuation of present trends would mean that nearly all of the growth occurring over the next few decades would take place in the ring counties of metropolitan areas and in the transportation corridors that connect the major population centers. There is, in fact, the unpleasant prospect that a full half of the national population will be included in three great metropolitan aggregates, one centered around New York, one around Chicago, and one along the West Coast connecting Los Angeles and San Francisco. Prospects such as these emphasize the necessity of asking whether such unplanned development should continue, or whether we should opt for a different distribution by reestablishing industry and population in smaller towns and cities. In considering this possibility it is useful to take a look at the growth that has taken place in smaller towns and cities. Are they too in a state of decline or do they show some tendency toward renewed growth and development? The fact is we can find both enthusiastic and pessimistic appraisals by people who have presumably been looking at the same data. We venture to say that, the discrepancies in appraisal result in part from a failure to take historical development or trends into account.

In order to establish a consistent series, we have created a file of all places in the United States that had 2,500 or more inhabitants in 1950. For each of these places we have recorded the total populations in 1950, 1960, and 1970, along with the number of blacks and nonblacks. We have furthermore classified each place by location within standard metropolitan statistical areas or outside such areas. The classification of counties as metropolitan or nonmetropolitan was

on the basis of 1960 or 1970 identification. Each individual place, however, is picked up as of 1950 and followed forward through 1960 and 1970.

We emphasize that location in regard to a metropolis is a matter of the greatest importance. From data analyzed by Fuguitt, Ritchey, and ourselves, it is apparent that the great majority of the new places that spring up are included in metropolitan areas, and that the growth of existing places is much affected by distance from a large city and by location along an interstate highway. These considerations are, in fact, so important that we doubt that many instances of remarkable growth will be found in places that are otherwise situated and that have not been affected by the sudden development of an army base or similar installation nearby.

In addition to location in regard to a metropolis we shall be concerned with location by region. In this paper, however, we shall limit ourselves to a comparison of the most deviant region, the South, with the United States as a whole. Another major concern is the distribution of black and white populations within places of various size, and the growth of black and white populations in different kinds of places. To the best of our knowledge, no such analysis by race has yet been attempted.

Data. As of 1950 we could identify 4,044 places, both incorporated and unincorporated, and we were able to trace forward to 1960 3,901 of these places, the others having been incorporated into larger places or were no longer identifiable in the census. Similarly, we could trace

forward to 1970, 3,697 places that were identifiable in 1970. In every case we deal with cities identifiable at both ends of the decade, and our classifications by size are as of the beginning of the decade. Thus, even though places fall below the minimal size level for the group, or grew above its upper limit, we include it within the cohort we were tracing.

Table 1 gives the location of places by size for 1960 and 1970. It is immediately clear from this table and from Chart 1 that the proportion of places that are within metropolitan areas increases with size of place. As of 1960, one of five places in the 2,500-5,000 category was in a metropolitan county. For the next largest size category, the proportion rose to about 30 percent, and for the 10,000-25,000 category it was fully 40 percent. No fewer than 50 percent of the places with 25,000-50,000 inhabitants were in metropolitan areas. In 1970, these tendencies were even more pronounced. Thus the choice of places as growth centers is severely restricted, if we intend to choose only those located away from metropolitan areas.

NO!

Among the regions the South stands out as the one with the smaller SMSA's; in consequence, a smaller proportion of the places below 50,000 are found in metropolitan areas, regardless of size. As of 1960, for example, only 15 percent of the places of 2,500 to 5,000 population were in metropolitan areas, as compared with 20 percent for the United States as a whole. And, although the proportion in metropolitan areas increased with size of place just as it did for the nation, only two in five places of 25,000-50,000 inhabitants were in

Southern metropolitan areas as compared with one in two for the rest of the country. Thus the South lags behind the rest of the country in urbanization, but it also has a relatively larger number of places that might be chosen for development if the initial criterion were location away from a metropolitan area.

In Table 2 we consider rates of growth by size of place for places located in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. For the 1950-60 decade, the rates of growth were almost uniformly high, about 30 percent growth in total population for the places included in this file. There was, however, no consistent trend in rate of growth by size of place when no account was taken of location.

This was not the case, however, for places located within metropolitan areas. For these places, the growth rate was very high for the smallest places, over 75 percent, and it fell with each larger category of size of place to little more than 30 percent for places in the 25,000 - 50,000 group. Outside metropolitan areas there was rather little variation in rate of growth. For places of 2,500 - 5,000 through 10,000 - 25,000 the rate of growth was almost exactly the same as for the nation as a whole, 18 percent, but in the 25,000 - 50,000 category it fell to 14 percent.

As was true for the nation's population, the rate of growth fell sharply for all categories of places, regardless of location, in the following decade (1960-70). On the whole, however, places located in metropolitan areas grew more rapidly than those located outside such areas; in fact, places located in nonmetropolitan areas had a rate of growth only 70 percent of that for the nation. Also in contrast to the

boom decade of the 1950's, it was now the smallest places that had the lowest rates of growth, rather than the largest. For places within metropolitan areas the variation in rates of growth was very little for the 5,000 and above category, but in nonmetropolitan areas the slowest rate of growth was in the smallest and largest places, in both instances less than half the national rate.

Rates for blacks and for nonblacks were similar in pattern, though as was true for the nation as a whole, the growth rates for black population ran ahead of those for the remainder of the population. For 1950-60 the increase of blacks in places located in metropolitan areas was especially great, no less than 50 percent for all types of places combined and almost 90 percent for the smallest places. By contrast the rate of growth in nonmetropolitan places was less than half as great as in metropolitan locations, varying from about a fifth to a quarter by size of place.

For 1960-70, the growth rates for blacks were down very sharply. For places of all sizes and location the rates were about half what they had been in the previous decade, and for nonmetropolitan locations the rate was less than nine percent as compared with 22 percent in 1950-60. A marked shift had taken place in the pattern of growth by size within metropolitan areas. In the 1960-70 decade there was a decrease of 17 percent in black population in places of 2,500 - 5,000 population located within metropolitan areas, and for each increase in size of place there was an increase in the growth of black population. For the metropolitan category, 25,000 - 50,000 inhabitants, the rate of growth of black population was 45 percent, less than the 57 percent

of the previous decade, but very high in view of the overall rate of growth of black population. Thus, it seems that the tendency for black population to increase fastest in the very largest central cities holds also in regard to larger places in the metropolitan rings.

For nonblacks, as for the total population, the rate of growth was much higher for places in metropolitan areas than for places located outside metropolitan areas, but the reduction in rate of growth in 1960-70 as compared with 1950-60 was even sharper for nonblacks than for whites. In metropolitan areas, for example, the rate of growth for places of all sizes fell from 48 to 23 percent, and in nonmetropolitan areas from 18 to nine percent. Thus, regardless of race, the rate of growth of places in any size category in nonmetropolitan areas was less than the national average. Along with absolute decreases of population in rural areas we now have a situation where places of less than metropolitan size grow more slowly than does the nation as a whole. This is not so clearly apparent if we do not adopt a cohort approach.

One of the most striking aspects of change over the two decades was the fall in rates of growth for blacks in the South, regardless of location (Table 3). In both decades, for all locations and for most size categories, the rate of growth for blacks fell below that for nonblacks in each decade. The decrease in rate of growth was sharper for the black than for the nonblack population, however. As of 1960-70 the growth rate of the black population in the places under consideration was less than the average rate of growth for the country as a whole. Only in places of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants located in metropolitan areas did the growth rate of Southern blacks come up the national

average of 20 percent for blacks. In places of nonmetropolitan location the rates were only two or three percent for cities of 10,000 - 50,000 population.

Thus, not only is the South becoming increasingly non-black in her nonmetropolitan counties, but also in the ring populations. On the assumption that the rate of net outmigration of blacks from Southern nonmetropolitan counties is related to the proportion black in the county, we tabulated the proportion of places in nonmetropolitan counties losing black population by size of place for the South. Table 4 summarizes this tabulation.

Loss of black population is related to initial size of place. The smallest places in the nonmetropolitan South had a tendency to lose blacks more frequently than larger places. In general, places with 20 to 30 percent black population were less likely to lose black population than those with larger or smaller percentages of blacks. Although there were only a few places in other regions of the United States that had proportions of blacks as high as 20 percent, a similar result was obtained there, though not to the same degree.

Altogether, there are several trends in growth by size of place in the 1960's which are not found in the 1950's according to our as yet incomplete analysis of the cohort data.

The drop in birthrates during the 1960's not only had the effect of lowering population growth for the United States as a whole but resulted in declining growth rates for metropolitan areas--both central cities and rings. However, while the rate of growth of total

population fell from 18.5 percent in the 1950's to 13.3 percent in the 1960's, a decrease of about 25 percent, growth rates fell 35 percent in metropolitan areas, and 42 percent in the rings.

The growth of urban places, 2,500 to 50,000 in size, also experienced a decline in the 1960's relative to the 1950's, falling a full 48 percent. This decline was found in both metropolitan rings and nonmetropolitan areas.

These trends hold primarily for the nonblack segment of the population. While overall metropolitan growth fell 35 percent from the first to the second decade, growth of the black population in metropolitan areas remained high--32 percent. Furthermore, for places of 2,500 or more within the ring, black growth was 35 percent. There was a direct relationship between growth and size of place inside the ring. The largest places increased by 45 percent while the smallest (2,500 to 5,000) lost by 17 percent. In nonmetropolitan urban places black growth was only six percent, less than half the rates for nonblacks, and less than one-third of the overall growth rate of blacks during the 1960's.

Obviously several processes of population redistribution are at work. Blacks continue to migrate to metropolitan areas and particularly to the largest places within them. Undoubtedly the rural-urban stream has been reinforced with migrants from smaller to larger places.

The overall growth of the white population in the United States during the 1960's was about 12 percent--in metropolitan areas, 14 percent, and nonmetropolitan, 7.4 percent. The increase in metropolitan rings was 28 percent. Yet, for urban places in the ring, every size category had <u>lower</u> rates of growth than the totality of the rings.

In nonmetropolitan areas, white growth in urban places was only a little higher than overall nonmetropolitan growth for whites.

Finally, one of the most unusual findings in this study is that urban places in nonmetropolitan areas had an 8.5 percent increase in black population--almost identical with that for whites--despite an overall four percent decline in nonmetropolitan black population. In the South as well as in the remainder of the country, larger places seemed more attractive to blacks than to whites.

Table 1

Places of 2,500 to 50,000 Population in the United States
by Metropolitan Location in 1960 and 1970 and by Size of Place*

Size of Place	1960			1970		
	Total	In Metro-politan Area	Pro-portion Metro-politan	Total	In Metro-politan Area	Pro-portion Metro-politan
2,000 - 4,999	1,228	251	.204	1,022	233	.228
5,000 - 9,999	1,224	398	.325	1,178	407	.346
10,000 - 24,999	944	402	.426	992	472	.476
25,000 - 49,999	352	175	.497	411	233	.567
All Places	3,748	1,226	.327	3,603	1,345	.373

*Places are those of 2,500-50,000 in 1950, but size of place is as of the beginning of the preceding decade.

Table 2

Percent Increase in Population by Size of Place*
at Beginning of the Decade and by Color
United States, 1950-60 and 1960-70

Size of Place and Color	1950-60			1960-70		
	All Places	Metro-politan	Non-Metro-politan	All Places	Metro-politan	Non-Metro-politan
Total:						
2,500 - 4,999	35.1	78.8	17.4	7.4	10.3	6.4
5,000 - 9,999	31.7	55.1	19.4	16.8	23.2	12.8
10,000 - 24,999	32.1	49.7	19.6	16.8	25.2	8.6
25,000 - 49,999	22.9	31.4	13.5	16.3	23.8	5.6
Total	30.2	48.4	17.9	15.6	23.4	8.6
Black:						
2,500 - 4,999	28.1	87.9	18.3	1.8	-16.7	5.7
5,000 - 9,999	25.3	45.8	21.3	16.2	26.0	13.7
10,000 - 24,999	29.8	40.8	25.2	14.4	33.1	5.8
25,000 - 49,999	36.0	56.9	21.2	25.2	45.1	8.3
Total	30.1	52.4	21.9	16.9	34.7	8.5
Non-Black:						
2,500 - 4,999	35.6	78.4	17.3	7.8	11.7	6.5
5,000 - 9,999	32.2	55.4	19.2	16.8	23.1	12.7
10,000 - 24,999	32.2	50.2	19.1	17.0	24.9	8.9
25,000 - 49,999	21.8	29.7	12.7	15.5	22.4	5.3
Total	30.2	48.2	17.5	15.5	22.8	8.6

*Places are those of 2,500-50,000 in 1950, but size of place is as of the beginning of the preceding decade.

Table 3

Percent Increase in Population by Size of Place
at Beginning of Decade and by Color
South, 1950-60 and 1960-70

Size of Place and Color	1950-60			1960-70		
	All Places	Metro-politan	Non-Metro-politan	All Places	Metro-politan	Non-Metro-politan
Total:						
2,500 - 4,999	27.9	42.2	21.1	7.6	10.0	7.2
5,000 - 9,999	31.2	39.0	26.4	23.0	30.0	21.3
10,000 - 24,999	37.7	62.0	28.8	12.6	19.1	9.7
25,000 - 49,999	29.0	44.1	19.7	16.7	30.4	6.5
Total	32.1	49.1	24.7	15.6	25.0	11.7
Black:						
2,500 - 4,999	21.5	39.3	17.8	5.9	16.6	5.0
5,000 - 9,999	24.2	46.3	21.1	13.7	14.7	13.6
10,000 - 24,999	27.5	45.9	23.4	5.9	16.4	3.0
25,000 - 49,999	20.6	34.6	13.5	9.5	22.1	2.1
Total	23.8	40.1	19.6	8.9	18.9	6.0
Non-Black:						
2,500 - 4,999	29.5	42.6	22.0	8.0	9.3	7.8
5,000 - 9,999	32.9	38.1	27.8	25.3	32.0	23.4
10,000 - 24,999	40.2	64.5	30.4	14.1	19.6	11.5
25,000 - 49,999	31.3	46.4	21.6	18.4	32.1	7.7
Total	34.2	50.7	26.1	17.2	26.0	13.3

Table 4

Percentage of Non-Metropolitan Places in the South Losing Black Population, 1960 to 1970, by Size of Place and Percent of Black Population in 1960

Size of Place	Percent of Black Population				
	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	40+
2,500 - 4,999	55	48	39	39	42
5,000 - 9,999	52	42	28	33	47
10,000 - 24,999	39	34	40	55	43
25,000 - 49,999	47	31	36	50	33

[4/12/73]

4/12/73 — Cynthia T.

1) SRC is interested in cooperating with SRDG & cooperating groups. Data available to public & is being used, when are proposed reports going to be done

2) Use of Oak Ridge by SRC
avoid duplication

Sub-regions, Crossing State lines
Ray M, Rockefeller, SRC, how draw lines
L Some Sub-regs. not looking to future problems —

Everything on cost reimbursable basis
programs & data are public info
may get delays from priority use of computer by AEC & other agencies
Time is a problem — plan ahead 2 months —

Encourages multi-instit'l rs. to solve or programming —

State Pop. Dynamics — committee of SRDG
may be interested in monograph series —
get to density topics

So South Pol. Rd —

UNC – South Bd – SRDC

Joint Conference —

3-D map showing densities —

one interest is transportation

[ME NSF proposal from Fla. State (poverty in region)

Phillip Sorenson – Charles Gregg

Baker (?)]

SGPB —

Economic development

Map of Public Use Sample Data Groups

Cynthia will send it

OBEA areas — Office Bureau of Economic Analysis

Economic department in Public Use Sample is usually 2 BEA areas

→ arose because SMSA state wasn't sufficient

Lee -

Preliminary net migration by counties -

5M new jobs needed by 1980

NPA has projections @ State level (may have some SMSA's)

~~John Wong (?)~~ Joe Wanlee

Wm Hong

1% of pop & housing guest -

Best used for experimentation (to test what goes right what from fall down, & where to focus) also good for training -

Services limits in looking @ smaller units

Marty Levin

Abbott Farris — Demographics of Education

[Garbarch]

Ed. T. F — demographic
white flight
(neighborhood sample — being used @ Emory (more estoric things))
Economic data related to school finance

~~sto~~
School age out of School — in Published data also check
1) Density of Fed Statistics
2) Density of Non-Fed Statistics
as a check against ed'l source data

[Teacher displacement — is it available less than every 10 years —

ed'l needs —
related to population location, migration —

Oak Ridge has:
County business patterns –
1952 - 1967 , 1969 4 digit SIC codes

Econ Dev. T.F.

Katherine Taylor –
did Atlanta study, Lab. Econ., Follows BLS

(?) R.L. Polk & Co. – City Directories – Annual basis –
collect "tons" of data
business; housing inventories
$5T/city to get the data –

Urban Statistical Division
431 Howard St., Detroit, Mich 48231

Miss

Miss State —

2 people Statistical profile of State economic & demographic —

Transp Dept intercity studies

Active interest in SGPBd.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Tucker

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

May 22, 1973

Mr. Jack Tucker
University of Alabama
Department of Sociology
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Dear Mr. Tucker,

I am enclosing 11 new sets of the calculations for percentage Negro population in 1970 and the change in number and percentage Negro population from 1960 to 1970. These have been completely proofed now and we trust are correct.

In addition to the calculations for Virginia's counties, the calculations for nine independent cities are shown separately. The other independent cities (29) are combined with counties. The combinations are those used by the Bureau of the Census and were recommended to us. Since 1960 Norfolk County and South Norfolk City were combined to form Chesapeake City. Princess Anne County was made part of Virginia Beach City. For comparing the 1970 population with the 1960, the same procedures were used to group the counties and independent cities even though some of the divisions did not exist per se in 1960. For example, Chesapeake's figures for 1960 are those for Norfolk County and South Norfolk City together. Please refer to the enclosed letter and list for combinations.

Sincerely yours,

Gretchen Maclachlan

Gretchen Maclachlan

Enc.

EV - All if E. Lee has

5/22/73

we need 1970 Census volumes:

~~5 General Social and Economic Characteristics~~

for:

~~Arkansas PC(1) - C 5~~

~~North Carolina " 35~~

~~Texas " 45~~

Detailed Characteristics for

Alabama PC(1) - D 2

Louisiana PC(1) - D 20

Mississippi PC(1) - D 26

Texas PC(1) - D 45

Virginia PC(1) - D 48

Thanks

Everett Lee: Univ of Ga

[5/25/73]

Dear Everett:

I make an odd request of you. We are unable to obtain certain Census publications due to backlogs in Washington. It would be a great help to us to have these materials in our possession rather than being dependent on a library. Is there a chance that you are "oversupplied"

(over)

With any of the following and ~~you~~ could either make us a gift or a long term loan (until September)? of them? The items we are after are:

<u>Detailed Characteristics For</u>

Alabama	PC(1) – D 2
Louisiana	PC(1) – D 20
Mississippi	PC(1) – D-26
Texas	PC(1) – D-45
Virginia	PC(1) – 48

Sorry to bother you with this matter, but any assistance would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

E.T.D.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
GEORGE H. ESSER, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

A Council formed from the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 25, 1973

Mr. Everett Lee
Department of Sociology
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Everett:

I make an odd request of you. We are unable to obtain certain Census publications due to backlogs in Washington. It would be a great help to us to have these materials in our possession rather than being dependent on a library. Is there a chance that you are "oversupplied" with any of the following and could either make us a gift or a long-term loan (until September) of them? The items we are after are:

<u>Detailed Characteristics for</u>

Alabama	PC(1) - D2
Louisiana	PC(1) - D20
Mississippi	PC(1) - D26
Texas	PC(1) - D 45
Virginia	PC(1) - 48

Sorry to bother you with this matter, but any assistance would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV/gms

[pp. 4a, b, c, + d.]
Sel Clep Hen

File SRDG

SRDG newsletter

Southern Regional Demographic Group

No. 12 May 1973

SRDG ANNUAL MEETING

The Southern Regional Demographic Group's annual meeting for 1973 will be held October 12-13 at the Atlanta American Motor Hotel in Atlanta. A Program Committee has been appointed by the Executive Committee to decide on a central theme for the meeting and to develop the program. A nightclub tour of Underground Atlanta is planned for Friday evening.

REGISTRATION AND HOTEL RESERVATION FORMS will appear in future newsletters, along with more information on the program.

RESEARCH REPORTS will be included in the program with the purpose of facilitating information exchange and promoting awareness of current research in the South. Reports are not intended to be long, prepared papers but rather brief descriptions emphasizing the type of research the individual is involved in. Anyone who would like to make a short research report at the annual meeting should fill out the form on the last page of this newsletter and return it to the SRDG office.

****

Ninety-five percent of those who returned their ballots approved the REVISED BYLAWS FOR SRDG. Approximately 50% of those eligible to vote did so. Approval of the majority of those responding was necessary for passage.

Under the revised bylaws, anyone with a major professional commitment to population research and training who resides in the Southern region (defined as those states which have ORAU member institutions) may become a regular member of SRDG by written request to the Executive Secretary of SRDG; university affiliation is no longer necessary for regular membership.

Under the new bylaws, SRDG has more than 230 voting members.

~~South - Research~~ Data, general

New File : Research : Southern Data, general

JUNE 25, 1973

TO: TASK FORCE COORDINATORS
FROM: RESEARCH AND INFORMATION

Attached is some information gathered for an outside request, but it may be useful to you also.

1970 Census (Series PC(1), Bureau of the Census)	Alabama	Arkansas	Florida	Georgia	Louisiana	Mississippi	Tennessee
Total No. Families in State	874,659	505,195	1,811,367	1,149,771	872,772	534,444	1,024,446
No. receiving public assist.	70,847	38,900	86,946	90,832	92,514	59,323	60,412
% receiving public assist.	8.1	7.7	4.8	7.9	10.6	11.1	5.9
No. white families in state	687,543	431,959	1,587,846	902,364	647,398	374,229	891,588
No. receiving public assist.	34,377	22,894	49,223	40,606	38,196	19,460	37,447
% receiving public assist.	5.0	5.3	3.1	4.5	5.9	5.2	4.2
No. black families in state	186,092	72,242	218,332	245,860	223,500	159,070	131,693
No. black receiving public assist	36,474	15,604	36,461	50,893	54,087	39,449	23,046
% receiving public assist.	19.6	21.6	16.7	20.7	24.2	24.8	17.5
Black recipient families as % of total recip. fam.	51.5	40.1	41.9	56.0	58.5	66.5	38.1
Total no. Unrelated Indiv. in State	200,656	132,630	611,189	293,609	233,773	131,993	239,038
No. receiving public assist.	25,483	20,956	33,004	32,591	40,209	21,251	19,840
% receiving public assist.	12.7	15.8	5.4	11.1	17.2	16.1	8.3
No. white unrelated indiv. in state	140,590	104,637	517,897	211,688	161,770	80,682	192,923
No. receiving public assist.	13,637	13,394	19,680	15,877	20,059	7,907	12,733
% receiving public assist.	9.7	12.8	3.8	7.5	12.4	9.8	6.6
No. black unrelated indiv. in state	59,568	27,655	90,927	81,095	71,206	50,971	45,256
No. black receiving public assist.	11,675	7,605	13,093	16,868	20,080	13,303	6,879
% receiving public assist.	19.6	27.5	14.4	20.8	28.2	26.1	15.2
Black recipient unrelated indiv. as % of total recipient indiv.	45.8	36.3	39.7	51.8	49.9	62.6	34.7

NUMBER OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS - 1970*

ALABAMA

113,300	OAA
148,100	AFDC
1,900	Aid to the blind
17,800	Permanent disabled
100	General Assistance
281,200	Total

ARKANSAS

58,300	OAA
73,300	AFDC
1,700	Aid to the blind
12,100	Permanent disabled
300	General Assistance
145,700	

FLORIDA

57,600	OAA
320,600	AFDC
2,300	Aid to the blind
22,800	Permanent disabled
7,800	General Assistance
411,100	Total

GEORGIA**

90,800	OAA
310,000	AFDC
3,300	Aid to the blind
39,400	Permanent disabled
1,800	General Assistance
445,300	Total

LOUISIANA

115,400	OAA
240,600	AFDC
2,300	Aid to the blind
22,400	Permanent disabled
8,600	General Assistance
389,300	Total

NUMBER-OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS - 1970

MISSISSIPPI

81,100	OAA
153,200	AFDC
2,200	Aid to the blind
25,900	Permanent disabled
1,200	General Assistance
263,600	Total

TENNESSEE

49,800	OAA
187,100	AFDC
1,700	Aid to the blind
27,500	Permanent disabled
1,600	General Assistance
267,700	Total

NORTH CAROLINA

35,200	OAA
165,900	AFDC
4,700	Aid to the blind
31,700	Permanent disabled
1,900	General Assistance
239,400	Total

SOUTH CAROLINA

17,600	OAA
90,300	AFDC
1,900	Aid to the blind
11,600	Permanent disabled
100	General Assistance
121,500	Total

TEXAS

210,900	OAA
416,200	AFDC
3,800	Aid to the blind
25,000	Permanent disabled
7,700	General Assistance
663,600	Total

VIRGINIA

14,200	OAA
145,400	AFDC
1,200	Aid to the blind
10,800	Permanent disabled
6,800	General Assistance
178,400	Total

*1970 Census- General Social and Economic Characteristics.
**As of June 1,1973, total is 454,118, of whom 322,149 are black and 131,969 are white. 71% are black.

?

of 1st table for 1970

Where apparently approx 50% are Bl?

State	Total No. Elected Officials 1	No. black Elected Officials 2	% black	Total No. Legislators 3	No. black Legislators 4	% black	Total No. Law Enforc. Officials 5	No. black Law Enforc. Officials 6	% black	Total No. Elected School Officials 7	No. black Elected School Officials 8	% black
Alabama	4,060	144	3.5	141	2	1.4		55		392	12	3.1
Arkansas	10, 289	140	1.4	135	4	3.0		19		2,200	51	2.3
Florida	5,070	51	1.0	167	3	1.8		1		407	3	0.7
Georgia	7,226	104	1.4	251	16	6.4		6		752	28	3.7
Louisiana	4,761	127	2.7	144	8	5.6		29		761	37	4.9
Mississippi	4,761	144	3.0	174	1	0.6		41		553	26	4.7
Tennessee	7,877	69	0.9	132	9	6.8		29		143	12	8.4
N.C.	5,504	108	2.0	170	3	1.8		1		-	29	
S.C.	3,078	98	3.2	170	4	2.4		12		419	23	5.5
Virginia	3,587	60	1.7	140	3	2.1		4		-	-	
Texas	23,038	98	0.4	181	8	4.4		1		8,715	47	0.5

* Explanation of numbers attached on second sheet (1,2,3,etc.)

SOURCES *

1-1967 Census of Government, Topical Studies No.1, Popularly Eleceted Officials of State & Local Government, p. 8.

2-Black Elected Officials In The South, Voter Education Project, pii, 1973.

3-The Book of States, p.66, 1973.

4-Black Elected Officials In The South, VEP, pii, 1973. (Includes, Representatives and Senators).

5-

6-Black Elected Officials In The South, VEP, pii, 1973, (Includes, Judges and/or Constables, Justices of the Peace, Marshals & Sheriffs).

7-Figures for Ala., N.C., S.C., Va., and Texas are based on the 1967 Census of Government, Topical Studies No.1, Popularly Elected Officiala of State and Local Government, p.8.

Figures for Arkansas, Fla., Ga., La., and Tenn. was gotten over telephone. These figures are based on 1971-72 sources. Tennessee is based on 1973 source.

8-Black Elected Officials In The South, VEP, pii, 1973, (Includes School Board Members, and/or Superintendent, School Board President & Chairman).

Via - fyi

CLARK COLLEGE □ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

File So Reg. Demog. Group

June 26, 1973

Mrs. Lucy R. Watkins
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Lucy:

Thank you for your very informative letter of June 21 regarding the Southern Regional Demographic Group. I have followed the development of this organization with a great deal of interest. It appears that it is well off the ground and is moving. I shall be pleased to share in the October 12-13 meeting in Atlanta, and I have marked the same on my calendar. Please keep me informed as to program developments.

Kindest personal regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian W. Henderson

/dh

Member United Negro College Fund

Pop. Studies
Teacher

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
INSTITUTE FOR BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH
624 GRADUATE STUDIES RESEARCH CENTER
ATHENS, GEORGIA 30602

TELEPHONE: 404-542-1806

NSF POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION
637 Graduate Studies Research Center
(404) 542-5937

July 13, 1973

Mr. Emory F. Via
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I never replied to your letter of May 25, but I called your secretary and I am simply writing to see if you did indeed obtain the necessary Census volumes. We have them all and would be glad to lend you whatever you might need.

Jack Tucker was by today to turn in his thesis. You might be interested in knowing that he will be taking a professorship at Atlanta University for the fall, and will certainly be interested in maintaining contact with your group. He has done a rather good thesis, a goodly part of which deals with the growth of black population by size of place, a topic which I believe has not been addressed with any degree of sophistication to date. I think it can be demonstrated that size of place is a crucial consideration for blacks, since with increasing size of place there is increasing opportunity for female occupation and for more than one worker in the same family. We should be pursuing this topic more in the future.

Incidentally, in our work we are increasingly centering upon the South and upon black population. In the near future we would like to invite you and your colleagues over for a presentation of our initial results.

Sincerely yours,

Everett

Everett S. Lee
Professor

ESL:ev

[July, 1973] Population Study
S. Tucker

Heading for Map: Black Population as Percent of Total Population, 1970, Counties of Eleven Southern States

NOTES:

Data Source. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, PC(1)-B Series (based on second count data).

Black. "Black" is synonomous on this map with the Census 1970 definition of "Negro."

Numbers on Counties. The numbers are the percent black population of the total population in each county. The percent was calculated to one decimal place. However, the decimal place was dropped to leave a whole number (e.g., 4.0% to 4.9% is shown as 4%). ~~The resulting number determines which color from the legend is shown.~~ Where there are no blacks, it is indicated by "0"; where the percent blacks ~~are~~ is less than 1.0%, it is indicated by "*".

Virginia. The ~~percent~~ percent black for nine independent cities is: Chesapeake 23%; Hampton 25%; Lynchburg 23%; Newport News 28%; Norfolk 28%; Portsmouth 39%; Richmond 42%; Roanoke 19%; Virginia Beach 9%. The remaining 29 independent cities have been combined by the Census ~~into~~ with adjoining counties.

U.S. total percent black	11.1%
Eleven state total percent black	20.4%

(Published by the Southern Regional Council, July, 1973)

Population Study Jack Tucker Jack Tucker DRAFT for SRDG meeting in [Oct. 12, 1973] Atlanta

One of the recommendations of the Commission on Population and the Nation's Future was that consideration be given to a population distribution policy. With the fall in the birth rate this recommendation takes on additional importance. If we are indeed approaching zero population growth, increase in one part of the nation must necessarily be at the expense of others. This, of course, is not new. The growth of the cities has been due in no small measure to migration from the countryside, an unplanned but necessary redistribution of population which has had enormous consequences for both metropolitan and rural areas. In recent years we have seen the rapid expansion of suburban areas along with the decline of the central city and the outright depopulation of the countryside. There are now about 500 counties in the United States that are so depleted of young adults that deaths exceed births, and growth in the central cities is essentially nil. Thus we have on,the one hand, suburbs that are growing into each other to form gigantic conglomerations, while decline characterizes most of the countryside.

A continuation of present trends would mean that nearly all of the growth occurring over the next few decades would take place in the ring counties of metropolitan areas and in the transportation corridors that connect the major population centers. There is, in fact, the unpleasant prospect that a full half of the national population will be included in three great metropolitan aggregates, one centered around New YOrk, one around Chicago, and one along the

West Coast connecting Los Angeles and San Francisco. Prospects such as these emphasize the necessity of asking whether such unplanned development should continue, or whether we should plan for a different distribution by reestablishing industry and attracting population to smaller towns and cities. In considering this possibility it is useful to take a look at the growth that has taken place in smaller towns and cities. Are they too in a state of decline or do they show some tendency toward renewed growth and development? The fact is we can find both enthusiastic and pessimistic appraisals by people who have presumably been looking at the same data. We venture to say that, in part, the discrepancies in appraisal result from a failure to take historical development or trends into account.

In order to establish a consistent series, we have created a file of all places in the United States that had 2,500 or more inhabitants in 1950. For each of these places we have recorded the total populations in 1950,1960, and 1970, along with the number of blacks and nonblacks. We have furthermore classified each place by location within standard metropolitan statistical areas or outside such areas. The classification of counties as metropolitan or nonmetropolitan was on the basis of 1960 or 1970 identification. Each individual place, however, is picked up as of 1950 and followed forward through 1960 and 1970.

We emphasize that location in regard to a metropolis is a matter of the greatest importance. From data analyzed by Fuguitt, Ritchey, and ourselves, it is apparent that the great majority of new places that spring up are included in metropolitan areas, and that the growth of existing places is much affected by distance

from a large city and by location along an interstate highway. These considerations are, in fact, so important that we doubt that many instances of remarkable growth will be found in places that are otherwise situtated and that have not been affected by the sudden development of an army base or similar installation nearby.

In addition to location in regard to a metropolis we shall be concerned with location by region. In this paper, however, we shall limit ourselves with a comparison of the most deviant region, the South, with the United States as a whole. Another major concern is the distribution of black and white populations within places of varous size, and the growth of black and white populations in different kinds of places. To the best of our knowledge, no such analysis by race has yet been attempted.

Data. As of 1950 we could identify 4,044 places, both incorporated and unincorporated, and we were able to trace forward to 1960 3,901 of these places, the others having been incorporated into larger places or were no longer identifiable in the census. Similarly, we could trace forward to 1970,3697 places that were identifiable in 1970. In every case we deal with cities identifiable at both ends of the decade, and our classifications by size are as of the beginning of the decade. Thus, even though places fall below the minimal size level for the group, or grow above its upper limit, we include it within the cohort we were tracing.

Table 1 gives the location of places by size for ~~each of the three census dates.~~ 1960 and 1970. It is immediately clear from this table and from Chart 1 that the proportion of places that are within metropolitan areas increases with size of place. As of 1960, one out of ~~four~~ five places in the 2500-5000 category was in a metropolitan county. For the next largest size category, the proportion rose to about ~~40~~ 30 percent, and for the 10-25,000 category it was ~~almost~~ nearly ~~50~~ 40 percent. No fewer than ~~60~~ 50 percent of the places with 25-50,000 inhabitants were in metropolitan areas. In 1970 the distribution is even more pronounced. Thus the choice of places as growth centers is severely restricted, if we intend to choose only those located away from metropolitan areas. However between 1950 and 1970 the total number of [illegible] urban places increased from 2500 to 5000. [illegible]

Among the regions, the South stands out as the one with the smaller SMSA's, and perhaps in consequence, a smaller proportion of the places below 50,000 are found in metropolitan areas, regardless of size. As of 1960, for example, only 15 percent of the places of 2500 to 5000 population were in metropolitan areas, (e.g. 5000-10,000 in population) as compared with ~~a quarter~~ 20 percent for the United States as a whole. And, although the proportion in metropolitan areas increased with size of place just as it did for the nation, only two in five (40%) places of 25-50000 inhabitants were in Southern metropolitan areas as compared with ~~three in five~~ one in two (50%) for the rest of the country. Thus the South lags behind the rest of the country in urbanization, but it also has a relatively larger number of places that might be chosen for development if the initial criterion were location away from a metropolitan area.

In Table 2 we consider rates of growth by size of place for places located in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. For the 1950-1960 decade, the rates of growth were almost uniformly high, about 30 percent growth in total population for the places included in this file. There was, however, no consistent trend in rate of growth by size of place when no account was taken of location.

This was not the case, however, for places located within metropolitan areas. For these places, the growth rate was very high for the smallest places, over 75 percent, and it fell with each larger category of size of place to little more than 30 percent for places in the 25-50,000 group. Outside metropolitan areas there was rather little variation in rate of growth. For places of 2500-5000 through 10-25,000 the rate of growth was almost exactly the same as for the nation as a whole, 18 percent, but in the 25-50,000 category it fell to 14 percent.

As was true for the nation's population, the rate of growth fell sharply for all categories of places, regardless of location, in the following decade (1960-1970). On the whole, however, places located in metropolitan areas grew more rapidly than those located outside such areas; in fact, places located in nonmetropolitan areas had a rate of growth only seventy percent of that for the nation. Also in contrast to the boom decade of the 1950's, it was now the smallest places that had the lowest rates of growth, rather than the largest. For places within the metropolitan areas the variation in rates of growth was very little for the 5000 and above category, but in nonmetropolitan areas the slowest rate of growth was in the smallest ~~places~~ and ~~in the~~ largest places, in both instances less than half the national rate.

Rates for blacks and for nonblacks were very similar in pattern, though as was true for the nation as a whole, the growth rates for black population ran ahead of those for the remainder of the population. For 1950-1960 the increase of blacks in places located in metropolitan areas was especially great, no less than 50 percent for all types of places and almost 90 percent for the smallest places. By contrast the rate of growth in nonmetropolitan places was less than half as great as in metropolitan locations, varying from little more than from a fifth to a quarter by size of plece.

For 1960-1970, the growth rates for blacks were down very sharply. For places of all sizes and location the rates were about half what they had been in the previous decade, and for nonmetropolitan locations the rate was less than 9 percent as compared with 22 percent in 1950-1960. A marked shift had taken place in the pattern of growth by size within metropolitan areas. In the 1960-70 decade there was a decrease of 17 percent in black population in places of 3500-5000 population located within metropolitan areas, and for each increase in size of place there was an increase in the growth of black population. For the category 25-50,000 inhabitants, the rate of growth of black population was no less than 45 percent, less it is true than the 57 percent of the previous decade, but very high in view of the overall rate of growth of black population. Thus, it seems that the tendency for black population to increase fastest in the very largest central cities holds also in regard to larger places in the metropolitan rings.

For nonblacks, as for the total population, the rate of growth was much higher for places in metropolitan areas than for places located outside metropolitan areas, but the reduction in rate of growth in 1960-70 as compared with 1950-60 was even sharper for nonblacks than for whites. In metropolitan areas, for example, the rate of growth for places of all sizes fell from 48 to 23 percent, and in nonmetropolitan areas from 18 to 9 percent. Thus, regardless of race, the rate of growth of places in any size category in nonmetropolitan areas was less than the national average. Along with absolute decreases of population in rural areas we now have a situation where places up to metropolitan size, that is less than 50,000 grow at less than the average rate for the country as a whole. This is not apparent if we do not adopt a cohort approach.

One of the most striking aspects of the change in rates of growth over the two decades was the fall in rates of growth for blacks in the South, regardless of location (Table 3). In both decades ~~and~~ for all locations and for most size categories, the rate of growth for blacks fell below that for whites in each decade. The decrease in rate of growth was sharper for the black than for the nonblack population, however. As of 1960-1970 the growth rate of the black population in the places under consideration was less than the average rate of growth for the country as a whole. Only in places of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants located in metropolitan areas did the growth rate of Southern blacks come up to the national average of 20 percent for blacks. ~~in the nation as a whole~~. In places ~~in~~ nonmetropolitan locations the rates were only 2 or 3 percent for places of 10 to 50,000 population.

Thus, not only is the south becoming increasingly non-black in her non-metropolitan counties, but also in her urban and metro populations. Realizing that rates of net outmigration of blacks from Southern nonmetropolitan counties are almost directly related to the proportion black in the county, we tabulated the proportion of places in nonmetro counties losing black population by size of place for the South. Table 4 summarizes this tabulation.

Loss of Black Population is related to initial size of place. The smallest places in the non-metropolitan South had a tendency to lose blacks more frequently than larger places. There is also a tendency for places, regardless of size to have an optimal proportion of blacks in terms of potential loss. That is, places of 20 to 30 percent black were less likely to lose black population during the decade in contrast to those places having larger or smaller percentages to begin with. Although there were only a few places in other Regions of the United States that had proportions of blacks as high as twenty percent (none had greater than 40), this trend still tended to hold true, although not to the same degree.

Altogether, there are several trends in growth by size of place in the 1960's which are not found in the 1950-1960 decade that have been observed in our yet incomplete analysis of all the cohort data.

The drop in birthrates during the 60's had not only the effect of lowering population growth for the United States as a whole but resulted in declining growth rates for Metropolitan Areas — both central cities and the metropolitan ring. However, while rates for the United States fell from 18.5 percent in the fifties to 13.3 percent in the sixties for a decrease of about 25 percent, growth rates fell 35 percent for metropolitan areas. Growth of metro rings fell 42 percent.

These declines in growth for metro areas, out of proportion to the decline in birth rates, in all likelihood reflect a much reduced rate of net in-migration to metro areas. Decline in ring growth does not imply a letup in suburban migration of whites since central cities also tended to decline in their growth also.

The growth of urban places 2,500 to 50,000 also witnessed a decline in the sixties relative to the fifties, falling a full 48 percent. This decline was found both in nonmetro areas and the metropolitan ring to about the same degree.

The above trends hold primarily for the non-black segment of the population.

While overall metro growth fell 35 percent in comparing the two decades, growth of the black population in metro areas remained high at 32 percent and about evenly divided between central city and metro ring in the sixties. Furthermore, within the metro ring in urban places outside central cities, black growth was 35 percent. There was a direct relationship between growth and size of place inside the ring. The largest places increased by 45 percent and the smallest (2,500 to 5,000) lost by 17 percent.

Table ? II cf 1960 1970

In non-metro urban places black growth was only six percent, less than half the rates for white growth in these places and less than one-third the overall growth rates of the black population for the decade.

We feel, on the basis of current data analysis, that there are several population distribution processes at work. Blacks are continuing to migrate to large urban places in metro areas. This migration stream may no longer be necessarily characterized as rural-urban but possibly small to large urban. Since a large proportion of the most populated urban centers are located in metro areas, such a stream is resulting in the build-up of black population in urban metro areas.

The situation with the non-black population is more complicated.

The overall growth of the white population in the United States during the sixties was about 12 percent — in metro areas, 14 percent, and non-metro, 7.4 percent. The increase in metro rings was 27.5 percent. Yet, for urban places in the ring, every size of place had lower rates of growth than the white portion of the ring itself. This points up to the possibility of a rapidly growing rural white ring population. Furthermore, in non-metro areas, white growth in urban places was only a little higher than overall non-metro growth for whites.

Table ?

Finally, one of the most unusual findings thus far in this study is that considering the four percent decline in the non-metro black population during the decade, urban places in non-metro areas had black increases of 8.5 percent — almost identical with white increases in these same places. For our urban places, regardless of metropolitan status, there appear to be more attractive and retentive features for blacks than non-blacks. This was true in the South as well as in the remainder of the country.

Table II

TABLE I

Location of Places 2,500 to 49,999 in 1950 Cohort by Size of Place in Metro Areas, United States, 1960 and 1970

	1960			1970		
	Total	In Metro Area	Proportion Metro	Total	In Metro Area	Proportion Metro
Size of Place						
2,500-4,999	1,228	251	.204	1,022	233	.228
5,000-9,999	1,224	398	.325	1,178	407	.346
10,000-24,999	944	402	.426	992	472	.476
25,000-49,999	352	175	.497	411	233	.567
All Places	3,748	1,226	.327	3,603	1,345	.373

TABLE II

Rate of Growth by Size of Place, and Color
United States, 1950-60 and 1960-70

	1950-1960			1960-1970		
	Total	Metro	Non-Metro	Total	Metro	Non-Metro
Black and Non-Black						
2,500-4,999	35.1	78.8	17.4	7.4	10.3	6.4
5,000-9,999	31.7	55.1	19.4	16.8	23.2	12.8
10,000-24,999	32.1	49.7	19.6	16.8	25.2	8.6
25,000-49,999	22.9	31.4	13.5	16.3	23.8	5.6
Total	30.2	48.4	17.9	15.6	23.4	8.6
Black						
2,500-4,999	28.1	87.9	18.3	1.8	-16.7	5.7
5,000-9,999	25.3	45.8	21.3	16.2	26.0	13.7
10,000-24,999	29.8	40.8	25.2	14.4	33.1	5.8
25,000-49,999	36.0	56.9	21.2	25.2	45.1	8.3
Total	30.1	52.4	21.9	16.9	34.7	8.5
Non-Black						
2,500-4,999	35.6	78.4	17.3	7.8	11.7	6.5
5,000-9,999	32.2	55.4	19.2	16.8	23.1	12.7
10,000-24,999	32.2	50.2	19.1	17.0	24.9	8.9
25,000-49,999	21.8	29.7	12.7	15.5	22.4	5.3
Total	30.2	48.2	17.5	15.5	22.8	8.6

TABLE III

Rate of Growth by Size of Place and Color,
South 1950-60 and 1960-70

	1950-1960			1960-1970		
	Total	Metro	Non-Metro	Total	Metro	Non-Metro
Black and Non-Black						
2,500-4,999	27.9	42.2	21.1	7.6	10.0	7.2
5,000-9,999	31.2	39.0	26.4	23.0	30.0	21.3
10,000-24,999	37.7	62.0	28.8	12.6	19.1	9.7
25,000-49,999	29.0	44.1	19.7	16.7	30.4	6.5
Total	32.1	49.1	24.7	15.6	25.0	11.7
Black						
2,500-4,999	21.5	39.3	17.8	5.9	16.6	5.0
5,000-9,999	24.2	46.3	21.1	13.7	14.7	13.6
10,000-24,999	27.5	45.9	23.4	5.9	16.4	3.0
25,000-49,999	20.6	34.6	13.5	9.5	22.1	2.1
Total	23.8	40.1	19.6	8.9	18.9	6.0
Non-Black						
2,500-4,999	29.5	42.6	22.0	8.0	9.3	7.8
5,000-9,999	32.9	38.1	27.8	25.3	32.0	23.4
10,000-24,999	40.2	64.5	30.4	14.1	19.6	11.5
25,000-49,999	31.3	46.4	21.6	18.4	32.1	7.7
Total	34.2	50.7	26.1	17.2	26.0	13.3

TABLE IV

Percentage

~~Proportion~~ of Non-metropolitan Places Losing Black Population by Size of Place and Initial ~~Percent~~ Black, South 1960-1970

Proportion

	South				
	Proportion Black (Percent)				
Size of Place	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	40+
2,500-4,999	55	48	39	39	42
5,000-9,999	52	42	28	33	47
10,000-24,999	39	34	40	55	43
25,000-49,999	47	31	36	50	33

Factor
Tucker Papers

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

Via Bowie Wood

TO: ~~George Esser/Harry Bowie~~ DATE: 11/12/73

To ~~FROM~~: Emory F. Via COPIES:

SUBJECT: LARGE DECISIONS DEPARTMENT

To mail the population distribution map with congressional districts will require mailing tubes. Such tubes are not as readily available nor as inexpensive as one would like. The best price to date is from the Atlanta Box Factory who can supply 100 tubes for $29.65 plus "paper cuffs" (which make it possible to quickly seal the tubes for mailing) for $15.30. Thus, the tubes will cost 45¢ a piece.

I propose that we make the maps with tubes available to the persons attending the Southern Labor School (approximately 40) and we had been saying that we would send them to the Members. Any suggestions for how many tubes we should order at this time? 200?

Also if and when we are ready to advertise the map we need to decide on a price. It would seem with the cost of the tube that we might need to charge $1.00 to break even.

Let's move ahead with 200 for Council members and Southern Labor School, and plan to sell for $1.00.

EFV:bb

OK
H.S.B.

[ca. June ??, 1973]
File Tucker Paper

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

MARGE MANDERSON

Graphics to appear in Tucker study of Black population shifts:

Definite:

1. Pasted in on inside back cover, 17'x22" folded ~~two-color~~ three-color map of county by county Black population as percent of total, 1970.

2. Printed in centerfold, 17"x11" two-~~col~~ color map of county by county Black ~~population~~ rate of gain in population, 1960-1970.

Suggested:

1. One page 8-1/2"x11" two-color map showing county-by-county Black gain in population in last decade against county-by-county heavy Black population density.

2. One page 8-1/2"x11" two-color map showing county-by-county Black population gain against total population gain in last decade.

If all above are printed, four single pages can utilize second color at no additional cost.

Census map to Census book.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

MARGE MANDERSON

COMPARABILITY OF U.S. GOVERNMENT MAP
STOCK NUMBER: 0301-2288: NEGRO POPULATION AS PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION BY COUNTIES OF THE UNITED STATES: 1970, Superintendent of Documents,

to

1970 Census book: GENERAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS: NORTH CAROLINA, (and ibid., VIRGINIA), Table 34: Race by Sex, for Counties; 1970.

Buncombe Co., N.C., falls within "Less than 5.0%" on map; figured from Negro and Total columns in the aforementioned table, the percentage is 8.84 (Negro: 12,828; Total: 145,056).

Chesterfield Co., Va., falls within "5.0-9.9%" on map; figured from Negro and Total columns in the Virginia County by County data cited above, the percentage is 11.26% (Negro: 8,651; Total: 76,855).

No inconsistencies were found in some 100 other counties across the region that we checked out.

We need to know every county that is inconsistent with Census book data.

16,07[illegible]
0.0064 [illegible]

472. ÷
9,775. =
0.0483 ×

379. ÷
16,741. =
0.0226 ×

4,087. ÷
9,604. =
0.4256 ×

5,506. ÷
9,604. =
0.5733 ×

2,515. ÷
2,529. =
0.9945 ×

11. ÷
2,529. =
0.0043 ×

3,189. ÷
7,497. =
0.4254 ×

8,651. ÷
76,855. =
0.1126 ×

Buncombe Co.,
N.C.

12,828. ÷
145,056. =
0.08,84 ×

Table 34. Race by Sex, for Counties: 1970

[For meaning of symbols, see text]

Counties	Total	White	Negro and other races							
			Total	Negro	Other races					
					Total	Indian	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	All o
Alamance	96 362	79 114	17 248	17 099	149	85	9	10	11	
Male	46 485	38 186	8 299	8 225	74	41	2	6	9	
Female	49 877	40 928	8 949	8 874	75	44	7	4	2	
Alexander	19 466	17 949	1 517	1 440	77	11	15	9	8	
Male	9 558	8 813	745	712	33	5	7	5	5	
Female	9 908	9 136	772	728	44	6	8	4	3	
Alleghany	8 134	7 893	241	236	5	-	2	-	-	
Male	3 916	3 807	109	107	2	-	1	-	-	
Female	4 218	4 086	132	129	3	-	1	-	-	
Anson	23 488	12 541	10 947	10 908	39	32	-	1	6	
Male	11 248	6 065	5 183	5 159	24	18	-	1	5	
Female	12 240	6 476	5 764	5 749	15	14	-	-	1	
Ashe	19 571	19 346	225	205	20	7	3	2	-	
Male	9 620	9 507	113	102	11	6	1	-	-	
Female	9 951	9 839	112	103	9	1	2	2	-	
Avery	12 655	12 556	99	87	12	5	2	1	-	
Male	6 340	6 283	57	51	6	3	1	1	-	
Female	6 315	6 273	42	36	6	2	1	-	-	
Beaufort	35 980	24 010	11 970	11 935	35	10	3	3	6	
Male	17 202	11 495	5 707	5 694	13	6	1	1	3	
Female	18 778	12 515	6 263	6 241	22	4	2	2	3	
Bertie	20 528	8 913	11 615	11 613	2	-	1	-	1	
Male	9 826	4 238	5 588	5 587	1	-	-	-	1	
Female	10 702	4 675	6 027	6 026	1	-	1	-	-	
Bladen	26 477	16 027	10 450	10 316	134	115	1	-	-	
Male	12 957	7 823	5 134	5 063	71	62	-	-	-	
Female	13 520	8 204	5 316	5 253	63	53	1	-	-	
Brunswick	24 223	16 780	7 443	7 179	264	29	18	14	20	
Male	12 054	8 492	3 562	3 459	103	11	5	4	8	
Female	12 169	8 288	3 881	3 720	161	18	13	10	12	
Buncombe	145 056	131 877	13 179	12 828	351	133	41	44	27	
Male	68 945	62 813	6 132	5 973	159	63	13	18	10	
Female	76 111	69 064	7 047	6 855	192	70	28	26	17	
Burke	60 364	55 956	4 408	4 324	84	36	8	10	3	
Male	29 274	27 191	2 083	2 044	39	18	2	4	-	
Female	31 090	28 765	2 325	2 280	45	18	6	6	3	
Cabarrus	74 629	62 584	12 045	11 913	132	69	17	6	5	
Male	35 839	30 215	5 624	5 553	71	47	1	3	2	
Female	38 790	32 369	6 421	6 360	61	22	16	3	3	
Caldwell	56 699	53 064	3 635	3 574	61	36	6	5	3	
Male	27 647	25 943	1 704	1 680	24	15	-	3	2	
Female	29 052	27 121	1 931	1 894	37	21	6	2	1	
Camden	5 453	3 426	2 027	2 019	8	1	2	-	2	
Male	2 628	1 656	972	969	3	1	1	-	-	
Female	2 825	1 770	1 055	1 050	5	-	1	-	2	
Carteret	31 603	27 966	3 637	3 517	120	44	32	2	17	
Male	15 571	13 790	1 781	1 731	50	15	8	2	10	
Female	16 032	14 176	1 856	1 786	70	29	24	-	7	
Caswell	19 055	9 895	9 160	9 147	13	5	-	-	-	
Male	9 458	4 901	4 557	4 549	8	5	-	-	-	
Female	9 597	4 994	4 603	4 598	5	-	-	-	-	
Catawba	90 873	82 828	8 045	7 945	100	30	13	21	6	
Male	43 924	40 085	3 839	3 791	48	14	2	14	4	
Female	46 949	42 743	4 206	4 154	52	16	11	7	2	
Chatham	29 554	20 547	9 007	8 977	30	20	-	1	4	
Male	14 606	10 157	4 449	4 437	12	8	-	1	2	
Female	14 948	10 390	4 558	4 540	18	12	-	-	2	
Cherokee	16 330	15 884	446	367	79	71	-	-	-	
Male	7 923	7 720	203	167	36	35	-	-	-	
Female	8 407	8 164	243	200	43	36	-	-	-	
Chowan	10 764	6 227	4 537	4 526	11	7	-	-	2	
Male	5 262	3 035	2 227	2 223	4	4	-	-	-	
Female	5 502	3 192	2 310	2 303	7	3	-	-	2	
Clay	5 180	5 131	49	41	8	7	-	-	-	
Male	2 522	2 494	28	21	7	6	-	-	-	
Female	2 658	2 637	21	20	1	1	-	-	-	
Cleveland	72 556	57 587	14 969	14 911	58	19	9	4	6	
Male	35 228	28 096	7 132	7 097	35	11	5	3	5	
Female	37 328	29 491	7 837	7 814	23	8	4	1	1	
Columbus	46 937	32 017	14 920	13 917	1 003	949	8	15	4	
Male	22 808	15 652	7 156	6 650	506	481	2	10	2	
Female	24 129	16 365	7 764	7 267	497	468	6	5	2	
Craven	62 554	46 238	16 316	15 906	410	98	140	4	25	
Male	32 533	24 707	7 826	7 648	178	61	14	1	11	
Female	30 021	21 531	8 490	8 258	232	37	126	3	14	
Cumberland	212 042	155 901	56 141	50 612	5 529	3 199	511	110	190	
Male	118 237	88 421	29 816	26 922	2 894	1 673	136	67	108	
Female	93 805	67 480	26 325	23 690	2 635	1 526	375	43	82	
Currituck	6 976	5 129	1 847	1 840	7	2	1	-	1	
Male	3 479	2 526	953	951	2	1	-	-	1	
Female	3 497	2 603	894	889	5	1	1	-	-	
Dare	6 995	6 487	508	495	13	3	2	-	1	
Male	3 403	3 157	246	239	7	2	-	-	1	
Female	3 592	3 330	262	256	6	1	2	-	-	
Davidson	95 627	86 063	9 564	9 369	195	136	25	6	6	
Male	47 026	42 360	4 666	4 579	87	62	8	3	3	
Female	48 601	43 703	4 898	4 790	108	74	17	3	3	
Davie	18 855	16 602	2 253	2 225	28	22	2	-	1	
Male	9 206	8 121	1 085	1 073	12	8	-	-	1	
Female	9 649	8 481	1 168	1 152	16	14	2	-	-	
Duplin	38 015	24 975	13 040	12 993	47	19	5	1	6	
Male	18 422	12 241	6 181	6 154	27	13	2	1	5	
Female	19 593	12 734	6 859	6 839	20	6	3	-	1	
Durham	132 681	88 979	43 702	43 239	463	115	68	87	34	
Male	62 876	43 050	19 826	19 569	257	56	33	52	20	
Female	69 805	45 929	23 876	23 670	206	59	35	35	14	
Edgecombe	52 341	27 444	24 897	24 849	48	28	6	6	-	
Male	25 011	13 284	11 727	11 703	24	14	4	3	-	
Female	27 330	14 160	13 170	13 146	24	14	2	3	-	
Forsyth	214 348	166 079	48 269	47 825	444	213	58	34	24	
Male	101 446	79 484	21 962	21 748	214	102	20	19	12	
Female	112 902	86 595	26 307	26 077	230	111	38	15	12	

10,839. ÷
29,004. =
0.3737 *

2,426. ÷
9,784. =
0.2480 *

135. ÷
5,423. =
0.0249 *

6,792. ÷
43,319. =
0.1568 *

8,651. ÷
76,855. =
0.1126 *

8,651. ÷
76,855. =
0.1126 *

Chesterfield Co., Va.

8,651. ÷
76,855. =
0.1126 *

103. ÷
2. =

Table 34. Race by Sex, for Counties and Independent Cities: 1970

[For meaning of symbols, see text]

Counties Independent Cities	Total	White	Negro and other races: Total	Negro and other races: Negro	Other races: Total	Other races: Indian	Other races: Japanese	Other races: Chinese	Other races: Filipino	Other races: All other
COUNTIES										
Accomack	29 004	18 101	10 903	10 839	64	20	–	8	5	31
Male	13 872	8 640	5 232	5 194	38	10	–	7	3	18
Female	15 132	9 461	5 671	5 645	26	10	–	1	2	13
Albemarle	37 780	32 631	5 149	5 019	130	23	32	23	4	48
Male	19 879	17 288	2 591	2 522	69	10	16	12	1	30
Female	17 901	15 343	2 558	2 497	61	13	16	11	3	18
Alleghany	12 461	12 079	382	361	21	7	8	–	–	6
Male	6 288	6 097	191	181	10	5	3	–	–	2
Female	6 173	5 982	191	180	11	2	5	–	–	4
Amelia	7 592	3 985	3 607	3 587	20	8	4	6	–	2
Male	3 803	1 998	1 805	1 794	11	4	1	4	–	2
Female	3 789	1 987	1 802	1 793	9	4	3	2	–	–
Amherst	26 072	20 330	5 742	5 554	188	128	5	6	–	49
Male	12 512	9 652	2 860	2 768	92	68	2	1	–	21
Female	13 560	10 678	2 882	2 786	96	60	3	5	–	28
Appomattox	9 784	7 354	2 430	2 426	4	4	–	–	–	–
Male	4 785	3 580	1 205	1 202	3	3	–	–	–	–
Female	4 999	3 774	1 225	1 224	1	1	–	–	–	–
Arlington	174 284	161 329	12 955	10 076	2 879	271	433	506	448	1 221
Male	82 187	75 926	6 261	4 930	1 331	130	162	259	211	569
Female	92 097	85 403	6 694	5 146	1 548	141	271	247	237	652
Augusta	44 220	42 208	2 012	1 947	65	29	5	7	3	21
Male	21 926	20 922	1 004	970	34	15	2	4	1	12
Female	22 294	21 286	1 008	977	31	14	3	3	2	9
Bath	5 192	4 632	560	555	5	3	–	1	–	1
Male	2 635	2 322	313	310	3	2	–	1	–	–
Female	2 557	2 310	247	245	2	1	–	–	–	1
Bedford	26 728	22 268	4 460	4 439	21	9	2	–	3	7
Male	13 428	11 188	2 240	2 233	7	2	–	–	2	3
Female	13 300	11 080	2 220	2 206	14	7	2	–	1	4
Bland	5 423	5 283	140	135	5	4	–	–	–	1
Male	2 848	2 742	106	103	3	2	–	–	–	1
Female	2 575	2 541	34	32	2	2	–	–	–	–
Botetourt	18 193	16 703	1 490	1 485	5	1	1	–	2	1
Male	9 098	8 355	743	741	2	–	–	–	2	–
Female	9 095	8 348	747	744	3	1	1	–	–	1
Brunswick	16 172	6 713	9 459	9 440	19	4	3	1	3	8
Male	7 987	3 280	4 707	4 696	11	3	1	–	3	4
Female	8 185	3 433	4 752	4 744	8	1	2	1	–	4
Buchanan	32 071	32 021	50	34	16	13	1	–	–	2
Male	16 064	16 025	39	30	9	8	–	–	–	1
Female	16 007	15 996	11	4	7	5	1	–	–	1
Buckingham	10 597	5 891	4 706	4 687	19	14	2	–	2	1
Male	5 316	2 965	2 351	2 340	11	7	1	–	2	1
Female	5 281	2 926	2 355	2 347	8	7	1	–	–	–
Campbell	43 319	36 448	6 871	6 792	79	14	7	8	5	45
Male	21 593	18 176	3 417	3 377	40	8	2	4	4	22
Female	21 726	18 272	3 454	3 415	39	6	5	4	1	23
Caroline	13 925	6 659	7 266	7 074	192	175	1	–	3	13
Male	6 996	3 346	3 650	3 562	88	81	–	–	2	5
Female	6 929	3 313	3 616	3 512	104	94	1	–	1	8
Carroll	23 092	22 980	112	99	13	4	6	–	2	1
Male	11 336	11 279	57	52	5	1	2	–	2	–
Female	11 756	11 701	55	47	8	3	4	–	–	1
Charles City	6 158	1 048	5 110	4 569	541	510	3	–	2	26
Male	3 101	540	2 561	2 283	278	261	1	–	1	15
Female	3 057	508	2 549	2 286	263	249	2	–	1	11
Charlotte	11 551	6 945	4 606	4 599	7	4	–	–	–	3
Male	5 759	3 468	2 291	2 287	4	2	–	–	–	2
Female	5 792	3 477	2 315	2 312	3	2	–	–	–	1
Chesterfield 11.26%	76 855	68 012	8 843	8 651	192	57	26	31	8	70
Male	37 852	33 764	4 088	4 010	78	27	3	14	4	30
Female	39 003	34 248	4 755	4 641	114	30	23	17	4	40
Clarke	8 102	6 888	1 214	1 193	21	5	1	–	6	9
Male	3 990	3 380	610	598	12	3	–	–	4	5
Female	4 112	3 508	604	595	9	2	1	–	2	4
Craig	3 524	3 509	15	11	4	2	1	–	–	1
Male	1 710	1 702	8	6	2	1	–	–	–	1
Female	1 814	1 807	7	5	2	1	1	–	–	–
Culpeper	18 218	13 818	4 400	4 376	24	6	1	10	–	7
Male	8 935	6 707	2 228	2 220	8	3	–	4	–	1
Female	9 283	7 111	2 172	2 156	16	3	1	6	–	6
Cumberland	6 179	3 211	2 968	2 961	7	6	–	–	–	1
Male	2 987	1 538	1 449	1 446	3	2	–	–	–	1
Female	3 192	1 673	1 519	1 515	4	4	–	–	–	–
Dickenson	16 077	15 956	121	103	18	8	3	1	3	3
Male	7 982	7 928	54	46	8	5	–	1	2	–
Female	8 095	8 028	67	57	10	3	3	–	1	3
Dinwiddie	25 046	13 597	11 449	11 411	38	15	6	1	5	11
Male	12 761	6 787	5 974	5 960	14	6	2	–	2	4
Female	12 285	6 810	5 475	5 451	24	9	4	1	3	7
Essex	7 099	3 893	3 206	3 198	8	6	1	–	–	1
Male	3 504	1 888	1 616	1 613	3	1	1	–	–	1
Female	3 595	2 005	1 590	1 585	5	5	–	–	–	–
Fairfax	455 021	435 737	19 284	15 859	3 425	427	894	574	365	1 165
Male	228 116	217 453	10 663	9 172	1 491	211	319	274	188	499
Female	226 905	218 284	8 621	6 687	1 934	216	575	300	177	666
Fauquier	26 375	20 455	5 920	5 858	62	22	11	7	1	21
Male	13 110	10 165	2 945	2 912	33	13	3	3	–	14
Female	13 265	10 290	2 975	2 946	29	9	8	4	1	7
Floyd	9 775	9 299	476	472	4	3	1	–	–	–
Male	4 819	4 575	244	243	1	1	–	–	–	–
Female	4 956	4 724	232	229	3	2	1	–	–	–
Fluvanna	7 621	4 880	2 741	2 734	7	4	1	–	1	1
Male	3 817	2 441	1 376	1 374	2	1	–	–	1	–
Female	3 804	2 439	1 365	1 360	5	3	1	–	–	1
Franklin	26 858	23 187	3 671	3 654	17	2	5	–	–	10
Male	13 432	11 639	1 793	1 784	9	–	3	–	–	6
Female	13 426	11 548	1 878	1 870	8	2	2	–	–	4
Frederick	28 893	28 416	477	454	23	5	6	1	–	11
Male	14 407	14 182	225	217	8	2	–	1	–	5
Female	14 486	14 234	252	237	15	3	6	–	–	6

[N.D. - found w/ other 1973. material]

Tucker Paper

REDISTRIBUTION OF THE SOUTHERN BLACK POPULATION 1960 TO 1970

General comments:

The information in this study is interesting and of value; however, the impact of the information is lost, primarily because of the format in which it is presented. The introduction lacks focus. The point seems to be that although the black population of the nation increased, the black population of the nation outside the South increased more than can be accounted for in terms of natural increase while that of the South itself decreased, and that while these figures might be expected in view of the traditional migration patterns of Southern blacks, they do not reflect the whole picture of what is happening in the South, i.e., rural-urban migration within the region. The introduction should be reorganized to make a logical progression along these lines. As it is now written, you have to read it several times to figure out that this is the thought progression involved. Further, there is no cogent reason ever given for doing the study to begin with. The statement on page 3 is all that is given, and that is extremely weak.

The report needs a framework... The information needed to create that framework is buried within the report itself, but is should be brought out and put in the introduction. For example, it is clear that counties with a higher proportion of black residents will be poorer counties which might require more intensive services. Clearly counties with the higher migration rates are going to have a greater need for services for the elderly than for training programs to help young mother acquire skills. Cities with a higher reate of black increase will clearly be places where blacks might easily be exploited in terms of rents and inadequte services to black neighborhoods. These things make it important to know what kinds of things are happening in terms of black migration patterns, yet the introduction doesn't make clear that there is a reason to have done this study aside from an intellectual exercise.

The primary flaw in the body of the report is organization. Although the section on "components of black growth" is supposedly based on the data presented in the first section (Section I), no direct correlation is made;

therefore, it would seem logical to place it first as a kind of background section.

Further, the report should be presented in more clearly defined sections. I would make three sections: growth is states, growth is counties, and growth by metro counties. The information is not clearly separated as it stands now. Each section further should be given some kind of summary statement, stating what overall patterns can be shown. The inforamtion about counties, for example, is all but incoherent.

Finally, the report reaches no valid conclusion. Nothing leads up to the last paragraph which is judgmental is tone. A restatement of the introduction would be much more appropriate.

PROPOSED MATRIX FOR EACH TASK FORCE AREA

TASK FORCE COMMITTEE ON_____

SPECIFIC PROBLEM AREAS	GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS	CONCERNED AGENTS AND AGENCIES
	BROADER PROBLEM CONTEXTS 1. Urban/rural factors 2. Demographic Factors 3. Poverty factors 4. Racism	
	CLASSES OF ACTORS (May be: Resource, agent for change, part of the problem) 1. Mass media 2. Political and governmental agencies 3. Youth	

[n.d. - found with 1973 material]

Gary 7 Vera

	% Black 70	70 Pop Black	% Change 60 to 70
United States	11.2	22,674,586	20.2
The Southern Region (11 states, 1,105 counties)	20.5	10,253,799	4.0

% white

white

Tucker's Original based on Court I Tapes

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

May 29, 1970

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I am taking the liberty of submitting a supplementary statement to the material I sent you previously, relating to our request for financial support for a study of Wallace populism.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Jim Clotfelter

James Clotfelter
Assistant Professor

Supplementary Statement

PROPOSAL: An Opinion Survey of Southerners, as part of a larger study of the Relationship between Populism and Racism

REQUEST: $2,000 toward costs of the survey

FROM: James Clotfelter, Emory University, and
William R. Hamilton, Independent Research Associates (IRA)

In a separate statement we have requested support for a study of the Wallace voter - how does he differ from major party supporters, what is he concerned about, on what bases can appeals for his support be made? To learn more about the Wallace voter in the area of Wallace's greatest strength, we plan to conduct a "panel" survey (interviewing a sample of the Southern and border state voters interviewed by IRA during 1968) in December 1970 or early 1971. One possibility is that the results of this survey would be incorporated in a book on "The 'Forgotten Man' in American Politics"; however, the form of publication of results of the survey and subsequent analysis is subject to further discussions. In this supplementary statement, we will deal more specificly with the subjects which we hope to touch on in the opinion survey and analysis, if funding is provided.

An Attitudinal Study of Southerners and Border State Residents

I. Racial attitudes

A. Attitudes toward Blacks and other ethnic minorities

B. Opinions of governmental action to break down discrimination, and of private group action

C. Attitudes toward the Blacks' perceived allies; who are they? (the media, the wealthy, other ethnic groups, professors...)

II. Populism in the 1970's

A. In light of current political cleavages and alliances, what does populism mean today? Wallace voters and others

B. Basic attitudinal dimensions of populism; attitudes toward authority and change, desire for "order" and regularity, return to the old ways; intensity of feelings

C. "Who takes advantage of people like yourself?"; attitudes toward government and "bigness"

D. Relationship to perceiveddecline in morality, cherished institutions, and "quality of life"; interrelationship of attitudes toward religion and "the new religion," youth, and sexual freedom (testing for similarities to German NDP)

E. General alienation and cynicism; optimism and pessimism; search for "scapegoats"

F. Economic and class correlates of populism; populism as a working-class or lower-middle-class phenomenon; attitudes toward the economic system (testing for similarities to earlier American populism, Peronism, Poujadism, Fascism)

III. The Political Meaning of Southern Populism

A. What does this mean for what kind of public policy is feasible? What kinds of non-racial political alignments are possible?

B. Are racial attitudes more or less important than the other attitudinal and class attributes of "populists"? How are racism and populism related, if at all? Are there sub-groups of populists, some "racist reactionaries", others "economically-motivated," unconcerned with race, but joined by general attitudinal characteristics?

C. Are the attitudinal assumptions of the various "Southern strategies" accurate?
Note: Several "political" questions will be asked, of course, but the major focus of the study - as indicated in our earlier statement - will not be partisan politics.

Survey Costs

Preparation and supervision.....	$1,265.00	(at cost by IRA)
Field work (interviewing).....	$2,100.00	(at cost by IRA)
Coding and processing.....	$ 450.00	(at cost by IRA)
Professional work and analysis...	No cost	
Other survey work (including 1969-70 IRA surveys in Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and five non-Southern states; and 1968 samples from Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida upon which panel sample will be based...)..	No cost	
Total cost	$3,815.00	

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

August 11, 1970

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

To give you a better idea of what we are interested in, in the way of populism-racism-Wallaceism, I am enclosing a copy of a recently completed manuscript on the subject.

This article is more prescriptive than the rest of our work on the subject, but it includes considerable descriptive and analytical material as well. I would be interested in hearing your reaction.

As you can see, the data/analysis here is ad hoc - we can deal only with subjects related to survey questions asked by IRA for various candidates in various states. So, some important matters (e.g., "morality" and attitudes toward rapid change) are dealt with inadequately or not at all. That is where an opinion survey, commissioned for the purpose of collecting data on populist-related matters, would be invaluable.

Sincerely,

Jim

James Clotfelter
Assistant Professor

233-4169

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

June 30, 1970

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

Dear Bob:

Let me take a quick stab at trying to clarify the survey costs aspect of my research proposal on Southern populism.

The survey will be conducted by Independent Research Associates, which has done more than 125 research studies since 1963 for political, governmental, academic, business, and television-radio clients. IRA has a full-time staff of 11, in addition to a network of interviewers throughout the South.

The total cost of the survey was set at only $3,815, because my co-researcher is William R. Hamilton, president of IRA, and his organization has agreed to do the survey for the cost of interviewing and machine support. There will be no charge for professional analysis, normally part of the cost of an opinion survey.

We requested only $2,000 from SRC as partial funding, because we hoped that we would be able to get additional funding elsewhere. However, if SRC could see its way clear to granting us a somewhat larger proportion of the needed amount, this, of course, would eliminate the necessity of going to additional funding sources. In addition, we hope to be able to afford to include an enlarged sample of 18-to-21-year-olds in our total sample, to learn more about the attitudes of newly-enfranchised voters on populism/racism - and this would cost more, of course.

Needless to say, <u>any</u> amount which SRC could contribute toward the costs of this survey would help. If you need a more detailed breakdown of cost projections, let me know.

Regards,

Jim

James Clotfelter
Assistant Professor

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

May 5, 1970

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I hope there were no problems on the galley corrections for the military dollar article. This letter concerns another research topic in which you may be interested: Southern "populism" in the 1970's.

William R. Hamilton, president of a political polling firm, and I have been working for the past two years on research relating to non-racial political alliances and cleavages in the South: do they exist, and if so, under what circumstances and in what form ? Our past research has been based on extensive survey work done by Mr. Hamilton's firm during the 1968 election in five Southern and border states; 1968 work done by survey organizations in non-Southern states; and statewide opinion data since 1968 from Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Georgia, Florida, and other states. We have written an academic article, "In Search of Populism: the Wallace Voter," and are working on a proposed book, "The 'Forgotten Man' in American Politics" with Marshall Frady. (A copy of our book proposal is enclosed; at the present time we are discussing publication possibilities with a publisher.) The book would deal primarily with projected political behavior for the Wallace voter in 1972 and beyond; to what kinds of appeals will he be responsive ?, for example.

I am writing you because we are searching for partial funding ($2,000) for an opinion survey of Southerners in late 1970. (It is described on pages 7-8 of the proposal.) Book publishers are reluctant to advance as much as $3,715 (the total cost of the survey, even though it is being done at cost), and academic funding sources are cautious because of the general, non-academic audience for the research findings. Because of the subject matter, it occurred to me that the Southern Regional Council might consider supporting the project, or at least that substantial portion which is relevant to your concerns: the extent of populism among Wallace supporters, the attitudinal base for actual and potential non-racial alliances, etc. I would appreciate

it if you would glance at the enclosed material, and tell me what you think.

Candidates such as Virginia's "Keep-the-big-boys-honest" Howell have shown that new types of political coalitions are possible, if not necessarily successful. What does attitudinal and opinion research tell us about new political alliances(along socio-economic and other non-racial lines) that have not yet been tried by candidates ? In addition to "negative" characteristics in common (alienation, cynical attitudes toward government and the Establishment - "Wall Street" as a common enemy), are there "positive" points of agreement, common ground for Wallaceites, blacks, and "liberal" whites ? "Beyond Race Politics - What ?" is the kind of thing we're thinking about.

The populism notion - alliances between poor blacks and whites, etc. - has been treated by ideologists, historical revisionists and counter-revisionists, and assorted dreamers, but there have been remarkably few attempts to provide any empirical evidence on the subject. In addition, this research would provide more detailed information on the subjects that Reese Cleghorn, for example, dealt with in Radicalism: Southern Style, and would show what kinds of alternatives might be possible.

Some of the national political questions to which the book outline refers would be of less interest to you, but I believe that all of the material to be developed by the Southern opinion survey would be directly useful. If the SRC has a policy against supporting research which is to be published commercially, I believe that we would be willing to make accommodations on that question. Our primary interest is to get this kind of research done, to try to get at some of these questions, rather than to get a book published. If funding was provided, the SRC certainly would have the first opportunity to publish survey results.

If you believe the SRC might be interested, I would be glad to go downtown to discuss the possibilities. Information on the clients for whom Mr. Hamilton has conducted survey work could be provided, if desired, or any other information relating to our past or projected research.

Please forgive the length of this letter. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jim Clotfelter

James Clotfelter
Assistant Professor

PROPOSAL: Study of the "Forgotten Man" in American Politics

REQUEST: $2,000 Toward Costs of an Opinion Survey

FROM: James Clotfelter, Emory University, and
William R. Hamilton, Independent Research Associates

The "Forgotten Man" in American Politics, a general trade book by James Clotfelter, William R. Hamilton, and Marshall Frady, will explore the attitudes and possible forms of political behavior (1972 and beyond) of the voters who supported George Wallace in the 1968 election.

The Wallace votes, in the South and perhaps nationally, will be the "swing votes" in the 1972 election. The two major parties almost evenly split 87 per cent of the vote in 1968. Neither party can be sure of recapturing its previous share of Wallace supporters. Phillips's The Emerging Republican Majority sees these votes as conservative and race-conscious, and hypothesizes that they will support Republican candidates. Former Democratic National Chairman Fred Harris believes that most Wallace voters were populists, economic liberals, and that they will support Democratic candidates. If a third party candidate runs on Wallace-type issues and style in 1972, how much support will be receive ? In a two-party race, will the Nixon Administration "Southern strategy" succeed in winning over Southern Wallace supporters to the Republicans ?

What is convincing evidence that Wallace

We are not interested in party fortunes except as they reflect the kinds of issues discussed, the kinds of appeals made, the attitudes of voters, and the kinds of mandates winning candidates think they have. To what extent is the Wallace "movement" "populistic," and how is this

populism (if it exists) related to racial attitudes ? Must candidates appeal to the Wallace vote on racial issues, or are there other lines of political cleavage ? In addition to a common alienation from government, are there "positive" issues upon which Wallace voters agree with blacks ? Are there socio-economic issues upon which Wallace voters, blacks, and "liberal" whites find common ground, and if not, what caused some voters to indicate support for candidates as superficially different as Robert Kennedy and Wallace ? Perhaps economic issues will take on new importance, and lead to new cleavages, in a period of "inflationary recession."

The book will be written in a journalistic, non-academic style - for the general attentive public - while employing the survey methods and analytical tools of the social scientist. To provide current data for the book, we plan to conduct a "panel" survey of opinions among a sample of Southern and border state voters interviewed during the 1968 campaign. This survey will provide new kinds of attitudinal data, as well as telling us how these voters' attitudes have changed in the past two years. (It is described in the enclosed book proposal.) We are requesting a grant of $2,000 toward the costs of the survey.

THE "FORGOTTEN MAN" IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Introductory essay:
Marshall Frady
Author, Wallace

Authors:
James Clotfelter
Assistant Professor
Political Science
Emory University

William R. Hamilton
President
Independent Research Associates

We propose to write a book examining the voters whom all parties will be struggling to win over in the 1972 Presidential campaign: George Wallace's voters and near-voters in the 1968 campaign. The book, 150-160 pages long, would be intended as a trade book, with some potential college sales.

Wallace was supported by 13 per cent of the nation's electorate in 1968, and won five Southern states' electoral votes. At one time he had the public opinion poll support of more than 20 per cent of the nation. If Wallace, Louisiana Gov. John McKeithan, or another third party candidate runs in 1972, will he be able to count on this 13 per cent as a base of support to build a larger, nationwide movement ? (Current surveys indicate Wallace's national and regional following has not substantially diminished.) Which major party is most likely to lose votes to (or gain votes from) a third party ? If there is no third party candidate, that 13 per cent are "loose" voters. Will the Wallacites return to their

previous party affiliation, or will the American Independent Party have served as a "bridge" for minor or massive party realignment? During the 1968 campaigns, many Wallace supporters also indicated support for liberal candidates such as Kennedy, McCarthy, and Rockefeller, so it is far from obvious that Wallace voters would move into the more "conservative" Republican party. Analysis of 1968 data shows that while Wallace supporters in the South and border states were separated from white Humphrey supporters by issue positions, they were separated from Nixon supporters by sharp socio-economic differences and feelings of alienation from the system.

BOOK OUTLINE

I. Introductory essay by Marshall Frady (35 pages).

Frady will examine the "New Populism" in American politics in a descriptive, journalistic style. He will touch on Wallace and the American Independent Party movements from 1968-71, but the thrust of the essay will be toward the broader phenomenon of "backlash" politics in North and South. (If Wallace wins the Alabama governorship and seems intent upon running for President, as of spring 1971, this essay might deal more specifically with him and his movement.)

II. Alienation Comes to Middle America (15 pages).

This chapter will examine the roots and manifestations of the widespread "malaise" of the lower middle class and working class whites, "the unpoor and the unblack." Survey evidence and other findings will be used.

III. The Political Meaning of the "New Populism" (30-35 pages).

What is the political importance of Middle America's malaise? For example, is there widespread distrust of governmental officials? Elections

will be discussed briefly where "populist reactionaries" won strong support. The 1968 and 1970 Wallace supporters will be analyzed, in terms of socio-economic characteristics, issue positions, attitudinal orientations, and basic values, in comparison to supporters of the two major party candidates. What makes the Wallace supporter different? What range and kind of "anti-system" attitudes does a third party mobilize? Or, as some researchers have suggested, does the Wallace movement represent a "revolt in behalf of the status quo?" Must feelings of alienation, to the extent that we find they exist, be dependent on the character of charismatic political leaders (e.g., Wallace) for the precise form they take - whether, for example, they lead to movements of reform or movements of reaction, or whether they stay within the established political structure?

IV. Party Loyalties and the Wallace Supporter (30-35 pages).

Supporting a third party candidate implies that people feel they do not "fit" in either of the two major parties. "Not fitting," operationally, could imply either: (1) "subjective" feelings of distance and alienation from groups or leaders in the person's traditional party; or (2) "objective" differences between groups in socio-economic characteristics or issue opinions. (The second factor might be important even though it is not recognized fully by individuals themselves.) Do Wallace supporters feel cut off from the Democratic Party by differences of opinion on a wide range of non-economic issues, and from the Republican Party by socio-economic class characteristics - and perhaps cut off from both parties by feelings of general discontent and alienation? If so, the direction of movement in 1972 and later years would depend on the relative importance

of these different cleavages.

In this chapter we will ask what parties Wallace supporters came from in the South, the border states, the North, the Midwest, and the West. Which parties lost voters and what kind did they lose? What kind of supporters left Wallace in the last weeks of the 1968 campaign? What kind of supporters has Wallace gained since 1968, and what kind has he lost? What are peoples' attitudes toward the legitimacy and practicality of third party movements? Has the Republican Party been able to convert significant numbers of Southern and border state voters to their party? How does party commitment interact with socio-economic, issue, and attitudinal characteristics of voters, to determine candidate preference? Despite the pulling power of "party identification," why would voters not necessarily return to their pre-Wallace party loyalties in a two-party campaign? What are the implications of the upsurge in numbers of people who call themselves "independents" and refuse to identify themselves with either of the major parties?

V. The Young in Politics, 1972 (20 pages).

Contrary to the common assumptions of political commentators, Wallace supporters in 1968 were significantly <u>younger</u> than supporters of the two major party candidates. Would Wallace - or a major party candidate adopting some of his appeals - find support among young voters in 1972? (In that election 18-to-20-year-olds may be voting in their first Presidential election, in addition to those who became 21 during the 1968-72 period.) From past evidence and current surveys, we will attempt to describe the probable political behavior of the young, and the appeals which they are likely to find salient. (Party affiliation is much less important for young voters, whose voting behavior therefore is less stable than that of older voters.)

VI. 1972: Which Way? (15-20 pages).

We will bring together our conclusions from previous chapters to describe what can be expected to happen in the 1972 election year, depending on the number of parties involved and the campaign themes used by candidates. There will be no "predictions" as to which party will win, but rather, appropriately hedged projections of voting behavior.

Appendix: Data (5 pages).

Tables of public opinion data would be presented here for those who wanted more precise information than was given in the text. (If desired, a very brief academic epilogue could be added on third parties in the American two-party system, American voting behavior, and the significance of our survey findings.)

DEADLINES

The manuscript would be finished by July 31, 1971; desired publication date probably would be December 1971, for 1972 sales.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

James Clotfelter is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Emory University. A former newspaper and Time magazine (Atlanta bureau) reporter, he is the author of several academic articles, including "In Search of Populism: the Wallace Voter" (with William R. Hamilton). His book on The Military in American Politics is to be published by Harper and Row in 1971. Professor Clotfelter has an M.A. from the University of Wisconsin and a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

William R. Hamilton is President of Independent Research Associates, Inc., of Washington, D.C. His marketing and opinion research firm,

founded in 1964, has conducted about 100 surveys, with about 70 per cent relating to politics, and about 70 per cent having been done in the South. Mr. Hamilton is a co-author of The Political Restructuring of a Community. He has an M.A. from the University of Florida, and is a former statistics and political science instructor at Florida Atlantic University and former assistant director of the Comparative Study of Political Systems in Washington. He has been a social science analyst for the U.S. Information Agency and a political analyst for the polling firm of Oliver Quayle and Company.

Marshall Frady is a free-lance writer and contributing editor to Harper's magazine. He is the author of the best-selling political biography of George Wallace, Wallace. He has published articles in Life, Saturday Evening Post, Mademoiselle, and most other major magazines in the past five years. He is a former reporter for Newsweek magazine's Atlanta bureau, and has been a newspaper reporter.

DATA AVAILABLE TO THIS STUDY

1. Independent Research Associates's September 1968 voter surveys in Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland and North Carolina

2. Telephone panel-back surveys (mid-October and November 1) in Florida and North Carolina

3. September 1968 voter surveys conducted by other polling firms in California, Colorado, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Texas, New York, Massachusetts

4. December 1970 panel-back survey to approximately 500 of those interviewed in September 1968 in the five Southern and border states.

5. IRA surveys in several Southern states, 1969-1970

6. Published reports of national surveys, 1969-1971

IRA agrees to field, supervise, code, and tabulate the panel-back survey at cost. All professional work and analysis will be done by the authors as part of their research. The estimated cost for the survey is:

Preparation and supervision	$1,265.00
Field work (interviewing)	2,100.00
Coding and processing	450.00
TOTAL COST	$3,715.00

In addition, a small advance will be required to cover travel and other expenses.

The 1968 survey data includes demographic data, past voting behavior, opinions of government programs, evaluations of the qualities of the three candidates, and attitudes toward general social problems. The November data provides evidence on which groups supported Wallace through the fall but switched at the last moment. The December 1970 panel-back survey will allow us to plot the "trends" regarding supporters of the three candidates. How successful has Nixon's "Southern Strategy" been with Wallace and Nixon supporters in Southern and border states; how have Wallace supporters acted in state politics; what are the characteristics of people changing candidate preference or party identification; what is the level of alienation and displeasure with governmental leaders, as contrasted with 1968 survey results?

Independent Research Associates has conducted over 40 statewide political studies in nine states. In addition, the firm has conducted political studies for Congressional and legislative races in other states. The firm has worked at almost every level of politics, from Presidential elections to mayoralties.

In addition to practical political polling, IRA has conducted surveys for the following academic and commercial clients: The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, Kansas City, Missouri; Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan; Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of North Carolina; Post-Newsweek Stations, Washington, D.C.; The Charlotte Observer, Charlotte, North Carolina; A. H. Robins and Company, Richmond, Virginia; Rospatch Corporation, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Sears, Roebuck and Company, Chicago, Illinois.

THE NEW YORKER
JAN 19, 1963

BOOKS

Our Invisible Poor

IN his significantly titled "The Affluent Society" (1958) Professor J. K. Galbraith states that poverty in this country is no longer "a massive affliction [but] more nearly an afterthought." Dr. Galbraith is a humane critic of the American capitalist system, and he is generously indignant about the continued existence of even this nonmassive and afterthoughtish poverty. But the interesting thing about his pronouncement, aside from the fact that it is inaccurate, is that it was generally accepted as obvious. For a long time now, almost everybody has assumed that, because of the New Deal's social legislation and—more important—the prosperity we have enjoyed since 1940, mass poverty no longer exists in this country.

Dr. Galbraith states that our poor have dwindled to two hard-core categories. One is the "insular poverty" of those who live in the rural South or in depressed areas like West Virginia. The other category is "case poverty," which he says is "commonly and properly related to [such] characteristics of the individuals so afflicted [as] mental deficiency, bad health, inability to adapt to the discipline of modern economic life, excessive procreation, alcohol, insufficient education." He reasons that such poverty must be due to individual defects, since "nearly everyone else has mastered his environment; this proves that it is not intractable." Without pressing the similarity of this concept to the "Social Darwinism" whose fallacies Dr. Galbraith easily disposes of elsewhere in his book, one may observe that most of these characteristics are as much the result of poverty as its cause.

Dr. Galbraith's error is understandable, and common. Last April the newspapers reported some exhilarating statistics in a Department of Commerce study: the average family income increased from $2,340 in 1929 to $7,020 in 1961. (These figures are calculated in current dollars, as are all the others I shall cite.) But the papers did not report the fine type, so to speak, which showed that almost all the recent gain was made by families with incomes of over $7,500, and that the rate at which poverty is being eliminated has slowed down alarmingly since 1953. Only the specialists and the statisticians read the fine type, which is why illusions continue to exist about American poverty.

Now Michael Harrington, an alumnus of the *Catholic Worker* and the Fund for the Republic who is at present a contributing editor of *Dissent* and the chief editor of the Socialist Party biweekly, *New America*, has written "The Other America: Poverty in the United States" (Macmillan). In the admirably short space of under two hundred pages, he outlines the problem, describes in imaginative detail what it means to be poor in this country today, summarizes the findings of recent studies by economists and sociologists, and analyzes the reasons for the persistence of mass poverty in the midst of general prosperity. It is an excellent book—and a most important one.

My only serious criticism is that Mr. Harrington has popularized the treatment a bit too much. Not in the writing, which is on a decent level, but in a certain vagueness. There are no index, no bibliography, no reference footnotes. In our overspecialized culture, books like this tend to fall into two categories: Popular (no scholarly "apparatus") and Academic (too much). I favor something intermediate—why should the academics have *all* the footnotes? The lack of references means that the book is of limited use to future researchers and writers. A pity, since the author has brought together a great range of material.

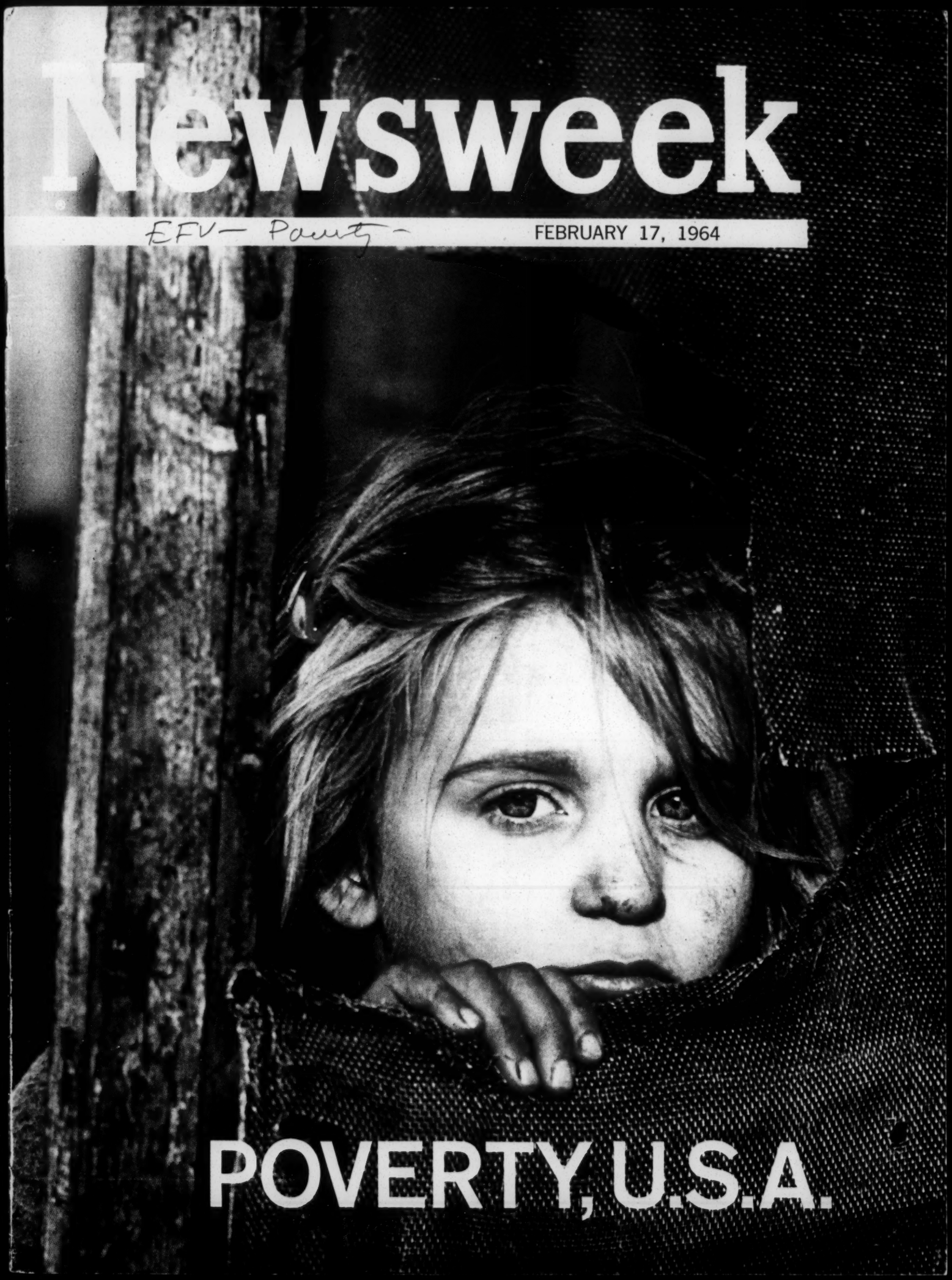
I must also object that Mr. Harrington's treatment of statistics is more than a little impressionistic. His appendix, which he calls a coming to grips with the professional material, doesn't live up to its billing. "If my interpretation is bleak and grim," he writes, "and even if it overstates the case slightly, that is intentional. My moral point of departure is a sense of outrage. . . . In such a discussion it is inevitable that one gets mixed up with dry, graceless, technical matters. That should not conceal the crucial fact that these numbers represent people and that any tendency toward understatement is an intellectual way of acquiescing in suffering." But a fact is a fact, and Mr. Harrington confuses the issue when he writes that "these numbers represent people." They do—and one virtue of his book is that he never forgets it—but in dealing with statistics, this truism must be firmly repressed lest one begin to think from the heart rather than from the head, as he seems to do when he charges those statisticians who "understate" the numbers of the poor with having found "an intellectual way of acquiescing in suffering." This is moral bullying, and it reminds me, *toutes proportions gardées*, of the habitual confusion in Communist thinking between facts and political inferences from them. "A sense of outrage"

"Well, well, well! Mr. Big!"

Newsweek

EFV— Poverty—

FEBRUARY 17, 1964



POVERTY, U.S.A.

SV Poverty

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF POVERTY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

March 18, 1965.

The next meeting of the faculty seminar on the Elimination of Poverty will be held this coming Monday, March 22, 1965.

Seventh Meeting

Speaker: Mr. Warner Bloomberg, Department of Urban Affairs, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Topic: Some Notes on Poverty, Dependency, and Unemployment.

Room: 262 Social Science Building.

Time: 3:30 p.m.

Interested Graduate Students Please See Professor Martin David.

(Prepared for the Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S., Madison, March 22, 1965).

SOME NOTES ON POVERTY, DEPENDENCY, AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Warner Bloomberg, Jr.
Department of Urban
Affairs, UWM

These notes are intended only to provide a springboard for consideration of the following questions (and, of course, whatever further inquiries flow from them):

1. Ought our major concern be poverty per se or poverty as a major consequence (or even cause) of economic dependency?

2. If poverty is our major concern, then what about increasing approved economic dependency as an alternative to increasing employment and wages as a means of reducing poverty?

3. If economic dependency is our major concern, to what extent does its reduction require a two-step process involving (1) increasing economic dependency in order to provide individual and/or family resources and resocialization leading to (2) employment that effectively reduces economic dependency?

4. To what extent do psychological and/or cultural patterns produce a segment of the population refractory to opportunity for resocialization leading to employment as a means of reducing their economic dependency?

Zapata movement
SDS?
New Haven

5. To what extent is social action organization among the dependent poor an effective means for altering psychological and/or cultural patterns which block efforts at resocialization leading to employment?

6. To what extent is social action organization among the poor an effective means for either (1) increasing approved economic dependency or (2) increasing opportunities for resocialization and employment (or higher wages) or both?

These are not new questions for this seminar; nor is this surprising since only a limited number of useful questions can be generated around any one topic. I can only hope that the following response to them will add to the cumulative analysis of the seminar.

These notes are divided into three parts, which are rather casually related to one another. The first states a conceptual model which at present guides my own thinking in this field. The second reviews the "debate" over social action organization among the poor. The third indicates some of the lines of empirical inquiry now planned or underway at UWM relevant to these concerns, with some critical comments.

I

The opening chapter of Income and Welfare in the United States argues that public policy should shift from the short run alleviation of poverty to a long run effort to eliminate dependency.[1] Unfortunately, and somewhat peculiarly, no generic or operational definition of "dependency" occurs in the book or in the "Glossary of Concepts" it includes. However, its usage indicates that the authors refer to those who might well provide for their own adequate material sustenance and maintenance through earned income and savings but presently are not able or enabled to do so, including those who, for psychological or cultural reasons, do not choose to attempt to do so. Obviously, a great deal depends upon what one means by "able" and "enabled." If, for example, you believe that certain individuals with physical disability are literally unable to earn an income, the only alternative to poverty for them is some private or public transfer of money or final goods and services. But their dependency would not be part of the "problem" of reducing dependency and thereby reducing the poverty which so often accompanies dependency today. If, on the other hand, one believed that such persons could be "rehabilitated" and thereby made employable, "enabled" to become adequately "independent" economically, then their situation clearly is a part of the problem of the dependency-poverty relationship.

Between this work and John L. Gillin's volume on Poverty and Dependency stands over a quarter of a century of gains in methodological sophistication, data, conceptual refinement, and practical experience; yet, most recent publications dealing with poverty and dependency, including Income and Welfare, add little to the basic ideas and theory presented by Gillin and his generation of analysts and commentators.[2] They share in the same normative point of view: the striving, producing, achieving individual is most desirable, but the society is responsible for the care of those who have been prevented from sharing in this way of life and its rewards and for the resocialization of those who have somehow not been "enabled" to incorporate the appropriate values, motives, and skills into their own personalities. They do not bother even to entertain the criticisms and suggestions of the "wilder" social critics and philosophers of the past and present. Proposals for solving the problem of dependency by eliminating the tie between a minimally adequate income and performance of remunerated work, as urged by the Theobald sect (hardly a brand new idea!), apparently are not worth considering even for their stimulus value. Deeply entrenched cultural convictions that our citizens ought to be largely, if not entirely, dependent through age eighteen and subsequently ought to be economically independent until retirement age, also go unchallenged; the angry arguments of a Paul Goodman on behalf of work opportunities for some who are younger and opportunities for avoiding destructive forms of work for some who are older seem to have been dismissed as mere polemics. Neither most old studies in this field nor most new ones provide any response to Miller and Rein's assertion:

> Today, only people who make an economic contribution are assumed to have any value. The concept of work needs to be re-examined and new standards for the definition of social utility developed. We need new standards by which to measure the moral equivalent of an economic contribution.[3]

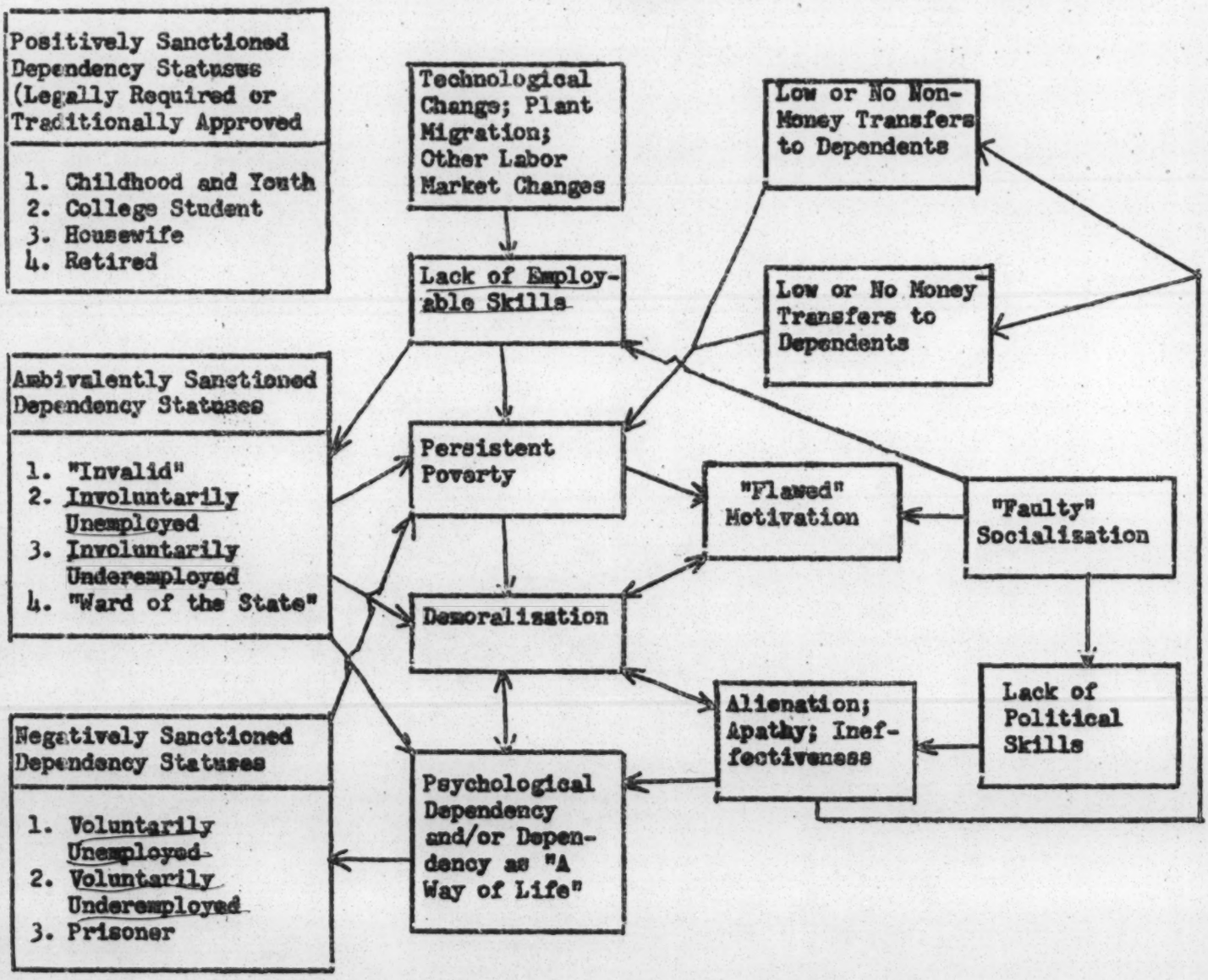
Nor is much, if anything, new to be found in the array of empirical variables held relevant for the analysis of the problem. Obviously, if dependency

can be reduced (thereby reducing poverty) only through remunerated work, jobs that pay adequately must be available to all entering the work force. "False" barriers to employment, such as racial discrimination, lack of information or of geographical mobility, and lack of relevant skills, must be removed. Many short-term reforms and programs aimed at these targets have been and continue to be suggested. Adequate improvement of socialization for work success through formal education and through inculcation within the family of appropriate cognitive and motivational norms are seen as requiring long run efforts. To the extent that poverty cannot be reduced by reducing dependency through adequately paying jobs and the ability to obtain them, it must be remedied by more adequate income transfers--to those who are too young, too old, or too incapacitated, and to those who are at least temporarily unemployed or for other reasons underpaid (in the "need" rather than "worth" sense).

Some modification of this long established view of the dependency-poverty problem is suggested by those who have argued that it leaves out a very important political dimension. This innovation has been developed most extensively and effectively (to my knowledge) by Warren C. Haggstrom of Syracuse University, and I especially regret the damage done to the subleties of his line of thought by summarizing them in a few sentences.[4] He challenges the popular social science imagery of the poor as apathetic, unable to delay gratification or to plan, not very competant, and hostile-dependent; he also doubts the frequently asserted conclusion that this "dependency syndrome" is a consequence of poverty per se. Greater poverty in other social-cultural milieu has not consistently produced this alleged pattern, and in the United States too many segments of the poor already provide exceptions to it (such as civil rights militants, Black Muslims, and "lower class" social action groups). One must therefore conclude that the "psychology of poverty" obtains only under specific and describable circumstances, and one must also question the extent to which it constitutes either a subcultural pattern or deeply internalized individual emotional and overt action patterns. There is good evidence that for many who are poor this "syndrome" is an adaptive reaction to a situation in which opportunity for economic independence has been extremely limited while the norms of the society have insisted that genuine self-help succeeds and that economic dependency among adults is unworthy. What the poor are reacting to most of all is their own apparent powerlessness to do anything about the unfairness of this situation, a powerlessness of which they are regularly reminded by the police, by urban renewal programs, by absentee landlords, and by the public and private welfare agencies themselves. When the poor engage in successful social action they gain power even though their income remains unchanged (except as the successes increase it one way or another) and their attitudes and overt behavior patterns begin to change. Similar changes may occur as the poor gain jobs one by one and thus command the generalized power resource of disposable income, but this process as it presently proceeds does not aid most of the poor and does not provide the reinforcement of the shared group experience of successful social action. Finally, successful social action brings about situational change of the sort the poor themselves have defined as desirable rather than what others have defined as desirable for them (another element of their powerlessness and dependency).

"Schematic 1" eclectically combines variables from the "traditional" and the "power-oriented" explanatory models. Its "messiness" reflects in part the complexity of the problem, in part the fact that I haven't taken time to

try to arrange the boxes in a neater manner. The arrows indicate alleged lines of cause and effect. No effort has been made to assign weights or priorities. Its reinforcing circularity is appropriate to any "systemic" model. No functionalist assumptions are made, however; present poverty-dependency patterns are seen as an output of the system, but the system does not exist in order to produce that output nor does it "need" to have that output or this circularity in order to maintain itself. No assumption is made that efforts to make major changes in any of these variables would encounter tendencies toward equilibrium (or that they wouldn't), or that change would be limited by tendencies to re-establish equilibrium at any givel level of poverty-dependency (or that it wouldn't). The remainder of Part I of these notes simply illustrates some of the points or questions which the model suggests to me that seem of some interest.

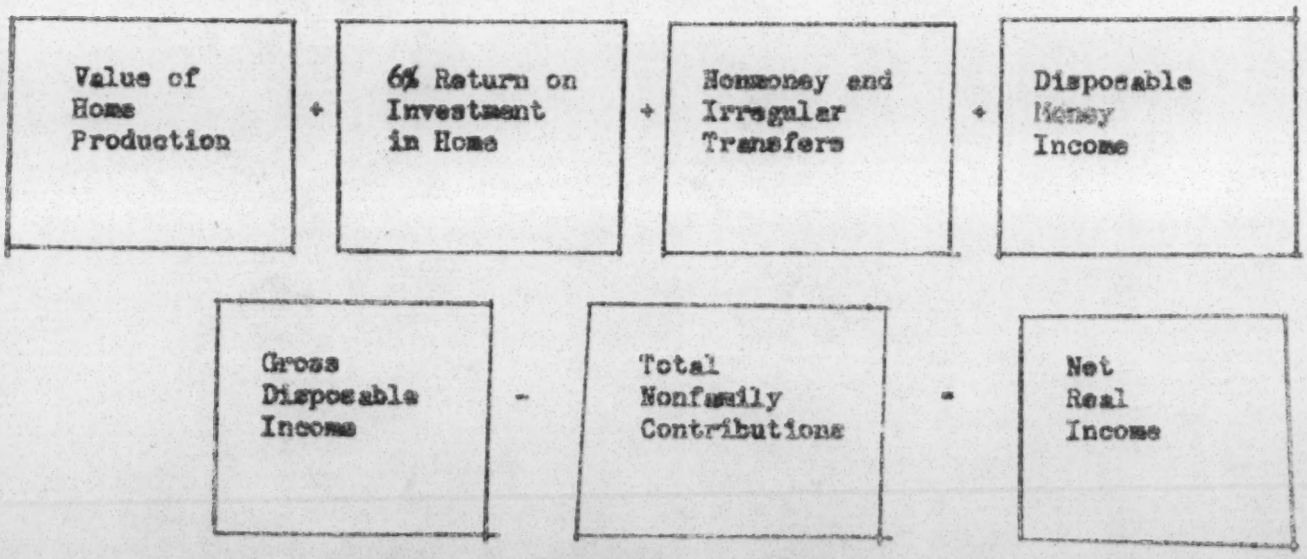


Schematic 1

1. As Parsons has pointed out with respect to "youth" in the United States, some dependency statuses involve special rights and privileges as well as limitations and constraints.[5] This is typically the case with respect to the "positively sanctioned" dependency statuses, and these compensating rewards for dependency reflect general approval of their specific condition of dependency. Dependency statuses which are not viewed as necessary and/or desirable (unemployed, invalid) are likely to receive both less material support and less compensations in the form of rights and privileges. Thus, while positively sanctioned dependency statuses are likely to be regarded as acceptable, even quite desirable (youth, retirement), those that are viewed and sanctioned ambivalently are likely to seem in some way "punishing." If, for example, unemployment of even several years' duration were convertible (as a volunteer option) into a genuine educational experience, equivalent for the worker to the executive's supported leave for "mid-career training" at a University or the academician's sabbatical with a fellowship, then involuntary unemployment would be less stigmatized and many might look forward to it as they now look forward to involuntary retirement. Other possibilities for developing positive sanctions and more extensive compensations for involuntary unemployment (work-study programs in community service?) should be developed and examined in terms of their costs and returns.

2. The notion of "poverty" is, of course, full of complications. Miller and Rein, in the article already cited, point out (as have others) that poverty is not marked off by a fixed point on an absolute scale but one which reflects the values and conditions of the society. In addition, the deprivation which accompanies poverty is surely relative to the degree and extent of inequality in the society, to the perceived reasons for the lack of goods and services, and so on (are the members of a hard-pressed new kibbutz or of a monastery founded on vows of poverty "poor" and/or "deprived"?). Some of the social actionists believe the meaning of poverty in the United States can be changed, and thus its consequences for the behavior of the poor, if they can be given an ideological perspective that removes the element of personal guilt and the taint of unworthiness, and which makes poverty something to fight about rather than submit to or struggle against individually (shades of K____ M____!).

3. Schematic 2 presents the conception of net real income in Income and Welfare in the United States. It suggests three points at which



Schematic 2

action organization might enter into the determination of the impoverishment of those with little or no money income: (1) Use of the time, energy, and skills of the unemployed and partially employed can add a good deal to the value of home production if they are properly organized and supported; given organization and a supply of materials (as a nonmoney, irregular transfer) this could go far enough beyond the often derided "paint-up-fix-up" activity of some slum dwellers (on their own or in response to urging by such agencies as the Urban League) to have important effects on the material environment of the residence, alleyways, and streetways within which low income adults and their children must live. Involvement of children in such efforts also can be effective, in both psychological and material terms. (2) Action groups can demand important changes in the nonmoney transfers from both private and public agencies, with respect to both kind and extent. Provision of municipal services to slum areas has been so affected in a number of places. I am waiting for the day when some organized group will chase the newest psychiatric caseworker out of their neighborhood and demand an effective recreation organizer for the kids in his or her place. (3) Action groups also can affect the goods and services obtained from disposable income; they have already done so with respect to rents charged by "slumlords" and with respect to crooked merchants and unfair moneylenders. They have not (as far as I know) entered effectively into establishment of cooperatives for merchandising, of credit unions, or of consumer training of a systematic sort; I see no reason why they could not do so.

UW well?

4. The ways in which some of the unemployed and underemployed use even the existing system of supports for dependent citizens, with all its limitations, deserves much more study. Since the various public and private agencies usually jealously guard their information about clientele from each other, we know very little about multiple agency utilization practices. It is alleged that some dependent people are very rational and practical about their use of the system (bearing enough children to bring ADC payments up to a minimum subsistence level, refusing a job promotion in order to keep money income down low enough to stay in public housing, quitting work if garnishment cuts the take-home pay too low to make the effort worthwhile, concealing resources and irregular additions to family income, and so on). Since a segment of the unemployed in the 1930's also converted to becoming skilled dependents, as Bakke has pointed out in his excellent work, The Unemployed Worker: A Study of the Task of Making a Living Without a Job, this does not seem to be an aspect of the "dependency syndrome" unique to the 1960's.[6] Bakke suggests that the variations in adjustments made by individuals to dependency because of unemployment often reflect patterns of value and motivation which they held while still employed and which their work experience had already reinforced. This does not negate Haggstrom's argument but suggests some cautions against generalizing too broadly about the reaction to dependency.

5. On the other hand, Bakke makes it clear that his experience with the unemployed in the 1930's supports much more often than not Haggstrom's assertion that it is dependency more than poverty which undermines such virtues as self-reliance and motivation to improve one's occupational chances even in adverse conditions. Bakke's evidence and analysis also supports Haggstrom's conclusion that changed circumstances can quickly alter patterns of "demoralization" for most of the unemployed, suggesting that their "flawed motivation" is more situationally determined than a deeply entrenched product of socialization into a "culture of poverty." On the other hand, few, if any, of Bakke's subjects were part of a second generation of poverty and dependency. In any case, there is important evidence, it seems to me, that reduction of poverty through money and

nonmoney transfers of a sort that emphasize the dependency of the recipient are likely to increase, or at lease will fail to reduce, his tendencies to alienation, apathy, ineffectiveness, low motivation, and the rest of the "dependency syndrome."

6. At the same time, I remain impressed by evidence that sustained, grinding poverty in our society, by its effects on life chances, self-imagery, and subsequent "faulty" socialization of children, can and does produce both inadequacy with respect to skills needed for achievement and demoralization. If, as Bakke has asserted, some people in poverty will choose higher material security provided through relief and other dependency relationships to less security through available low-paying jobs of uncertain duration, this may reflect an attrition of motives for work and self-reliance. On the other hand, it may reflect a fair amount of rationality since, as Friedmann and Havighurst have pointed out, apart from its general status value in a work-oriented society, "the job" for low skill workers often has little value other than as a source of disposable income and a routine that takes up the slack in life.

7. Entering into this system of related variables with only a program of quite limited counseling, retraining, and placement seems to me to be an inadequate strategy even if the effort were not, as reported to this Seminar by Glen Cain, so meager. Earlier works, such as Paterson and Darley's heralding of testing and placement as the "key" to problems of employment and work success (Men, Women and Jobs: A Study in Human Engineering), should be re-read as cautionary tales. Rather simple, "new technique" solutions to problems are likely to work only if the problems are rather simple, arising mainly from inadequacies in existing techniques. I am persuaded that the tail we have hold of is attached to a much bigger bear than that.

II.

The speculative character of this whole field has given rise to an increasingly lively debate with major implications for both theory and policy. On the one hand, there are those who see the main causal variables in the culture, informal social organization, and personal socialization of the deprived; this perspective points in the direction of therapy, education, and small group organization. On the other hand, many argue that the variables with most weight are those which describe large-scale organizations and societal systems; one looks to changes in law, in private and governmental investment policies, in deliberately developed demographic and ecological structures and patterns.

Those who advocate emphasis on what might be called the "societal" level of social organization point out that therapy and compensatory education for frequently anomic or alienated lower-strata citizens are likely to have little yield if the doors of the clinician's office and of the school open out each time into the same slum of deprivation and despair; provide job opportunities and a decent physical environment, however, and all except the most profoundly ill or severely retarded will show some response--pump a vast, job-creating program into Appalachia and see how many "hillbillies," though apparently saturated with the "culture of poverty," become regular wage earners--even without programs of "re-training" or "compensatory" education and counseling.

Some of those who share this orientation also argue that much of the behavior of lower strata people that the therapists-educationists seek to change is in fact adaptive to a system which minimizes opportunities for conventionally valued success; the so-called "culture of poverty" preserves some sheltered spheres of gratification in the face of general, persisting, system-induced failure. Most efforts to change the behavior of the lower strata will therefore have minimal effect, if any, unless they occur in the context of substantial changes in the larger society. From this point of view, the most effective job training programs for the unemployed would accompany or follow their actual employment, not precede it.

Furthermore, this argument asserts, efforts to induce behavior change through therapy and education without major changes in the social structure may be dysfunctional on two counts: (1) the general population, looking at greatly increasing budgets for educational and welfare agencies engaged in proliferating "demonstration projects" in every urban center will at first believe something truly effective is happening and then be disappointed at the meagerness of the results and in reaction revive all the traditional stereotypes of the poor as largely self-made failures; (2) relatively small segments of the slum dwellers will actually make it out of the low-income and racial ghettoes of the decaying inner city, and those who have most vigorously resisted the blandishments of recruiting counselors and educators will regain or reinforce their roles as opinion leaders in deprived sub-communities oriented to suppressing aspiration, maximizing whatever gains accompany dependency, and obtaining gratifications through means likely to reinforce the members' alienation from the larger society. The final result will be a hard core of poverty somewhat smaller in percentage terms than now but even "harder," and a majority of citizens even more inclined to wash their hands of the problem or to shift toward increasingly punitive techniques for dealing with it.

The alternative school of thought also makes a strong argument. For example, to extend the franchise to people who do not believe, or understand how, they can use the vote is to confuse formal, legal rights with effective freedom. Again, adequately motivated and tenacious personnel are already hard to find for job opportunities and training programs in some urban areas. What good does it do to create jobs to be filled by the overtime hours of the already skilled, or to build hundreds of new schools in which low-income students will fall farther behind grade-level norms each year until they drop out? With the exception of whole, underdeveloped regions such as Appalachia, the strategy of achieving change through large-scale national or regional "inputs" has failed; for the people of poverty in the urban centers there has been neither "filter-down" nor any significant "multiplier" effect. It is precisely at the "micro" rather than the "macro" level of social organization that we must now seek to design and implement programs of social change, according to this point of view. Some remarkable results have already been obtained by educational innovations for those in slum schools (however good or bad "compensatory education" may be as a concept), by militant self-help projects among the poor (as in Philadelphia), by social action groups in a number or urban places. If such efforts do not as yet appear to have a major impact on the interlocking problems of poverty, discrimination, unemployment, and dependency, it is only because they are both so new and so sparse. Such projects and programs should be multiplied as rapidly as possible.

Within this general school of thought are some who reject much of what is presently typical of social welfare agencies and public school systems as they

deal with slum dwellers. A small but vocal set of academicians and practitioners oriented to community development theory and social action techniques have argued that educational and welfare institutions are too much part of "the establishment." Even programs which professional social workers and educators consider effective are criticized as serving more to get the poor in general and Negroes in particular to accommodate to a status quo which improves very slowly, at best, rather than enabling them to formulate their own goals more effectively and then to implement them either through demands on existing institutional arrangements or by generating new ones. This group often has been personified, not always accurately, in terms of an increasingly well-publicized image of Saul Alinsky, and its central concept is "power." If the "culture of poverty" is permeated by a "dependency syndrome" and by "alienation," the most important single causal factor is believed to be a sense of powerlessness which is reinforced daily throughout the life cycle of the urban slum dwellers. Many of the poor seem to have concluded that best defense is not to struggle fruitlessly, living up to middle class ideals of "good character," but to find ways to "lean" on the social system of the powerful majority and at the same time to "disconnect" from its success goals and its orientation to conventional forms of striving. Abandonment of this strategy can be induced only by bringing the poor into direct, dramatic, conflict with the establishment in such a way that there are visible victories for them; they cannot be given power but must seize it. This alone, it is believed, will shatter the adaptive patterns of dependency and alienation and allow new, more desirable patterns to be created.

This is the technique of many segments of the civil rights movement. But critics of the "Alinsky approach" point out that neighborhood and subcommunity action groups that he and a few others have organized in northern and western cities are not linked into a mass movement aimed at implementing a well defined program of broad social change, as is the civil rights movement in the South. These critics do not see any evidence that the social action-political action approach at the "micro" level of social organization in fact has consequences that cumulate into basic and lasting changes in the life-ways and socioeconomic status and situation of the presently poor and powerless. It is true that potent protests make politicians and some of the public pay a little more attention to the problems of the slum dwellers, and that some small-scale gains in services, housing, and justice may be made. But how does this lead into a broadly effective program? What links all the catharsis to some vision, some set of goals, since these groups usually have no ideology they can articulate? To such criticisms the advocates of this approach often respond that the transformation of the poor into power-wielding organizations through which they learn to set and attain their own goals will inevitably lead to broader changes in institutional programs and arrangements and in consequence to changes in the larger society. Critics respond that one of Alinsky's earliest and most powerful groups, the Back of the Yards Council in Chicago, has itself become in many ways conservative. (Some assert that where race is concerned, it is reactionary.) And so the argument mounts. Meanwhile, it is clear that more and more efforts along these lines are being developed, few of them subject to the kind of observation and control that will yield the needed knowledge, both theoretic and practical.

III

This concluding note deals with some of the lines of research and demonstration being developed at UWM. It will be even sketchier than the preceding, since the main thrust of this Seminar (as I see it) is along the lines of collating existing information and both criticizing and generating explanations usable in the formulation of policy. But most of this Seminar's conclusions will require further testing, and the following remarks are intended to underscore the virtues and vices of the Milwaukee metropolitan area as the field for such research and to call attention to likely and critical shortcomings in the responses to exhortations for empirical inquiry.

Milwaukee clearly contrasts with such focal points of northern urban unemployment and social unrest as Chicago and New York, not just in terms of size, but also with respect to a number of other key variables. (I do not know how it compares, in this regard, with other cities more like it in size.) Unemployment is relatively low, recently estimated at 3.1 per cent by WSES. Even in 1960, when unemployment was higher, only two census tracts had as much as 20 per cent unemployed (approximately), with a few others above 10 per cent. Typically, Negroes endure much more than their proportionate share of unemployment, underemployment, and low-paying jobs. Nevertheless, Milwaukee ranks very high among American cities for average income of its Negro residents. In addition its "inner core" is far from being the extended Negro ghetto and festering slum of high rise tenements populated by an angry and despairing poor that one encounters in parts of New York and Chicago. The areas of high population density are characterized by many small and middle-sized dwellings, originally for one, two, or sometimes three families, with structures close together, sometimes two to a 40-foot lot, in various states of decay and repair.

The area of high racial segregation is increasing with the rapid increase of the Negro population, but there remain large transitional areas and a few areas which have sustained fairly stable integration thus far. Municipal and county services are apparently better than in most large cities; welfare services, though in the main quite conventional, are fairly well supported. Negro organizations and civil rights groups remain rather fragmented in spite of several coordinated efforts--a school boycott in the spring of 1964 and a recent demonstration in sympathy for the civil rights effort in Selma, Alabama. But no leader or group commands a mass following and there has been no continuous pattern of anger or extreme frustration among the majority of Negroes. Though the public school administration still refuses even to admit that de facto segregation constitutes a problem, it has initiated some elements of a program of compensatory education, is beginning a more rapid development in that direction, and appears to have convinced many Negro and white citizens that it is doing a great deal.

In sum, Milwaukee presents a most intriguing challenge to both the "micro" and the "macro" approaches to the problems of poverty, dependency, and unemployment. While the scope of the problems is smaller in terms of numbers of people, it seems reasonable to assume that this field setting presents us with the "hard core," if such there be; this is what some other cities will face if the present efforts to reduce poverty, unemployment, and dependency have some effect over the next few years or so. It would therefore seem imperative that research and demonstration be undertaken so as to maximize inter-city comparisons. But I see

little to indicate that this will be the case, except where data collection conventions already establish such possibilities (as with census and various types of economic data). The rush for Federal funds appears to be producing many particularistic community and even individual agency programs. Undoubtedly some crude comparisons of efforts and results will be possible; much more refined comparisons could be built into this effort without damage to these projects and inquiries. I suspect that we are, in effect, already losing a good deal of knowledge that could aid in formulating more effective policies.

Further loss will result from the failure to coordinate even the research-demonstration efforts in a single locality. In Milwaukee at UWM the School of Education, the School of Social Work, and the Department of Urban Affairs are presently involved in projects that range from special pre-kindergarten programs for slum children through new counseling approaches to "problem families" to efforts at organization of social action groups. Extension in Milwaukee has also fielded programs relevant to these concerns through its Social Work program and in some other areas. Consumer training is being attempted both independently and through the Urban League by Extension's Center for Consumer Affairs. A pilot project in "citizenship training" intended to produce social action organization and political involvement has been undertaken jointly through the Department of Urban Affairs and Extension's Institute of Governmental Affairs. Agricultural Extension also has had several "urban" projects.

In order to maximize the knowledge gain from these various efforts, they would have to be coordinated enough to be accompanied by systematic evaluative research, with target populations and control groups selected to allow some careful accounting of the relevant variables. Only such a "pooling" of efforts is likely to yield the variety and quantity of data needed. Our competence for providing policy and program advice to relevant state and community authorities would then be greatly enhanced. At this time I do not see the slightest tendency toward such coordination. It would be ridiculous to say that as a result we will learn nothing; but we will learn much less than we could and should. And, of course, there is even less chance of gaining this kind of research relevant coordination among and with non-University agencies in Milwaukee.

A third problem is the apparent communications gap between practitioners in these areas of concern (and some of the researchers closest to them) and the "theoreticians." Given a field which is already well developed theoretically, I have no doubt that important advances in explanations of the phenomena that interest us can be made by re-examining existing models and subjecting available propositions to rigorous logical analysis or re-examining them in the light of new, systematic data. But where theory is lacking or is of the weakest sort, where even consensus about what are the relevant variables is lacking, and where available data in many instances range from poor to "lousey," those who specialize in thinking about the problem would, I suspect, do well to keep in as close touch as possible with those who have some direct experience with the empirical field. This exhortation probably applies least to those doing formal economic analyses of determinants of employment or of welfare expenditures. But it seems to me that it applies with some force to much of the area of concern indicated by terms such as poverty and dependency. We need inputs of "frontier" data and even of direct experience and the insights it yields.

In sum, I see Milwaukee as an especially interesting field for research and demonstration relevant to the problems of poverty, dependency, and unemployment. But our present arrangements for using that field to gain the knowledge necessary both for building theory and guiding practice strike me as being about as non-rational and dysfunctional as we could make them.

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E.H.

Prepared for delivery at Morgantown, West Virginia, May 4, 1965

Poverty

Population Change and Poverty-Reduction, 1947-1975

by

Robert J. Lampman[1/]

The purposes of this paper are to examine the composition of that part of the American population which is poor, to inquire into the process by which the size and composition of the poor population changes from year to year and decade to decade, and to indicate the likely size and shape of the poverty problem in the years to 1975. The underlying question for all such inquiry is: What policy measures hold greatest promise for maintaining and accelerating our historic rate of poverty-reduction.

Setting the Poverty-Line

President Johnson and his Council of Economic Advisers have started the current considerations of poverty with an admittedly crude definition of poverty as less than $3000 (at 1962 prices) of total money income for families and $1500 for unrelated individuals. By the use of that definition an estimate can be made that 20 per cent of American families and 45 percent of unrelated individuals, for a total of 35 million persons, were poor in 1962.

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Poverty

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF POVERTY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

August 25, 1965

To: Members of the Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

From: Martin David

The following letter has been sent to Mr. Robben Fleming, Provost, Bascom Hall.

"Dear Mr. Fleming:

I would like to report on the activities of the University Committee on Problems of Poverty during the last fiscal year. The committee met a number of times to consider such questions as coordination of University activities funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the development of new research and teaching programs in the University related to poverty, and the development of research and extension activities concerned with low-income families. The committee did not resolve all questions it raised. It did, however, do two things:

One, the Committee recommended to Vice-President Clodius that the administration establish a clearing house for research proposals related to the field of poverty so that persons interested in the field could be informed of developments in the various schools and departments. (To my knowledge this recommendation has not been implemented and I urge that the administration take active steps in this direction).

Two, the Committee sponsored an interdisciplinary seminar for the discussion of research on poverty and the role of the University in community action programs. I attach a copy of summaries of these meetings for your information.

Quite independently of the poverty committee several members of the Economics Department have arranged to conduct some broad-based research for the Office of Economic Opportunity this summer. This group (some of whom

have independent consulting appointments with OEO) is in the process of renegotiating its contract for the eleven months beginning October 1st, 1965. I strongly urge that the University hire a senior level director to integrate social science research related to poverty into a common center. This center could be included in SSRI. The existing group in economics would be the nucleus of the center.

I am eagerly awaiting the arrival of Barbara Newell to assist us in the development of some lines of communication between the working group here and the other groups that ought to be involved in such a poverty center. Unfortunately, Bob Lampman and myself will be out of town the first few days in September. I suggest that Mrs. Newell get in touch with Bob when he returns on September 9th.

I hope that the University Administration endorses these developments and will give us assistance in carrying on this program when it is needed.

(signed) Martin David."

Eve Pacing

POVERTY -- U.S.A.

ONE FIFTH OF AMERICA LIVES IN POVERTY TODAY -- IN 1965

There are 35 million people in America who live on less than $3,000 a year.

This includes 9.3 million families with 12 million children.

If a family spends 70¢ a day per person on food, it will spend over $1,000 a year on food alone. If it spends as little as $800 a year for housing, this will leave only $1200 for everything else -- clothing, transportation, medical and dental care, insurance.

5.4 million of these families (17 million persons) with more than 8 million children had total incomes of less than $2,000 a year.

Children in these poor families often enter a cycle of poverty. Because of malnutrition and poor health, lack of clothing and lack of incentive, they drop out of school and soon repeat the same pattern of poverty and joblessness that their parents are enmeshed in.

WHO ARE THE POOR ? ? ?

More than half of the poor families are headed by a person who is employed or seeking work. This means they are earning wages which are inadequate. They are the working poor.

25% are broken families. They have no male head.

61% are headed by a person with an 8th grade education or less.

34% are headed by a person 65 years of age or older.

22% of the families are Negro families or non-white families.

POVERTY COSTS THE NATION MORE THAN WE CARE TO RECOGNIZE

Poverty costs the nation a great price in many areas which affect each one of us. Consider the following facts. Vice President Humphrey points out the following hidden costs of poverty:

The poor have little or no purchasing power. Vice President Humphrey says:

> "If we were to add only $500 a year to the earned income of our 11 million families now living in the bottom layer of poverty, we would put an additional $5½ billion a year in circulation. This additional $5½ billion would actually give an extra thrust of over $20 billion to our national economy."

The largest potential market in the world for American goods and services is not the Common Market or underdeveloped countries. It is the 35 million Americans who are living in poverty. The Vice President says we can tap this market "whenever we wish by making productive, income-earning citizens out of our poor."

The money spent to alleviate the misery of the poor through relief and unemployment compensation is estimated at $6 billion a year. But only about one-forth of the poor receive unemployment compensation or welfare help. It is estimated that private charities spend another $10 billion on care of the poor.

Society loses the productivity of wasted human potential. The bright youngster who becomes a dropout; the hardworking, good citizens who becomes demoralized by unemployment and poverty makes no contribution to our society. Instead they become a drag on society.

Poverty has high social costs in terms of delinquency, crime, illness. Judge David L. Baselon, Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia said recently:

> "We are beginning to realize that the rising crime rate is not caused merely by weak law enforcement. Poverty in all its manifestations -- a lack of basic necessities, family breakdowns, mental disorders, unsupervised youths, school dropouts, alcoholism, drug addiction, and so on -- is the chief factor producing anti-social behavior. A successful war on poverty would come close to solving the crime problem."

President Johnson in his message to Congress on Education pointed out:

> "We now spend $450 a year per child in our public schools. But we spend $1800 a year to keep a delinquent youth in a detention home, $2500 a year for a family on relief, $3500 a year for a criminal in state prison."

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 LAUNCHED WIDE VARIETY OF PROGRAMS

Y O U T H -- A major part of this bill is concerned with the problems of young people. For the out-of-school, out-of-work youth 16 to 21, the JOB CORPS will provide residential centers to supply education, training and constructive work experience. There are 2 million unemployed youth living in families with an income of less than $3,000.

For youngsters (16 to 21 years) who are in danger of dropping out of school for economic reasons, the WORK-TRAINING PROGRAM provides full or part time jobs to enable them to stay in or return to school. Youth will be employed by agencies of State and local governments (hospitals, settlement houses, schools, libraries) or nonprofit organizations.

C O M M U N I T Y A C T I O N programs, initiated by local rural or urban communities, fight poverty through job training, literacy programs, employment counseling, day care centers, remedial reading programs, job development and other programs. The Federal government will give assistance in planning and administration and pay up to 90% of the cost of local programs that are approved. Unions can play an important role in the development of these programs. The bill also provides for recruiting and training volunteers to serve in a domestic peace called VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America.) Volunteers will work with migrant laborers, on Indian reservations, in slums and hospitals.

THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM

IS A GOOD BEGINNING - BUT

THE BASIC ANSWER TO POVERTY IS

-- MORE JOBS

-- MORE PURCHASING POWER

HOW DO WE CREATE MORE PURCHASING POWER AND DEVELOP MORE JOBS ? ? ?

- Increase the minimum wage to $2 an hour and expand coverage to include more workers. Some 12 million Americans are working for $1.50 an hour or less -- that's $60 a week or less -- $3,000 a year. Nearly 1 million Americans are now working for 50¢ an hour or less.

- Create more jobs by increasing the overtime penalty from time and a half to double time and shorten the basic work week to 35 hours.

- Poverty is more prevalent among workers who do not have unions to represent them. The federal government must support the right of all workers to organize and bargain collectively in agriculture as well as industry.

- Social Security benefits must be increased by 50%. The average retired worker receives $17.70 a week. The average benefit to aged widows is $15.33 and aged couples are trying to live on $29.72 a week.

- Hospital care for the aged under Social Security will keep many retired workers from being driven into poverty by high hospital bills. The $3 charge for insurance covering doctor bills should be removed.

- A vast increase in federal expenditures for job-creating public works is a vital part of the war on poverty. A program of public investment in America would meet our desperate need for new schools, hospitals, housing and urban redevelopment.

- Improvement of unemployment compensation by establishing federal standards, and a more effective nationwide public employment service would raise benefits for the unemployed and help them find new employment.

- The benefits and coverage levels of all state welfare and social insurance programs should be improved to meet the family needs of the 1960's.

- The war on poverty requires a vast increase in the quantity and quality of education, health care, low-cost public housing, consumer counseling and personal guidance services for low-income families.

- Expanded support must be given to the Economic Development Act, Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Economic Opportunties Act.

3 Federal Programs to Fight Poverty

BOOMING ECONOMY INCLUDES POCKETS OF EXTREME POVERTY

While the general economy has been booming since 1961, areas of extreme poverty continue to exist isolated from the general prosperity of the rest of the nation. The need for special programs to aid depressed areas was debated by Congress from 1955 to 1961 and became a major issue in presidential campaigns. Two bills providing aid to depressed areas passed Congress but were vetoed by President Eisenhower. One of the first major bills signed by President Kennedy was the Area Redevelopment Act in 1961.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

This Act replaces the Area Redevelopment Act and broadens the concept of aid to depressed areas to include regional planning. Like ARA it provides for loans, grants and technical assistance to help depressed areas attract new industries, improve public facilities and develop new industries.

This act encourages development of larger regions which may cross state boundaries. States will be encouraged to establish multi-state regional commissions composed of one federal member and one member from each participating state. The law provides federal grants for public works and development facilities and provides loans for public facilities and for individuals and corporations to purchase land, machinery and equipment.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

The training programs which were included in ARA are not included in the Economic Development Act provisions. Manpower retraining now comes under the Manpower Development and Training Act and MDTA has certain funds earmarked for programs in redevelopment areas. MDTA was originally passed in 1962 and was extended by Congress in 1965 to include: up to 104 weeks of training (including basic education), basic training allowance keyed to state unemployment insurance levels plus an extra $5 a week for each dependent, full payment of trainee's local transportation costs. More than 500,000 people have been trained since 1962 and 75% have gotten jobs.

AID TO 11 STATE APPALACHIAN REGION PROVIDES $1.1 BILLION TO ELIMINATE POVERTY

Following a one-year study by a Presidential Commission, appointed at the request of the Governors of the 11 states involved, a program for attacking the interrelated problems of this area was adopted by Congress. The $1.1 billion program will build 3,000 miles of highways over a six year period with the federal government paying up to 80% of the cost. This is the first step in ending the isolation of this inaccessible area and attracting new industry and tourists. States will put up an additional $360 million.

Other parts of the program to be developed in two years include: grants for construction and operation of hospitals, and other health facilities; technical assistance and loans to non-profit timber development groups, mining area restoration, survey of water resources, funds to enable communities to qualify for existing federal programs requiring matching grants.

REVOLUTION IN MEDICAL CARE

1965 SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS PROVIDED MUCH MORE THAN MEDICARE

When Congress amended the Social Security law last year to provide medicare for 17 million Americans 65 and over, it also made other improvements in the law. One of these has turned out to have far-reaching implications in meeting the medical needs of many citizens.

The 1965 Act greatly expands certain provisions of the Public Assistance Program (Kerr-Mills) to provide:

- expanded and improved medical care for the indigent aged and other needy individuals, dependent children, the blind and permanently disabled

- improve the Child Health Program provisions by increasing the amount of funds over current authorizations

- authorizes funds for new programs to improve the health care of children

- increases the federal share of payments under State Public Assistance programs by providing a more liberal federal formula in respect to matching state funds

This means, in effect, that this amendment provides federal aid for free or very low cost medical care for any one now receiving welfare to which the U.S. contributes. It means that for the first time we can expand our medical services to people, other than the aged, who cannot pay their medical bills. The largest group benefiting from this amendment will be children. It is estimated that at least 18 million children living with their families or in foster homes and institutions will be helped.

STATE LEGISLATURES MUST ACT TO PROVIDE MATCHING FUNDS FOR NEW PROGRAM

Many states have failed to improve their present public assistance programs to the full extent possible under existing legislation. Seven states and Puerto Rico have enacted legislation enabling them to receive matching federal funds under this program which became effective January 1. These states are: California, Illinois, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania. Six other states have submitted plans and 14 others are expected to do so this year. It is often the states that most desparately need to improve their services which fail to take advantage of the federal funds available to them.

Many of the most offensive provisions of the old Kerr-Mills law have been eliminated or modified. The means test has been radically altered. Arbitrary limitations on income that excluded people regardless of the size of medical bills have been ruled out. The responsibility of relatives for bills has been limited to mean that only a spouse or the parent of a child under 21 can be held responsible for bills. Adults will not be required to pay for their parents. Residence requirements have been eliminated. The House Ways and Means Committee originally estimated that the cost of the federal share of the expanded Kerr-Mills program would amount to $238 million during the first full year of operation if ALL states took advantage of the program. However, the $238 million cost figure has already been exceeded by the programs proposed by the first seven states and Puerto Rico. Costs will rise as more states come into the program. This enables states who take advantage of this program to vastly expand their health services to people of all ages.

HOW CAN WE HELP POOR FAMILIES BREAK OUT OF SLUMS?

ANY SERIOUS ATTACK ON POVERTY MUST HELP CITIZENS FIND DECENT HOUSING

In 1961 President Kennedy said "Our cities are engulfed in squalor. Twelve long years after Congress declared our goal to be a 'decent home and suitable living environment for every American family' we still have 25 million Americans living in substandard homes." The problem remains the same in 1966.

Congress, under pressure from the real estate lobby, has appropriated only small sums for public housing. In 1964 no public housing projects were started in 21 of the 25 largest cities. In fact, only 590,000 units of public housing have been built since 1937. Private housing interests do not meet the needs of the poor because profits are low, compared to the money to be made in building for middle and upper class families.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON PRESENTS NEW APPROACH THROUGH RENT SUPPLEMENTS

The rent supplement proposal is only a small part of the broad $7 billion housing bill which the President proposed and Congress passed in 1965. The President asked for $30 million, (Congress reduced this to $12 million) for a program that would enable poor people to live in decent housing which they couldn't otherwise afford. Here is how the program would work. The family will pay 25% of its income for rent and the government will pay the balance. For example, a family of 8 with an income of $400 a month would pay $100 toward the rent. If the rent amounted to $132, the government would pay the remaining $32 under the rent supplement program.

To qualify for aid under this program a family must be within the income limit set for federally-aided public housing projects. This varies from city to city from $3,100 to $4,900 for a family of 3 or 4, and up to $5,800 for 7. To be eligible for a rent supplement, a family must also be living in substandard housing, or displaced by some government activity such as urban renewal or highway construction. Others who can qualify are the elderly, handicapped or victims of a natural disaster.

WHAT ARE SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES OF THE NEW RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM ? ? ?

The program is flexible. As the family's income rises, the supplement will be decreased and if their income goes above the ceiling, the subsidy will be eliminated. Yet, unlike families in public housing, the family will not have to move. Thus the family can put down roots and have an incentive to earn more money without fear that they will be forced to move out of their apartment if they earn too much money.

Instead of lumping the poor together in a project, the rent supplement makes it possible to mix families of various income levels in the same area. This eliminates the stigma and the isolation of the family in the project for the poor. This approach has been tried in small scale pilot projects in Boston, Washington and New York. They have found that poor families receiving rent supplements and living in middle class neighborhoods have more incentive, pay their rent on time, keep their apartments in good order and have had no brushes with the law.

Who will sponsor these housing units? The program is limited to nonprofit organizations like unions, churches and co-ops. A nonprofit group will submit plans to the federal housing officials. If approved the government will guarantee the mortgage to cover construction or the reconversion of existing buildings.

USE FILMS TO EDUCATE ON POVERTY

The Captive - This is the story of an unemployed coal miner and his unsuccessful fight to find employment in the Appalachian area where technological change has made his skills obsolete. 29 min. Rental $3.

Depressed Area - This is the story of an ARA training program which seeks to rescue skilled miners who cannot find jobs after the mine closes and their once prosperous community sinks into poverty. 14 min. Rental $3.

Valley of the Tennessee - How regional planning under the Tennessee Valley Authority in a multi-state area improved the life and living standards of millions of people in one of the most depressed areas of the nation is the theme of this film. 30 min. Rental $3.

Superfluous People - A WCBS-TV documentary showing the severe problems which urban poverty breeds among the young and the old. 55 min. Rental $7.50.

Harvest of Shame - CBS-TV documentary telling the story of the miserable living and working conditions of migratory laborers. 54 min. Rental $7.50.

WRITE TO AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION FOR FILMS

DISTRIBUTE PAMPHLETS

"Breaking the Poverty Cycle," a reprint from the Federationist, 12 pages. Available from the AFL-CIO. Free up to 50 copies. $10 per hundred.

"The Erosion of Jobs and Skills," Labor's Economic Review, reprinted from the Federationist. Available from AFL-CIO. Free up to 50 copies.

"The Grip of Poverty on the Unemployed," Economic Trends and Outlook, reprinted from the Federationist. Available from the AFL-CIO. Free up to 50 copies.

"Jobless Pay and the Longterm Unemployed," Labor's Economic Review, reprinted from the Federationist. Available from the AFL-CIO. Free up to 50 copies.

"TVA - the Controversial Success," Labor's Economic Review, reprinted from the Federationist. Available from the AFL-CIO. Free up to 50 copies.

"Humanizing Technological Change," Labor's Economic Review, reprinted from the Federationist. Available from AFL-CIO. Free up to 50 copies.

"The Blue-Sky Sweatshop," Labor's Economic Review, reprint from the Federationist. Available from the AFL-CIO. Free up to 50 copies.

WRITE TO AFL-CIO PAMPHLET DIVISION FOR PAMPHLETS

Poverty

23rd Annual Institute of Race Relations June, 30, 1966

THE CITIZEN POOR

by

Lewis W. Jones

At best welfare programs are palliatives. Their simple goal is to shore-up a social system weakened by too many people sinking too far below the floor of security and comfort. The more threatening this weakness becomes the more apprehensive are those who enjoy the major economic and political benefits from the established order. A measure of this apprehension is the increase in the emphasis on welfare provisions for the disadvantaged who may be nearing the limits of their endurance and beginning to raise questions about "The System" as a system.

Hallowell Pope and Edgar W. Butler, professors at the University of North Carolina, presented a paper at the 1966 session of the Southern Sociological Society ofn "Factors Related to Neglect of Client Needs in Public Welfare." This paper in its description of the characteristics of the social welfare approach, organization, and demands on the welfare worker suggests what may be expected of such a structure and the built-in antagonisms to the interests of the welfare client. The authors lay the ground-work for understanding those abuses that threaten the civil liberties of the social welfare client.

Organizations respond to pressures, as do their personnel. The dominant pressures on local public welfare organizations are those from the middle-class public, political sources, or from its super-ordinate administrative structure. Why isn't the "customer always right" in welfare as well as in retailing? It is because the welfare client is powerless (in addition, he feels powerless), while the customer is not. The customer can refuse to buy and knows that the seller would like to sell. He can therefore bargain for a lower price or better service. The welfare client cannot afford to bargain with hunger and has no alternative source of livlihood. He, perhaps, can give the welfare worker deference in return for the worker's services. In such a one-sided bargaining situation, the client has almost no weapons with which to counter act the pressures on the caseworker for rule-adherence - no matter how petty these rules may be or how desperate the client's need. Welfare clients as a category lack the following possible sources of independence available to some groups: (1) organization to support opposition to the welfare agency or other super-ordinate organizations which, in turn, is dependent on communication channels and a capacity to recuit and protect a copetent leadership; (2) existence and availability of alternative sources of satisfaction, e.g., several agencies vying for the right to give aid; or (3) an impartially, cometently applied set of procedures[3]-at least the application of welfare rules is probably often seen as capricious by the client population, even though the welfare investigators and caseworkers may be trying to do an impartial job.

As well as having an understanding of the welfare apparatus, it

is basic to this discussion to indicate the place of the poor in the social order.

There are diverse vested interests in a social system, all of whom want as little done to change it as possible. First, there are the most affluent who have more than enough and are disposed to dispense charity. A minister once told me about the charitable disposition of his wealthy parishoners. If he spoke of some suffering or in need, they were sympathetic and reached for their check books. He said they were kindly people who simply did not understand that the funds they gave to charity came to them as a perquisites for persons in their positions in a system that made the people needy in the first place.

A secomdgroup with vested interests are those who service the system -- public officials, teachers, social workers, et al. -- whose security depends in part upon welfare provisions for and control of the disadvantaged. Traditionally a major responsibility of the service group was to see that the disadvantaged suffered penury without protest or threat. Laws, rules, administrative directives and subtle pressures have been used in servicing the system.

A third group are the large working class whose dreary mortgaged boxes in which they live, whose automobiles and other appurtenances depend upon keeping things as they are.

The greatest concern over potential threats to the system is to be found among the fourth group, the lackeys of the system. I remember having been shocked by t is fact when I first learned it as a student many years ago. A speaker at the college was reporting on a demonstration that involved the picketing of J. P. Morgan and company in New York's financial district. The speaker said, "We walked about all day with our picket signs and nobody bothered us. There was no indication that Mr. Morgan took notice of us but at 4:30 in the afternoon when the offices closed and clerks, messegers, etc. came out we got it. When I picked myself up with my picket sign on my shoulders with my head sticking out through it, I knew who defended the system most vigorously -- these lackeys of the system."

The very poor, these who depend upon welfare programs, should be distinguished from workers whose labor and whose productivity earn for them social space and consideration of their well-being by the affluent. They organize into various organizations, they vote, they effective use collective action. Some rewards would be granted the workers to encourage productivity even if they had not discovered the use of their collective power. The underemployed and unemployed do not have these power resources.

Professor Haggstrom gives indication of the basic problems the poor face in their allotted position in the social system. "One can speak of, and roughly measure, a volume of social space define by the group and within which activity takes place. The poor exist in a shrunken social world, largely not defined by them, which provides little space to them for self-responsible action. They can move in two directions. (1) to transform or redefine their social world, and (2) to expand it within broad limits of resent definitions. In social movements (as Nietzsche pointed out in relation to early Christianity)

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both directions are taken simultaneously. In social action as well the poor come to reformulate the criteria of values in order to allow themselves to be regarded also as having value, while securing additional power in relation to wealthy persons. In these ways, their social world, their available arena for action, becomes more nearly equal to that of affluent persons."

The kind of education people at the lower level get tends to make escape from their limited social space difficult, indeed while serving to pressure them into a mold of adjustment to that space.

In his thoughtful paper on "Poverty and Adult Education," Warren C. Haggstrom of Syracuse University points out that: "The poor are usually being caught up in someone else's social reality and carried along. Neighborhoods of poverty can no more affect the educational or training programs of settlementhouses, the public school system, the university, the federally supported training agency, than they can affect public welfare, the police department, or local government. Self-instructional education should be of distinct advantage to the poor in comparison -- not bedause it furnished immediate rewards, but because the education does not entrap the learners in a network of social relationships in which they are poweless. From the point of view of the poor, most programs extended to them are upside down, serving the affluent society which offers the program rather than being sensitively related to the continuing action of the poor.

"Programs to educate poor adults resemble these developed for children in that the important decisions about education are out of the hands of those being educated. But poor adults, unlike children, are identified with persons who do arrange the educational programs. Further, also unlike children powerless and dependent adults are taken in our socity to be inferior. Finally poor adults (unlike adults with money) lack compensatory power in other areas of their lives.

"The fact that educational programs are controlled and extended by affluent outsiders to poverty means that the programs reflect other concerns of the educators than the provision of education. The poor are also taught to be docile and not to endanger public safety or the public treasury. In other words, a major object in educating the poor is to control them, while the purpose of education of affluent adults is their sel-realization. But social control from outside interferes with enabling poor adults to assume self-responsible adult roles and thus reduces their motivation to become educated at all.

"A characteristic of communication is that the clearness and accuracy with which a message is communicated depends upon the power of the communicator in relation to the receiver of messages. A powerful person or system sends messages with clarity to persons or systems over which power is held (although not necessarily a message of which the sender is conscious), but receives messages in return only indistinctly. For example a housewife in a "family of substance" communicates far more to her cleaning woman than the reverse. And, as can be easily verified, a department store clerk or social worker is likely to hear a powerful person more distinctly than a powerless one sending out the same message. As a result, the poor are subject to

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assumptions about their inferiority communicated by the powerful, and find themselves unable, except in such dramatic fashion as picket lines, marches, and votes, to communicate effectively their own different conception of an appropriate relationship of themselves to their world. It is usually quite impossible for the poor to communicate to those extending educational programs enough about their lives so that the programs can be made relevant." On college campuses in the last five years students have made administrators aware that they have a message contrary to trustee, administrative & faculty fiat. Nobody seems to know just what the message is but the formerly all-powerful elders show evidences of being "shook-up".

Until recently it was not only a matter of the inability of the powerless poor to communicate; they dared not. I remember that during World War II, while traveling through the South to gather information for the Office of War Information on Negro attitudes toward the war, I encountered revealing experiences.

> In one instance I talked with an old man who told me his mistress was upset because his daughter had quit her four-dollar-a-week job as cook to work in a parachute factory.
>
> One day, the old lady came where Ebeneezer was working in the garden and inquired after the departed cook.
>
> "How's Martha doing up North in her Eleanor Club?"
>
> The old man said, " I ask her 'bout this, Miss Callie, and she said Eleanor Clubs is in white folks minds but if there was one she sho join it."
>
> The old lady snorted, " I declare, Ebeneezer, I don't know what we're going to do with the young Nigras unless it's to dump them back in Africa."
>
> Ebeneezer replied, "wal um I 'spec' they 'scuss it before they do it."
>
> I asked him, "Do you think they want to send Negroes back to Africa?"
>
> He said, "Naw suh, they just want us to stay here and feel bad."

In another instance, a Mississippi county was losing its young white men to the draft because of the high rejection rate of Negroes for illiteracy. Some concerned white women decided to hold literacy classes for Negroes of draft age but none would enroll. The women expressed themselves as being irked by the ingratitude shown in refusal to be taught.

In the South, where my professional experience has been, an almost unbelievable change has come in communication. The docile helpless appear now as hopeful. The are trying to use the prevailing customary devices of the established order. However, when thwarted

in that use they resort to mass action that carries in it a threat to revered procedures and contains a message that the traditionally powerful don't want to hear.

The relative power of the poor being what it is and the education they get doing to them what it does, the welfare programs, ostensibly for their benefit, have a singular significance for them and perhaps a greater significane for the social system whose blueprint would have fashioned them as unalterable cogs.

For far too long across the social spectrum welfare programs for the poor have cost too much in impaired human dignity and have paid too little in sustenance and security. Perhaps you feel that what has happened in the case of welfare programs for farm people is remote from your concern. If you look about your cities at the migrants who come from the farms of this country you will realize that you are reaping the harvest from misused rural welfare programs. Theevicted farm tenants, the untaught farm laborers, the discriminated-against small operators are the urban communities' harvest from thirty years of abuse of assistance to rural people in general and farm people in particular.

Ben Neufeld, Excutive Secretary of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor in a Memorandum on Equal Opportunity in the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Services dated April 1, 1966, writes:

"ASCA - The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture -- at least at the top level, recognized even before the report of the Civil Rights Commission that its programs must reach all eligible people if they are to accomplish their purposes; protection of farm income and preservation of agricultural resources. The programs assigned to it for administration include several for price support, including those for taking land out of production of the "surplus" crops, these, in turn, merging into those for protecting and replenishing the soils themselves.

"In administering these programs, which must reach every individual farmer regardless of the size of his operation, the agency makes use of county committees composed of farmers nominated and elected indirectly b the farm operators in the area themselves and having quite broad powers. ASCS state committees supervise the local bodies; they are named by the Secretary. The system is of long standing; it is an exeellent example of the "decentralization" which makes it so hard for a Secretary of Agriculture to run his agency.

"Despite good intentions in Washington, this system has become corrupted, most notable in the South. Racial exclusion has been the rule, with ballots, committees and staffs including no Negroes and often discriminating directly against Negro farm operators.

"Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs documents this situation in great detail. Its publication marked the beginning of renewed efforts by USDA to clean it up, in ASCS and in the other constituent agencies. Unfortunately, because of this decentralization, resolve at the top has meet reactions ranging from complete agreement to foolt dragging."

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The farm welfare programs associated with the Agricultural Adjustment Acts of the 1930's were a most ruthless abuse of the civil liberties of poor farmers. Despite good intentions by planners in Washington, carrying out the programs was in the hands of adroit exploiters at the county and state levels. The late Aubrey Williams told of going from Washington to Mississippi to argue with the then Governor of that state who refused to permit the distribution of free garden seeds because it would hurt the business of plantation commissaries. And there was the plantation owner of whom I asked what the interest on loans and "advances" was to his tenants: He remarked: "Hell, I don't charge interest. It's against the law in this state. You can't get but 8 per cent. I charge my niggers 25 percent manager's fees and service costs."

The following scene describes the interplay of sentiments, the caricature of aid to the needy, the straining through local prejudices when the white collar client of a welfare program as social worker meets the blue-collar client.

An elderly Negro woman was visiting before the fire on the hearth of her simple cottage when an automobile was heard braking with great noise outside. The old woman excused herself... "Wait a minute, I'll be back," she said.

' Through the open door, as she steped on the porch, an automobile could be seen with three young white girls straining with expectant faces from the rear seat.

'A young white man hoisted a cardboard carton to his shoulder and came towards the house.

' "Good morning," the old woman called to him.

' "Good morning, Aunty," the man replied as he set the box on the edge of the porch, "I brought your rations to you, Aunty, because I knew you didn't have any way to get to town to get them, and I know you need them."

' "Oh, Mr. Roosevelt, you too good to me. You sure takes care of me, Mr. Roosevelt," the old woman said in tones dripping gratitude

'The girls in the car giggled.

'The man with a rather unconvincing air of authority and in a not quite commanding voice went on, "You got your slip to see the doctor, ain't you?"

' "Yes sir, yes sir, I got it just like you give it to me, Mr. Rosevelt," his relief client assured him.

' "All right then. Now your appointment to see the doctor is for next Tuesday. You tell that old nigger up the road that got the wagon to see you get to town so you can see the doctor at 9:30. Tell him if he don't bring you to town he needn't come to me looking for nothing. If he don't bring you to town he can't get no more relief."

' "He bring me, Mr. Roosevelt, he sure to bring me. You know he going to do what you say. Everybody do what you say."

'The girls in the car were still giggling.

'The relief worker turned to go and called back, "All right Aunty, you come by to see me when you come to the doctor, Tuesday."

' "I sure will, Mr. Roosevelt. God bless you, Mr. Roosevelt, don't know what poor widow women would do without you, Mr. Roosevelt."

'As the car moved off the girls broke into laughter.

'The old woman dragged her box inside. She opened the door of a cupboard beside her fireplace and began placing the groceries brought to her on its shelves. 'As she did so she commented to her visitor, "Roosevelt, I know he ain't no Roosevelt. You have to humour these peckerwoods to get along here in this country. You know sometimes he come out here three times a week to get something to laugh about. I'll tell you something: I feed half of this community out of this closet." '

Ralph Segalman of Texas Western College in a paper on "The Immigrant Poor and the Residual Poor" offers an interesting dichotomy. "Numbers of observers have indicated that the American image of 'the poor' is a product of cultural lag rather than reality. To many Americans, the image of 'the poor' gives rise to views of 'penniless' immigrants to America. This disparity of images is a serious one, especially in the light of the fact that immigration to the United States has long been at a plateau or decline, that the immigrants of yesteryear are largely members of today's middle-class, and the bulk of current American poor are Negroes, Latin Americans, American Indians Puerto Ricans, and others, whose status as Americans is not a new condition. In fact, the disparity is made even more incongruous, when one considers Nathan Glazer's observation that 'the next wave of ethnic self-consciousness must reflect...the growing estrangement between European ethnic groups and the Negroes.'

"It may be useful, in an analysis of the two images of the poor, to review the situational conditions of the two images of the poor, to review the situational conditions of the immigrants (who came before 1930) and the refugee immigrants.

"The attitude of alienation of the residual poor from community includes alienation from community social agencies and public welfare as well. Robert Coles, in an article in The New York Times Magazine, indicates that this is in great part due to the tendency of middle class social and public welfare workers to try to instill their middle class values into the poor. He quotes some of his respondents, 'They keep on telling us...to do like them.' 'They sure don't know what it's about.' An additional factor in the alienation from community is due to the erosion over many years of their own freedom to act as autonomous individuals within the restrictions of various relief programs, which have provided minimum provision for existence but little opportunity for self-improvement and upward mobility."

Those of you who have read the two-part article in The Nation for February 28 and March 7 by Richard Cloward and Richard Elman on the subject of our concern here, under the title "Poverty, Injustice, and the Welfare Stete," may well close your ears to the next few minutes of this talk since it will be a review of what they wrote.

"Power finally belongs to those who are able to define for others their station in life. If men have been led to believe that they have no rights, being told that they do may matter little, for the belief can overwhelm the telling." What about the telling of the once powerful that the once powerless have discovered a power and means for its use as radically different in operation of a social system as the shift from mineral power to atomic power?

"If our social-welfare system is regularly unjust, it is because American opinion about the poor makes it so. There is a plethora of evidence to support this view. For one thing, America spends as small a proportion of its tax dollar on social-welfare programs as any other major social-welfare nation in the west; furthermore, if the changing value of the dollar is taken into account, we spend little more now than two decades ago. For another, the notion that our welfare programs are chiefly for the poor is a persisting fiction. In fact, most of the economic innovations of the last few decades have not substanially aided those for whom poverty is a desperate and constant condition. Social security payments, for example, mostly benefit working-class persons, and not all of them at that.

"Residence laws probably violate the constitutional rights to cross state boundries without penalty. They are not the only examples of legislation governing 'poor agencies' which are of questionable constitutionality. Issues of 'equal protection' are constantly posed in the welfare structure. One is the requirement that self-supporting relatives (who already pay income taxes to support social-welfare programs) be taxed again to support their indigent kin. 'Relative-responsibility' laws have been successfully reversed in some state courts, under the 'equal protection' clause of the Constitution, but cases have not yet reached the federal courts where more binding precedents could be established.

"In the late fifties and early sixties, for example, a number of states passed 'suitable-home laws' in response to public outrage over disclosures of high rates of illegitimacy on public-welfare case loads." In Louisiana, Florida, and Michigan, such a law was passed. In Michigan, "mothers who chose to leave the rolls round that the state was determined to get their children anyway; after living for a few months in absolute poverty, they were brought into court on charges of physical neglect, and the children were forcibly removed from their homes.

"The struggle to control the discretion of the administrator is, for the low-income person, an unequal one. Those he confronts are organized and powerful, whether taxpayers' associations, newspapers, civic groups, professional societies or political actors.

"But the chief characteristic of public agencies serving the poor is not the punitive use of lawful discretion; it is the exercise

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of unlawful discretion -- the promulgation of administrative rules and procedures which undoubtedly violate either constitutional provisions or the immediate statutes governing departments. No more vivid evidence can be cited of the enormous impact of political pressures upon these agencies. The most flagrant example in a history of flagrant abuses is the 'after-midnight raid' on ADC mothers -- an unannounced visit without benefit of warrant, in which a home is searched for male attire that might be taken as evidence that a man (whether husband or not) is available and presumably capable of providing support, or for some suggestion of immoral activities or child neglect, any of which might justify terminating benefits."

I could go on and on citing chapter and verse of the abuse of the civil liberties of the poor under the guise of "helping them" -- not only giving to them the minimum requirements for survival but the tying of that pittance to middle-class self-righteous help to improve their "morals" and social responsibility and personal development. Such extended citation of abuses of civil liberties is unnecessary because each of you can produce your own lists. More profitable is suggestion of some things that might be done about this shameful circumstance and who might do it; Cloward and Elman offer some suggestions.

"One form of attack upon the social-welfare apparatus should be mounted in the courts. Undue emphasis has been placed upon securing reforms through legislative action and insufficient attention paid to legal remedies. Two types of legal action are required: one designed to achieve basic changes in the structure of social-welfare law, and the other to insure that laws are faithfully implemented at the administrative level. Much of the current discussion about extending legal services to the poor is intended to yield the latter objective. The Office of Economic Opportunity for example plans to finance legal resources for the poor in urban and rural slums. This program will bring lawyers into contact with the poor, where they will be quickly inundated by pressing problems demanding immediate action. Lawyers practicing under the circumstances will doubtless succeed in remedying injustice in one case after another through negotiation and adminisatrative appeal or in the lower courts; they may even on occasion create a major legal precedent to which the welfare apparatus must accommodate. But crucial precedents are usually more effeciently pursued by organizations whidh do not offer mass services but specialize in finding 'test' cases. Such organizations can develop specialized legal expertise in a given field, and can find the resources to pursue issues doggedly and tenaciously through the labyrinth of appeals, at the end of which a binding precedent may finally be established. We need, in short, an 'association for the advancement of social-welfare rights,' comparable in purpose and function to the NAACP and the ACLU in their respective fields of interest.

"The second form of attack should be a vigorous campaign of communication. Tyranny is not so likely to take root when men have access to information. The authoritarianism of social-welfare agencies is partly made possible by the pervasive ignorance they engender in their clientele. Where ignorance prevails, myths arise to explain what otherwise seems arbitrary and capricious."

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Cloward and Elman have an extensive discussion of a European legislative invention called the "Ombudsman" developed in Sweden more than 150 yearsago.

"The Ombudsman is a 'justice officer' or 'citizen's defender.' He is usually a highly respected senior member of the judiciary or a renowned professor in law, and is assisted by a small staff of lawyers. Appointed by and responsible to a legislative body -- in most countries where Ombudsman exists, to a parliment -- he is charged to investigate all complaints form citizens. In Denmark, for example, the Ombudsman is obliged by statute 'to keep himself informed as to whether any person under his jurisdiction (i.e., any civil servant) pursues unlawful ends, makes arbitrary or unreasonable decisions, or otherwise commits mistakes or acts of negligence in the discharge of his duties.'

"Advocates of an American Ombudsman have not been altogether unmindful of the pressure of public opinion to which the office would be exposed, although it is not opinion about poverty that they have in mind. Rather, they point generally to our loose federalism and diversity of national opinion. The Ombudsman has grown up in countries that are relatively homgeneous, especially in the features of race. Economically and racially, the United States is among the most heterogenous countries for which the mechanism has yet been proposed."

What liberties should the poor have? The very ones constitutionally guaranteed to all -- the sameo ones you have or should have. Social legislaton, and agency administrative rules should not give directives to representatives of any welfare programs that:

1. Invade the privacy of the citizen-client that violates constitutional protection against illegal search either by interrogation of applicant for a service or intrusive inspection of a recipient of service.

2. Denies the client-citizen freedom to protest or appeal against the conduct of a welfare program employee in the exercise of his or her duties.

3. Allows a representative of any program to use overt or subtle threats or intimidation that instills fear of apprehension in a client.

4. Discourages organizationfor and communication to public officials of interests and concerns of the client-citizen

I am reminded of an axiom that seems to apply to agency representative-citizen-client relationship.

> A man who makes laws for other people that he himself does not respect must ack like a devil for he feels himself to be a god.

There is belief that the American poor may not be able to protect themselves from injustice, but affluent groups can. As governmental powers proliferated, middle-class people are also becoming

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objects of abuses. Accustomed to having their rights respected, they are calling for restraints against government.

In no situation of disadvantage have those suffereing injustice been able to put up a winning fight alone -- child labor, woman suffrage, labor organization, Negro rights. Advocates of their cause and allies in their struggle have aided accomplishment of their goals. In the case of the civil liberties of the poor, again, those who believe in economic security and social justice must enter the struggle with them and suffer wounds and casualties just as those in other battles have done to eliminate uneven exercise of power so as to move toward economic and political democracy. There is the frightening alternative that continued abuse of their citizenship rights and expanded measures intended to thwart the use of their recently discovered power may make for a greater press of aggressive mass action in which the long dispossessed will destroy what they have for so long wanted to share.

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The Design of Federal Antipoverty Strategy

POLICY PAPERS IN
HUMAN RESOURCES AND
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
No. 1

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ILS

INFORMATION
SERIES NO. 5

Poverty in America: The Problem, Anti-Poverty Programs, and a Role For Organized Labor

THE INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES
APPALACHIAN CENTER
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA

Poverty

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Twelfth Meeting: "The Social-Psychological Conditions for an Effective War on Poverty." Summary of Remarks by Harold A. Shepard.

It is true that environmental change must be effected before poverty can be eliminated. But it is necessary to emphasize that the poor themselves must change, if they expect to raise their standard of living. Development of this idea was preceded by some comments on the War on Poverty and on other's ideas about it.

Some have argued that the War on Poverty should not involve the imposition of middle-class values on the poor. But isn't this a schizophrenic argument: isn't a major objective of the War on Poverty the socio-economic improvement of the poor -- isn't it an effort to raise them in the class structure? If such is the case, that is if the expectation is that the poor will develop regular job habits and make other adjustments to the socio-economic system, isn't it being somewhat romantic to expect the poor to have all the external characteristics of the non-poor without expecting them to simultaneously undergo internal change, to develop new values and attitudes. Perhaps the argument should be that we should not judge the poor by middle-class standards.

It has been alleged that the War on Poverty is a sop to the poor, that this is a "phoney" war. Such allegations have come from the political Left and Right. They have merit in the sense that this war can obviously not eliminate poverty with the present amount of resources being devoted to it. But this kind of criticism comes from some who fail to realize that it is necessary to develop a national committment to the goal of the elimination of poverty, that we have yet to learn from experience what will and what will not work, and that given the committment and the experience $1 billion will quickly be recognized to be insufficient.

Robert Lampman's argument that very few people who are born into the non-poor population ever become part of the poor must be qualified: many of the aged never lived in poverty until retirement. This fact is often overlooked.

In running the poverty program, it is necessary to avoid rigidity. For example, many programs are now geared for youths, aged 16-21, but what about the 22 and 23 year-olds? Some youths don't recognize the mistakes they've made in dropping out of school until they are 22. Provision for such individuals must be made.

Last, we consider what to some is the most exciting but perhaps also most frustrating aspect of the War on Poverty -- the Community Action Program. Local communities have been directed to "go to it" -- but what is "it" that they should go to? Further, what does it mean to "involve the indigenous poor"? A welfare official in Philadelphia feared that this implied organization by the government of Worker's Alliances! (Perhaps he should have understood that Worker's Alliances would be formed if the poor weren't involved in planning the program.) In spite of much foot-dragging on the part of city officials, a very novel approach has been taken in that city. A 30-member Poverty Board will oversee the city's program; 18 members will be appointed by the mayor and 12 members will be elected in the city's poor districts. The latter will have to fall below a certain income line to qualify for board membership and will have to give evidence of community support. It is imperative that more city officials recognize that an NAACP lawyer or a union leader is usually neither poor or necessarily representative of them, and that the poor must thrust up their own leadership.

Many of the poor have personality problems and other personal handicapping characteristics which would prevent them from taking advantage of opportunities that would arise as a result of social and economic change. For example, Negro males raised in fatherless families often develop psychological dependency behavior patterns; they need supportive help to break such patterns. And once such patterns are broken, they may become unwilling to accept a subordinate economic role, menial labor and continual unemployment. Some feel so strongly about this particular personality problem of many Negro males that they have recommended temporary suspension of co-education for them.

In Philadelphia, a Rev. Leon Sullivan successfully conducted a drive to gain employment opportunities for Negroes. He helped gain the opportunities but was unable to find people to take advantage of them. So he is presently

conducting his own retraining program -- and this program will provide both skills and a new self-image for the trainees, hopefully, because it is being run by the Negroes themselves.

In Norfolk, Virginia, a retraining program was recently run for the benefit of hard-core unemployed Negroes. The program was run with the understanding that they needed more than retraining before they could return to work. The trainees were faced with a plethora of psychological, marital, and other personal problems; these had to be dealt with before they could complete retraining.

A study is presently being conducted on the re-employment of some hard-core unemployed workers. A key determinant of their re-employment is their score on a "need-achievement" test, which is designed to measure an individual's willingness to persist and excel in competitive situations. They initiated their job search sooner after retraining and seemed to make a more deliberate effort. Other data seems to confirm the idea that motivation is a key determinant in the job search process.

In sum, a change in opportunities for economic and social improvement for the poor will not by itself solve the poverty program. This should not become an ideological excuse for inaction, but new opportunities do not automatically and quickly change personalities -- and they must be changed.

May 19, 1965. Leonard Hausman

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FOOD STAMP PROGRAM WILL HELP IMPROVE
DIET OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES

The war on poverty was given a boost this year by the passage of the food stamp program. Up to now the food stamp program has been tested in 40 counties and 3 large cities across the nation on a pilot basis. The Act passed by this session of Congress expands this program and makes it permanent. It broadens the list of foods now available to families in exchange for the food stamps.

The importance of this program can be judged by a look at Perry County, Kentucky a depressed coal mining area where half the work force is either unemployed or subsisting on less than $20 a week. The food stamp plan has been helping to feed 6,730 persons who pay only $3 for every $10 of stamps. One miner said: "If we didn't have these food stamps, I don't think my kids would eat half the time."

The following article reprinted from the Wall Street Journal discusses this program in some detail. After you read the article, you may want to discuss some of the following questions:

1) Do you think the food stamp program is a good technique for raising the standard of living of people living in poverty?

2) Is the food stamp plan better than the surplus food program? Why?

3) Under the present program welfare agencies approve families for participation in the program. If the welfare officer approve the family, they are then eligible to buy food stamps. Do you think this is a good way to handle the problem of who gets the food stamps?

4) Some people think the food stamps should be given away to poor families without any charge. Do you think this is a good approach?

5) Do you think it would be helpful to have the local school or some other agency arrange classes for housewives on how to make the best use of their food stamps by learning more about food and nutrition?

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM, TESTED 3 YEARS, SHIFTS TO
NATIONAL SCOPE UNDER NEW LAW
by Jow Western
Wall Street Journal, September 2, 1964

Food Stamp Program Improves Diets of Low Income Families

Meet Howard Paul Davis, at 54 the Agriculture Department's quietly determined architect of the new food stamp law.

Under Mr. Davis' patient guidance, the one-trouble-ridden scheme to boost the food-buying power of low-income families has survived more than three years of pilot-project testing. This has taken place in 43 depressed areas scattered from Pennsylvania to California and including, besides some rural counties, such cities as Cleveland, Toledo, Pettsburgh and St. Louis

"These tests have exceeded our best expectations," President Johnson remarked as he signed the bill. "They have raised the diets of low-income families substantially while strengthening markets for the farmer and immeasurably improving the volume of retail food sales."

New Law Provides More Funds to Broaden Program

The new law authorizes gradual expansion of the plan to national scope. It broadens the kinds of foods the stamps may be exchanged for to include many imports, providing they aren't labeled as such. And it authorizes increased spending. Whereas President Johnson's original budget request for the fiscal year begun July 1 asked $51.5 million to operate the pilot projects, the bill authorizes up to $75 million this fiscal year, $100 million next and $200 million the fiscal year after that.

The food stamp act, tagged by President Johnson as one of his legislative "musts" also makes clear for the first time the heretofore foggy Federal authority to issue the stamps. Power to operate the pilot projects was derived from implied authority of existing agricultural statutes, and the projects were financed out of U.S. customers receipts. From these receipts, Agriculture Secretary Freeman allotted $150 million for the projects over three fiscal years. But the cautious Mr. Davis and his 116-member staff spent only $70 million.

If, as expected, Congress actually appropriates the full $75 million for this year, the Davis empire would swell to around 200 staff members and their caseload from its present 400,000 persons to about one million by next June 30. By mid-1969, if the White House and Congress go along, perhaps four million people in about half of all U.S. counties will be getting stamps at an annual cost to the Government of about $375 million.

How Does the Food Stamp Program Actually Work?

Needy Americans can buy the stamps, actually dollar-bill sized coupons, at a discount and use them to purchase most foods in grocery stores. The usual procedure is for the stamps to be sold in county welfare offices. To make sure families actually use the additional buying power, rules require them to continue to put up cash equal to their normal monthly food spending. In the pilot projects, an average of $6.30 in cash is paid by recipients for every $10 in coupons issued, but the proportion of cash to stamps varies with incomes and the size of a family. If all stamps were free, the theory goes, some families might use them to buy only as much food as they would have anyway -- and so might still have an inadequate diet.

Grocers accept the stamps at face value as money and are reinbursed by the Government through Federal Reserve banks. The stamps, in denominations of 50 cents and $2, are stapled in books valued from $2 to $20. Cash can't be given as change in stamp purchases; instead, grocers usually issue credit slips for later redemption for food.

In line with present practice in the pilot projects, the new law prohibits any stamp purchases of nonfoods such as soap, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages. While some previously barred imported foods may be bought, such as bananas, coffee, tea and cocoa, if they aren't labeled as imports, a provision barring sales of all imported meants, labeled or unlabeled, was inserted to placate cattel growers, who are clamoring for meat import quotas to bolster cattle prices they consider too low.

Food Stamp Plan Tried Before But Emphasis Is New

A food stamp plan had been tried unsuccessfully from 1939 through 1943. It was designed to encourage consumption of the U.S. farm glut and boost farm income, and thus it prohibited stamp purchases of imported food. President Kennedy switched the plan's emphasis to improving the diets of poor families when he directed Secretary Freeman in early 1961 to start the experimental projects.

The new law also specifies stamps can't be exchanged for money, transferred to another family or removed from the coupon book before the actual food purchase. Violators can be fined up to $10,000, jailed for as long as five years, or both.

A veteran of 24 years of Government food relief operations, Mr. Davis harbors few delusions about food stamps. He and several colleagues who are running the program suffered through the 1939-43 experience. Because that plan was hastily conceived and too quickly expanded to national scope, abuses abounded and the regulations proved almost unenforceable.

Abuse of Plan Limited Because Competitive Stores Keep Tabs on Each Other

Mr. Davis is sure the expansion will stir warnings about waste and abuse. There has already been some cheating by both stamp recipients and storekeepers. Flipping through his reports of 14,000 retail food stores given permission to handle food stamps so far, he finds that 70 have been suspended from the program, usually 30 days to 60 days, but some as long as three years. Over-all, however, Federal officials believe rule-breaking is minimized, mainly because highly competitive retailers usually keep tab on each other. "We like this program and don't want anybody to louse it up so that we'll lose it," explains a Welch, W. Va. supermarket manager.

But the Agriculture Department's stamp experts know there'll be many attempts to peddle the books for cash, to take them in lieu of defaulted loan payments, to use them to buy alcoholic beverages. But Mr. Davis worries most about another problem: Some states, which he declines to list, are already pressing him to widen the food stamp discount so that the needy families won't have to plunk down cash equal to their normal monthly food spending to get their quota of stamps.

"This just means they want to use the stamps to boost needy families' general incomes, whereas we meant to use our food abundance to raise nutritional levels," the official insists.

Some Areas Run Classes for Housewives

Another problem has arisen when destitute families haven't improved their eating habits as much as the stamp purchases allowed simply because at first they didn't like some higher quality foods or didn't know how to prepare them. "They can cook mush, cornbread and beans, but meat, fruits and vegetables pose different problems," a Davis aide explains. In such communities, the food stamp experts coax local school and extension home economics to hold classes for housewives with these problems. "They catch on quickly" says one official.

Wherever the food stamp plan is put into effect, it supersedes another form of aid to the needy: The Government's direct monthly handouts of surplus food. Some $225 million of free food is dispensed yearly to more than six million Americans; some of these wouldn't qualify for food stamps mainly because of the stamp plan's tighter eligibility rules. But the direct handouts probably never will be ended entirely, especially where the needy are so few that the stamp plan's more elaborate arrangements would be administratively top-heavy.

Survey Shows Rate of Surplus Food Disposal Is Not Reduced by Stamp Plan

Once officials thought the changeover from direct handouts to food stamps risked reducing the rate of surplus disposal, but a recent Government survey of Detroit's pilot plan disputes this. The poll showed that 60,000 people in families getting stamps ate about the same amount of grain products and dairy goods, which make up the bulk of the Federal farm glut, as they did before installation of the stamp plan. Their purchases of meant and vegetables rose 8%.

Moreover, the survey showed that stamps were used to buy foods returning more income to farmers. The farm value of foods consumer by stamp recipients this spring averaged $2.01 a person a week in Detroit. Up from $1.75 in 1961 just before the stamp program was set up.

ECONOMIC REVIEW

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Vol. 1, No. 8 September, 1956

In Brief

How fast are family incomes rising and how are these gains being distributed?

What types of families constitute those in the low-income brackets? What are the causes for their poverty and what actions can be taken to improve their living standards?

This issue of *Labor's Economic Review* explains the information contained in the latest government reports to answer these questions. These data show that although the income of most American families has been rising, the trend toward greater equality has been stopped or even reversed.

An Unsolved Problem:

America's Low-Income Families

We Americans boast proudly of the "American standard of living," and with justification. There can be no doubt that our 52 million families enjoy more material wealth than those of any other nation.

Yet, in this most productive and highly favored land, poverty is still widespread. Who are these needy? How have our lowest income families been faring in the overall income rise? Why does poverty still persist after ten years of postwar boom?

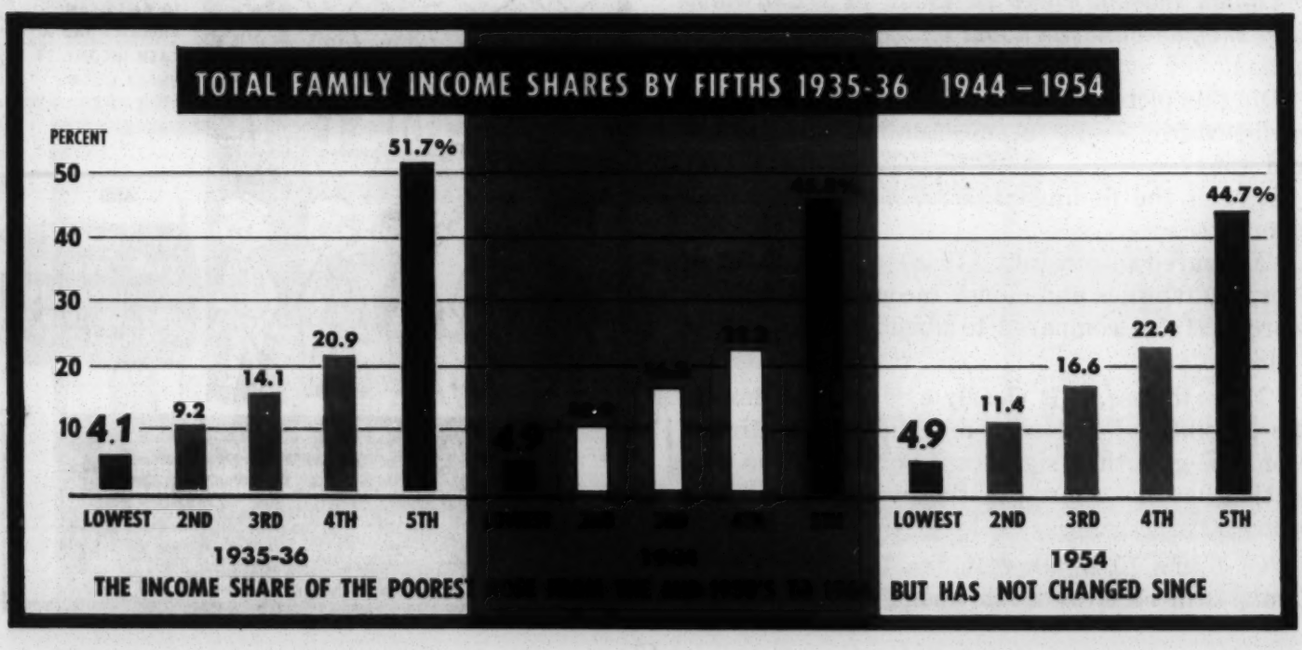
These are always questions of critical importance, and in an election year they commendably become the subject of nationwide debate. Millions of words—assessing the progress made, or lack of it, taking credit or casting blame—will have been spoken and written on these matters by November 6.

Because organized labor is so deeply concerned with raising the standards of *all* our families, we have a real interest in evaluating the claims and counterclaims and a moral responsibility to check them against the facts.

According to the Republican Platform for 1956, "Good times in America have reached a breadth and a depth never known by any nation."

The Joint Congressional Committee on Low Income Families, on the other hand, reported earlier this year that millions of our families still live on the fringe of want, and the number is hardly less than in 1948.

Administration supporters, pointing to a recent report by the Department of Commerce, proudly announce that average American family income was nearly $600 higher during the first three



2 Poverty

The University of Wisconsin

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
RESEARCH CENTER

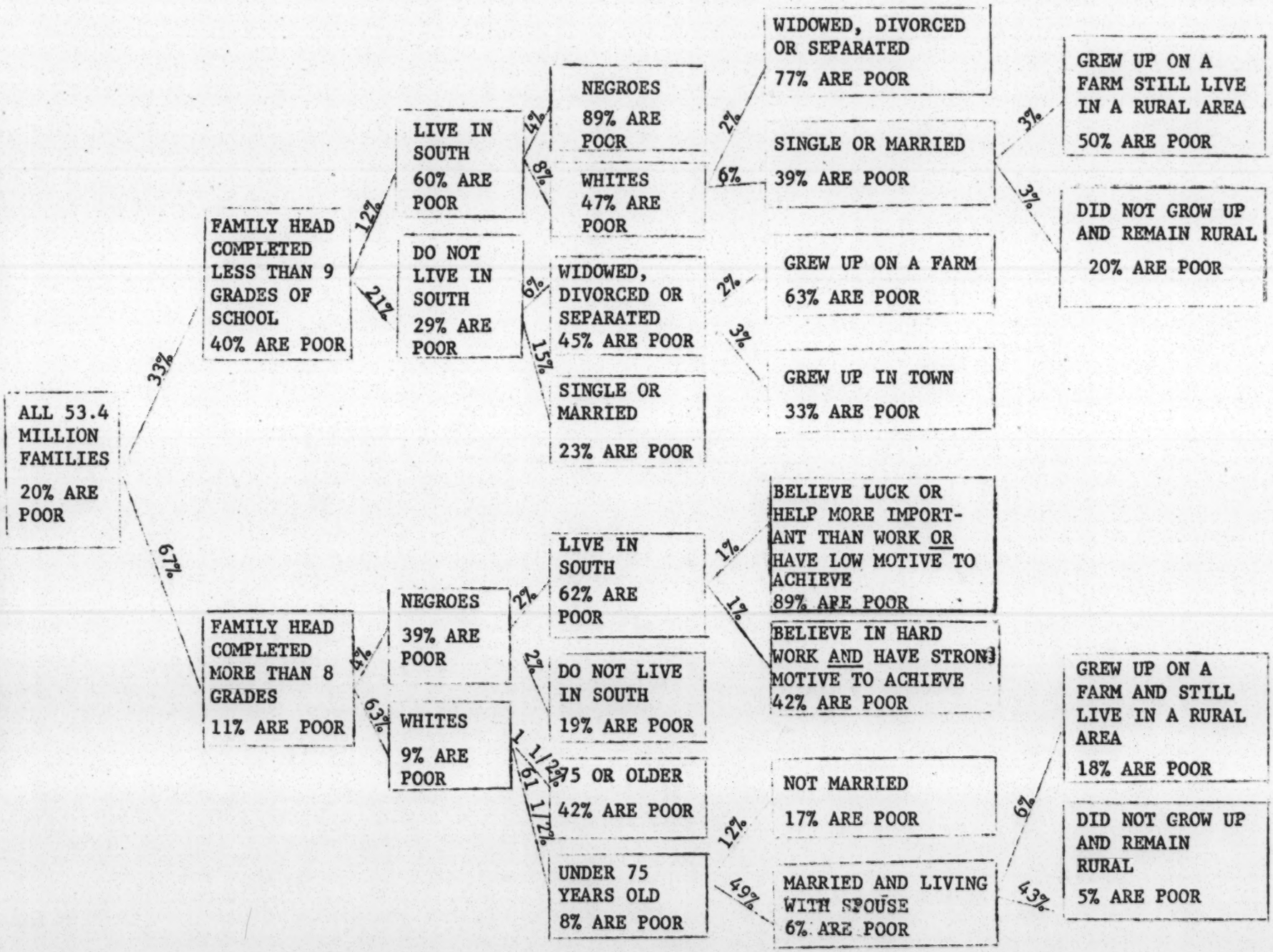
Changes in the Share of Wealth Held by Top Wealth-Holders, 1922-1956

by

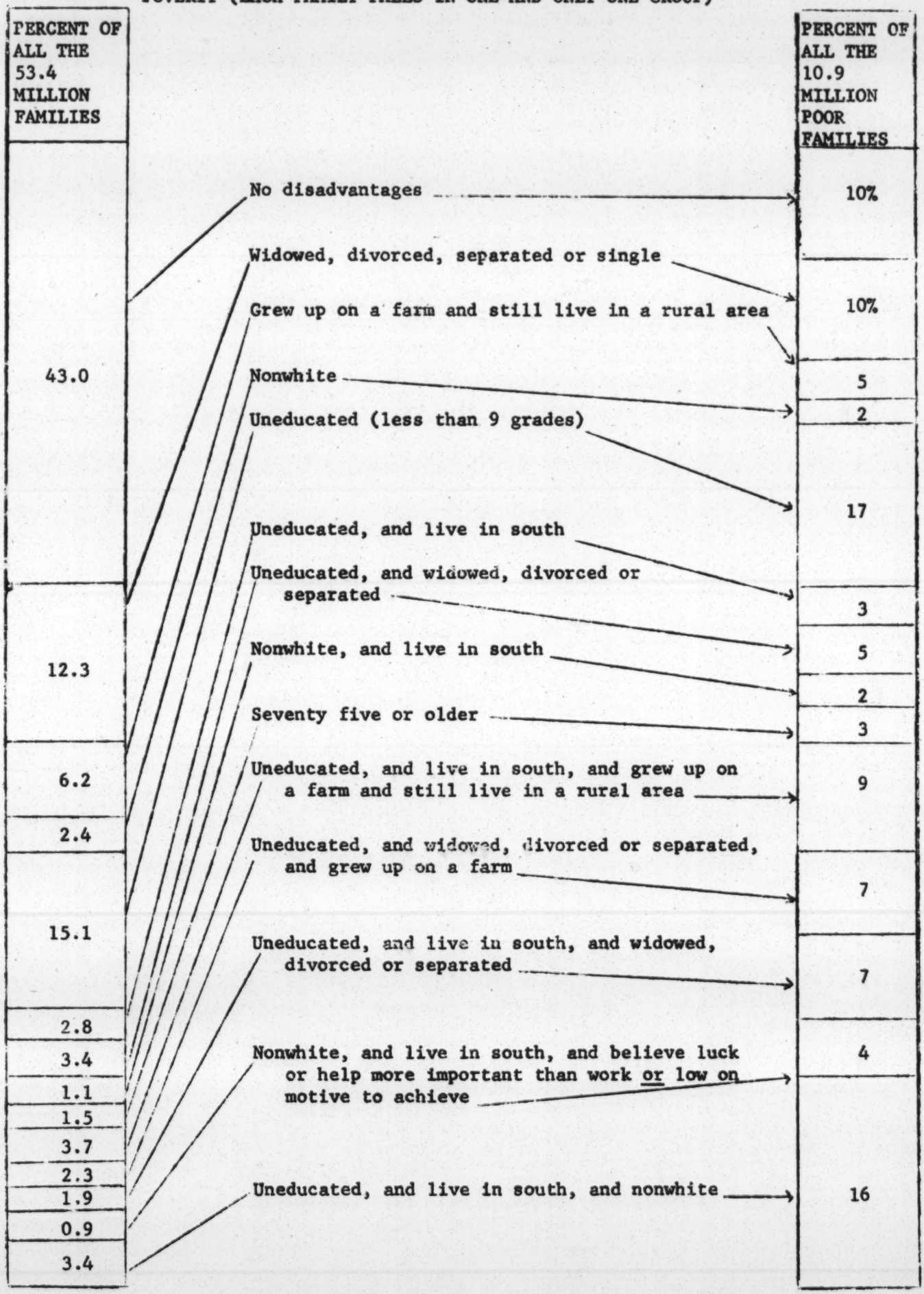
Robert J. Lampman

Reprint Series No. 12

INCIDENCE OF POVERTY AMONG FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT TYPES, 1959



CLASSIFICATION OF ALL FAMILIES INTO GROUPS ACCORDING TO THE INCIDENCE OF POVERTY (EACH FAMILY FALLS IN ONE AND ONLY ONE GROUP)



1960

Table 3.--Indexes of Dissimilarity Between White and Non-white Occupational Distributions, by Age and Education, for Employed Males: United States, 1940, 1950, and 1960

Years of School Completed and Census Year	Age			
	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
All educational levels				
1940	46.2	43.3	41.9	36.1
1950	36.6	39.1	39.4	36.5
1960	35.4	37.3	38.4	38.8
Elementary, 0-4 years				
1940	21.5	23.5	23.6	21.2
1950	21.9	23.1	25.0	30.3
1960	18.3	19.6	22.2	24.6
Elementary, 5-8 years				
1940	31.9	35.7	33.5	31.1
1950	27.9	30.7	31.5	28.4
1960	27.6	27.6	29.8	32.2
High School, 1-3 years				
1940	41.0	41.2	37.5	38.2
1950	29.1	36.0	39.6	38.4
1960	28.2	31.4	33.6	38.0
High School, 4 years				
1940	43.3	46.2	43.3	39.3
1950	33.8	39.0	40.5	37.0
1960	33.5	34.2	35.9	38.6
College, 1-3 years				
1940	36.6	38.8	36.8	40.6
1950	38.8	39.4	39.3	29.3
1960	34.4	38.3	37.7	34.9
College, 4+ years				
1940	21.4	22.8	23.2	19.9
1950	17.7	17.7	21.5	17.2
1960	18.6	19.2	18.7	19.1

Note: Data for 1940 refer to native whites and Negroes; data for 1950 and 1960 refer to whites and non-whites.

Source: (Attached)

Table 2.--Percent Distribution of Occupation, by Color and Educational Attainment, for Employed Males 35-44 Years Old: United States, 1960

Years of School Completed and Color	Major Occupation Group										
	Total	Prof. Tech.	Farm	Mgr., Off., Prop.	Cler.	Sales	Craft.	Oper.	Serv.	Farm Lab.	Lab.
All educational levels											
White	100	12	5	14	7	7	24	21	4	1	5
Non-white	100	4	4	3	6	1	13	29	13	5	22
Elementary, 0-4 years											
White	100	1	7	3	1	2	19	32	5	12	17
Non-white	100	0	8	1	1	0	9	27	8	15	30
Elementary, 5-8 years											
White	100	1	9	6	3	3	28	34	5	3	10
Non-white	100	1	4	2	2	1	13	33	13	5	27
High School, 1-3 years											
White	100	3	4	10	6	5	32	29	5	1	5
Non-white	100	1	2	3	7	1	16	34	16	2	20
High School, 4 years											
White	100	7	5	16	10	9	28	17	5	1	3
Non-white	100	3	2	5	13	3	17	26	15	1	13
College, 1-3 years											
White	100	19	3	26	11	14	16	7	3	0	1
Non-white	100	12	1	7	19	4	15	18	15	1	8
College, 4+ years											
White	100	59	1	21	5	8	4	1	1	0	0
Non-white	100	63	1	8	11	2	4	4	5	0	2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Educational Attainment, Final Report PC (2)-5B (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 8.

Table 1.--Indexes of Dissimilarity Between White and Non-White Occupational Distributions, by Age, for Employed Males: United States, 1930, 1940, 1950, and 1960

Census Year	Age			
	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
1930	45.3	43.3	41.0	39.1
1940	46.4	43.6	41.5	39.1
1950	36.6	39.1	39.4	36.5
1960	36.4	38.3	39.5	39.3

The new groups move in a slightly better States rel. to each year on earlier group — Vertical change is greater than diagonal —

Note: The index for 1930 is based upon a distribution of whites and non-whites by socio-economic groups which are not precisely comparable to the major occupation groups used for subsequent years. The non-white occupational distribution utilized in the computation of the indexes for 1960 excluded the state of Hawaii.

Source: Alba M. Edwards, A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), Tables 9 and 15; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Special Reports, Occupational Characteristics (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), Table 1; U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. IV, Special Reports, Part 5, Ch. B, Education (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 11; U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary, Table 204.

Suggested readings for 22 February, faculty seminar on the Elimination of Poverty.

Kindesperger, K. "Community Development and Community Organization." N. Y., National Ass'n of Social Workers, 1961

Krosney, H. "Feuding Over Poverty." The Nation, December, 1964, 455-461.

Rein, M. "The Social Service Crisis." Transaction, May 1964, 3-6.

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———————. " The Revolution in Social Work: The New Non-Professional." Transaction, Nov-Dec., 1964, 12-17.

1962

Table 1

Share of Various Types of Income in Total Spending Unit Income, By Income Deciles

(Percentage distribution of types of income)

1962 income decile	Total	Earned (a)	Capital (b)	Labor-capital (c)	Transfer (d)	Lowest Income in each decile 1962
Lowest	100	42	5	-2	55	#
Second	100	51	6	5	38	$ 1510
Third	100	58	7	8	27	2510
Fourth	100	72	5	6	17	3350
Fifth	100	83	3	7	7	4450
Sixth	100	81	4	9	6	5300
Seventh	100	88	3	6	3	6200
Eighth	100	89	4	4	3	7400
Ninth	100	87	4	7	2	8700
Highest	100	73	10	15	2	11320
All spending units	100	78	6	9	7	

Data not available

(a) In addition to wages and salaries, includes income from a profession or a trade and other self-employment.

(b) Includes income from rent, interest, dividends, and trust funds.

(c) Includes farm income of farmers and nonfarmers, income from roomers and boarders, and unincorporated business income.

(d) Includes income from pensions, annuities, veterans' benefits, unemployment compensation, social security, public welfare, alimony, and regular contributions from family.

Table 2

Anatomy of the Spending Unit Earnings, 1959

I. Earnings of the head of the spending unit:			
1. Proportion of heads who worked during 1959		.86	
2. Average wages of those who worked		$2.29	
3. Average hours worked by those who worked		2090	
4. Earnings of workers (2 x 3)	$4,791		
5. Earnings averaged over all spending units (1 x 4)	4,122		$4,122
II. Earnings of the wife			
6. Proportion of heads married and living with their spouse	.70		
7. Proportion of wives who worked during 1959	.38		
8. Average wages of those who worked	$1.43		
9. Average hours of those who worked	1345		
10. Earnings of working wives (8 x 9)	$1,923		
11. Earnings contributed by wives on the average (6 x 7 x 10)	$ 515		$ 515
III. Other earnings			96
Children and dependents			
TOTAL			$4,733

Table 3

Standardized Differences in Earnings*
Within Education of the Spending
Unit Head

	Education of the head of the spending unit		
	Less than 12 grades	12 grades or more	Difference
I. Earnings of the head of the spending unit:			
1. Proportion of heads who worked during 1959	$ .82	$ .90	$ .08
2. Average wages of those who worked	$ 2.14	$ 2.44	$ .30
3. Hours worked by those who worked	2064	2199	55
4. Earnings of workers (2 x 3)	$4,417	$5,170	$ 753
5. Earnings averaged over-all spending units (1 x 4)	3,622	4,653	1,031
II. Earnings of the wife			
6. Proportion of heads married and living with their spouse**	.69	.70	.01
7. Proportion of wives who worked during 1959***	.35	.42	.07
8. Average wages of those who worked	$ 1.37	$ 1.48	$ .11
9. Average hours of those who worked	1345	1345	0
10. Earnings of working wives (8 x 9)	$1,847	$1,988	$ 141
11. Earnings contributed by wives on the average (6 x 7 x 10)	455	582	127
Average total earnings for head and wife	$4,077	$5,235	$1,158

*The results are standardized by multi-variate techniques to display differences in earnings on the assumption that dropouts and high school graduates are alike in other respects that influence earnings. Other relevant factors such as race, mobility, supervisory authority, occupation, and employment experience have an impact on earnings in addition to the impact shown above.

**Average, not standardized for other factors.

***Average work experience based on the relationship between husband's education and wife's education found in a sample of first marriages in the period 1947-54. See Paul Glick, American Families (N.Y.: John Wiley, Inc.) 117.

Table 4

Standardized Differences in Earnings
Within Race of the Head*

	Race of head		
	Non-white	White	Difference
I. Earnings of the head of the spending unit:			
1. Proportion of heads who worked during 1959 not significant	$ .86	$ .86	$ .00
2. Average wages of those who worked	2.00	2.32	.32
3. Hours worked by those who worked	1988	2104	116
4. Earnings of workers (2 x 3)	$3,976	$4,881	905
5. Earnings averaged over all spending units (1 x 4)	3,419	4,198	779
II. Earnings of the wife			
6. Proportion of heads married and living with their spouse	.58	.71	+.13
7. Proportion of wives who worked during 1959	.44	.37	-.07
8. Average wages of those who worked	1.43	1.43	.00
9. Average hours of those who worked	1076	1378	302
10. Earnings of working wives (8 x 9)	$1,539	$1,970	$431
11. Earnings contributed by wives on the average (6 x 7 x 10)	393	518	125
Total	$3,852	$4,716	$904

* See Note to Table 3

Table 5

EDUCATION OF SPENDING UNIT HEADS WITHIN EDUCATION
OF THEIR FATHERS
(Percentage Distribution of Spending Unit Heads Under 35)

Education of spending unit heads	Education of heads' fathers				
	0-8 grades	9-11 grades	12 grades	Some college	Total
0-8 grades	21	6	2	1	15
9-11 grades	29	14	16	8	23
12 grades	31	46	32	22	32
Some College	19	34	50	69	30
	100	100	100	100	100

Table 6

Aggregate Estimates of Heads of Poor Families Having Characteristics Related to Poverty Within Likely Causes of Poverty
(Proportions and Aggregate Estimates for Poor Families)

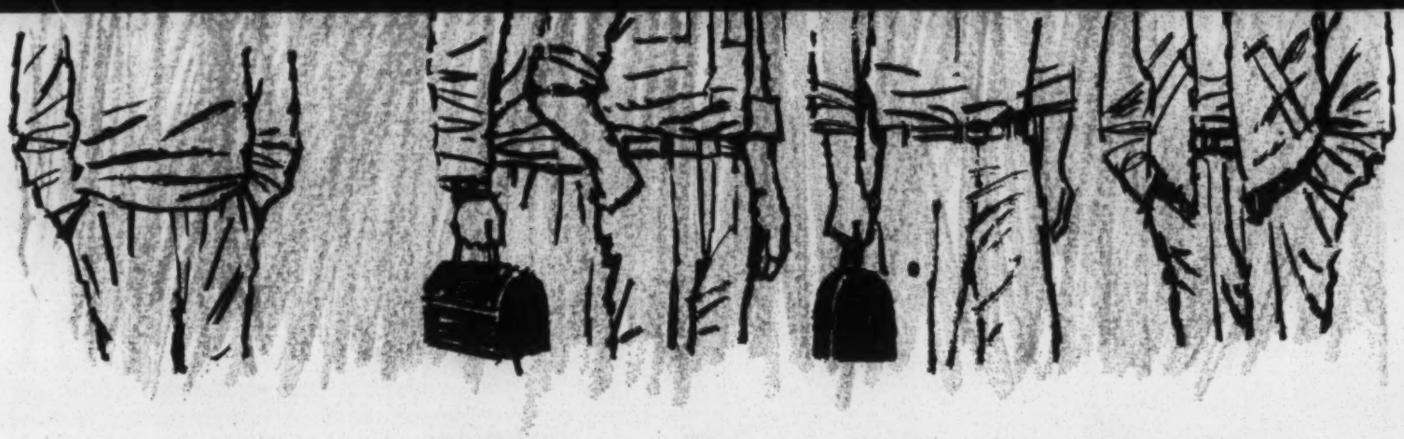
Likely causes of poverty	Aggregate estimates of heads of poor families having characteristics related to poverty: MULTIPLE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY							
	Most likely Cause of Poverty	Disabled	Single and has children	Usually employed, unemployed in 1959	Nonwhite	Self-employed businessman or farmer	None of These	Per cent with other indications of Poverty
1. Aged	3.0 mil.	1.0 mil.	.04 mil.	.04 mil.	.6 mil.	.2 mil.	-	65%
2. Disabled (not 1)	.9 mil.		.1 mil.	.03 mil.	.2 mil.	.1 mil.	-	62%
3. Single and has children (not 1-2)	1.2 mil.			.1 mil.	.5 mil.	.01 mil.	-	60%
4. Usually employed, worked less than 49 weeks in 1959 (not 1-3)	1.0 mil.				.2 mil.		-	29%
5. Nonwhite (not 1-4)	1.5 mil.					.15 mil.	-	14%
6. Self-employed businessman or farmer (not 1-5)	1.0 mil.						-	0%
7. Not 1-6	2.5 mil.						2.5 mil.	0%
Total With This Characteristic		1.9 mil.	1.3 mil.	1.2 mil.	3.0 mil.	1.5 mil.	2.5 mil.	
Total Number of Poverty-Stricken Families	11.1 mil.							

Z Pam 5

Our Invisible Poor

REPRINTED *from* THE NEW YORKER

Issue of JANUARY 19, 1963



The Coming Crisis: Youth Without Work

When young people reach working age, they are at an important stage in their lives. It is the time to begin developing some work experience and skills. It is the time to assume a greater understanding of the responsibilities of being an adult and a member of a community. They are no longer children. For many, it is a time of marriage and the start of their own families.

These are important, formative years. It is a time when their ideas and attitudes—towards life and towards society—begin to take on a permanent mold. But without a decent opportunity to get started—without jobs—the ideas and attitudes developed during these formative years are bound to be twisted by the disappointments and frustrations they suffer.

It is for this reason that the problem of unemployment among young people warrants special attention. Jobless, disappointed youths quickly grasped at the "solutions" offered by Hitler. They provided a good base upon which to build the Nazi movement in prewar Germany.

Any totalitarian movement—be it Nazi, fascist or communist—directs its efforts toward those who have grievances, whether real or imaginary. And in the United States, in the years ahead, the grievances of our rapidly-expanding youth population can be quite real indeed—if they are denied a reasonable chance for jobs.

The dangers of largescale unemployment among youths is not only a matter of economic hardship and deprivation and wasted manpower. Even more important is the fact that it represents a potential threat to society—not only in street gangs, crime and delinquency—but in even more serious forms. It can become a threat to our way of life—not only from the young people who are unemployed—but from the adults who today are passing through the years of their youth without a decent opportunity to get started in life. It is, therefore, only logical to be vitally concerned over the prospects for the future, with 26 million youngsters entering the labor force during this decade.

During the 1960s, the U.S. will feel the impact of the largest labor force increase for any 10-year period in its history.

By 1970, the labor force will total 85.5 million—a rise of 12.6 million or 17 percent over 1960, according to Department of Labor estimates.* Of even greater significance, however, is the tremendous increase in the number of young people who will be seeking work for the first time.

Almost one-half the total increase in the labor force during this decade will be youths 24 years of age and under. In 1970, there will be nearly 20 million young men and women in the workforce. In 1960, there were only 13.7 million.

In other words, while the total labor force is growing by 17 percent, the number of youths in the labor force will be increasing by 45 percent—nearly three times as fast. By way of contrast, in 1960 there were only 400,000 more youths in the labor force than in 1950.

All told, between 1960 and 1970, 26 million young people will enter the labor force to seek work for the first time. Between 1950 and 1960, only 19 million did so.

The sharp rise in the number of young workers in the 1960s is the result of the baby boom of the 1940s, particularly after the end of World War II. Previously, during the years of the Great Depression the U.S. had a low birth rate. As a result, the number of young

** The labor force includes all persons 14 years of age and over who are (1) working or (2) are unemployed and seeking work. The labor force increases each year because there are more entrants into the labor force than there are those who leave it through death, retirement or other reasons.*

ECONOMIC TRENDS *& Outlook*

Prepared by Department of Research
Reprinted from April 1963
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

EV Poverty

Division of Research and Statistics
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

and

Social Systems Research Institute
University of Wisconsin*

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME: SOME NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

by

Martin H. David

July, 1963
Workshop on the Economic Behavior of Households: Paper 6304

Draft:
Not for quotation without
the permission of the author.

1. Economic structure underlying the distribution of income

A global view.

The means by which families and individuals in the United States support themselves derive from many sources including earnings, property income, gifts, goods and services received without cost, pension benefits, and legal compensation for injuries. Each source of income is influenced by choices that the same individuals and families exercise within the framework of the rules of organization of our society. Economists are accustomed to thinking that the only rules of organization that need to be studied are those that pertain to the organization of the market and its derivative prices. But it is quite clear from the proliferation of extra-market institutions for modifying the distribution of income that the market is only one force, albeit an important force, shaping the distribution of purchasing power available for exhaustive expenditures.[1/]

The differences between the distribution of incomes that would be in effect if only market forces affected distribution and the actual distribution of income available for exhaustive expenditures are shown in Chart 1. The chart displays separately the emendations to market distribution that are created by: (1) government, (2) contractual business arrangements, (3) voluntary arrangements between households and businesses, (4) involuntary redistributions among households, and (5) voluntary redistributions in that group.[2/]

The forces shaping the distribution of income may be divided into two groups: those in which the individual household exercises a direct choice

in the nature of the distribution and those in which the individual exercises his choice indirectly as a member of a group. Direct choices are reflected in voluntary household decision to provide charity or support, in household decisions to pool common risks via corporate insurance arrangements, and in household decisions to redistribute incomes over their lifetimes by agreeing to contracts for pensions and annuities.

Group choices are made by the collection of consumers in their decisions to spend; these decisions create the derived demands for resources that become one of the major forces in setting the market rate of renumeration to the household. Group choices also occur through voting and representation processes. In this latter form the group choice depends not on the amount of resources that the household is willing to expend but on the household's role as a voter and the political power it wields as a consequence of its position in the social hierarchy.

A micro-economic view.

We may also view processes determining the distribution of income from the microcosm of the individual family. From this perspective one can see that the individual gains control over resources by decisions made within the limitations imposed by his personal characteristics and the attributes of his household. The amount he can earn depends on his training, age, race, and a host of other attributes; in a similar way the amount his wife can earn depends on her characteristics, as well as the need for her services in the home.

Within the constraints established by personal characteristics there is some room for individuals and households to exercise choice

Chart 1
Forces mediating the distribution of income

	Government	Business		Inter-household		
		Contract	Voluntary	Contract	Voluntary	
	Taxes	Insurance and annuity premiums	Contributions to charitable and educational organizations	Alimony paid Support under relative responsibility	Gifts, bequests voluntary support of relatives	
MARKET DISTRIBUTION →						HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION FOR EXHAUSTIVE EXPENDITURES AND SAVING
	Transfers in social insurance, assistance, or social compensation	Insurance proceeds	Services rendered by charitable organizations and direct money payment	Alimony received	Support, inheritances, subsidization of education	

over the amount of their earnings. However, collective decisions of all expenditure-making units in the economy may restrict the area of choice even more sharply than personal characteristics. In times of general unemployment interactions between personal characteristics and the demand for labor make it difficult for certain members of the community to find work. Events on a smaller and more local scale may have the same effect: oversupply of a crop may make a farmer's labor worthless; the mainstay of the local industry may move, decline, or automate, thereby reducing local demands on the labor market.

Elements of chance also affect the family income. Even when the constraints on income earning activity created by the characteristics of a household and the current level of economic activity are forged in a given way, random events create differences in the incomes of identical individuals and households. Chance events may change the characteristics of the individual household to radically alter earning potential. The most obvious case is the case of disability. Divorce and separation are other examples. Secondly, chance may arbitrarily raise or lower income during a given period if income is derived from inherently risky undertakings, the drilling of oil wells, the proprietorship of small retail establishments, free lance writing and so forth.

The gist of this discussion is that we can represent family incomes as some complex function of personal and family characteristics and the level of economic activity in the economy . The amount of this income is inherently variable both because the characteristics of the household change over time and because there is residual variation that cannot be identified with some structural characteristic of the household or the economy.

Redistribution associated with the reduction of income variability.

Many of the mechanisms described in Chart 1 may be thought of as insurance mechanisms that reduce the variability of income associated with certain definable events, such as death, aging, disability, unemployment, and casualty losses. In return for small and regular premiums the individual household is protected against a reduction in earning power attributable to certain events.

Continuing debate ranges over the institutional arrangements that should be made to carry out these insurance functions. Private insurance is clearly restricted to income variability arising out of a narrow class of events: (1) The probability of occurrence must be known and predictable; (2) the occurrence must result from a large number of chance drawings; and (3) the beneficiary of the insurance must be unable to influence the probability of occurrence. However, out of the class of events that might be included under such a broad definition and the types of insurance coverage that might be offered private carriers have availed themselves of only a few possibilities.[3/] Public insurance can be offered in the absence of known or predictable probabilities because the resources of the state can be used to prevent bankruptcy. As the state can regulate economic and asocial behaviors, it need not be as concerned about the ability of particular individuals to influence the outcomes of insured events. Thus the state could afford to provide disability insurance for alcoholics because they are also in a position to offer some form of rehabilitation for that group. Similarly they are in a position to modify

the benefits available under unemployment insurance when it is clear that long-term unemployment is not the consequence of malingering.

As the benefits provided are less and less associated with events of a known risk, what might be conceived of as insurance gradually becomes social protection against common sources of income instability. We see this form of social protection most clearly in programs such as the Federal Deposit Insurance and Unemployment Compensation which come into being only at times when the policy makers have failed in their charge of stabilizing the economy.

Certain types of inter-household support could also be viewed in the insurance framework, as compensatory payments that arise from certain well defined deficiencies in the family resources. Relatives are likely to provide aid in times of sickness, death, and similar crises. The aid rendered will be commensurate with the strength of family bonds and previous obligations incurred. However, inter-family aid probably does not rest primarily on a "family contract." Instead it is likely to include unconditional support during periods of crisis. Support is often subordinate to rehabilitative counselling and efforts directed at increasing financial and social competence of the dependent (19).

Redistribution associated with minimum living standards. The remainder of the efforts directed at changing the distribution of income can be categorized as unconditional support. Such support is designed to maintain the level of income of a specific household when consumption falls below some standard of adequacy. Unconditional support rests on widely accepted agreement in the society that all members of the community must enjoy a standard of consumption that meets minimum requirements. Numerous autonomous groups offer support: the family,

the church, organized business charity, or public governments. Criteria of minimum requirements of consumption vary from group to group, depending partly on the characteristics of donors supporting the particular charity, partly on the clientele being served. Wealthy church supported charities may provide a higher standard of consumption than public agencies that depend on a broader consensus to legitimate their minimum level of support. Greater support may also be forthcoming for deserving groups such as the aged widows than the undeserving derelict (mentally ill, alcoholics, etc.).

Recapitulation.

The actions of several distinct decision-making groups form distribution of income in the United States:

(1) Businesses, mirroring the demands of buyers in the market place, bid for scarce resources.

(2a) Governments tax factor incomes. They thereby alter demands for products and the relative supply of resources. As the taxation is progressive the scope of these effects is probably large. In addition to their roles as tax collectors governments subsidize certain households according to need; this might be viewed as a form of negative taxation at the lower income levels.

(2b) Quite apart from general tax-transfer processes governments engage in programs that reduce income variability on the basis of funded insurance programs that resemble government enterprise operations.

(2c) In addition to these functions governments provide social goods and services to the public without benefit pricing. The ability to consume is altered as a consequence. Exhaustive expenditures of governments must be seen as a significant element in the ultimate constellation of incomes (48).

(3) A select group of businesses with an indefinite corporate lifetime is engaged in the process of distributing income and services to selected groups of households. Programs are directed at both income maintenance and the development of optimum functioning of the individual household. Funds are elicited from market enterprises and the household sector.

(4) As part of the market economy a variety of financial corporations engage in the provision of insurance against selected risks. This may be purchased on a voluntary basis by individuals or on a quasi-voluntary basis by members of selected groups (usually related to employment).

(5) Under compulsion of law private households provide support for relatives.

(6) On the basis of voluntary decisions households provide support to relatives through money payments, shared living arrangements, and support payments to institutions.

Motives underlying redistribution.

Providing for consumption over the life cycle. The various agencies influencing the distribution of purchasing power available for potential exhaustive consumption have a variety of motives. Most salient is the motive of redistributing income from periods in which the individual has high earnings to periods when his productive capacity is not likely to provide a desired standard of living.[4/] This motive is associated primarily with programs of private and social insurance providing for disability, retirement, and survivor benefits (business and government, points 2b and 4), as well as non-contractual saving of individuals. The latter may be thought of as self-insurance of individuals (49).

In any case this influence on the distribution has the effect of making contingent resources available to households in periods of low earning capacity.

Insuring against risk associated with consumption. A second motive influencing the distribution also hinges largely on the desire of individuals to pool risks, in this case risks associated not with the capacity to earn income, but risks associated with the consumption of goods. Here casualty, fire, automobile, and similar types of insurance serve as primary examples. In all cases insurance protects the buyer against sudden changes in the level of consumption caused by demands for compensation associated with natural hazards and protection of the individual under the law.

At the same time self-insurance is in effect for a large number of people that have no coverage or inadequate coverage against these types of risks. Even for those that have insurance compensation is seldom identical with the cost of a given event to the plaintiff. Both facts imply that changes in the distribution of wealth result from the incidence of natural hazards.

Merit wants. A third motive underlying actions of these various agents in influencing the distribution of income arises out of the desire of certain groups to provide certain types of services to groups that would not necessarily use their income to buy these services. Generally the provision of such services has been justified on the grounds that they satisfy merit wants (41). That is, the service interacts with the individual in such a way as to change his earning potential, his consumption patterns, his behavior, and the stability of his income.

When merit wants have been provided, the community at large is better off than before the individual received those services. Education is an obvious example of a merit want. The educated make possible communication, economic growth, and political stability in the nation that might not be obtained if a large percentage of children were permitted to remain illiterate.

The notion of merit want also underlies our rehabilitation programs to some extent. In a situation where we are committed to the support of individuals that do not participate in the labor force at some minimum level of consumption, the benefits to an individual of engaging in active labor force participation are less than the product he contributes to society. Rehabilitation attempts to provide: (1) supportive social motivation for the return to productive employment in addition to the economic motivation present, and (2) an investment in human capital that may be needed to restore marketable skills. Under present institutional arrangements it is quite possible that the affected individual would not have or be able to borrow the resources required for that investment. As a consequence rehabilitative treatments also have banking functions.

We tend to think of merit wants as supplied largely by governments. This is probably an erroneous notion. Charitable business certainly figures significantly in the provision of such wants. Indeed the subsidization of higher education in America by the families of college students could be conceived of in the same terms.

An alternative way of viewing the role of merit wants in determining the distribution of income may be found in the concept of competence defined by Foote and Cottrell (19 [36-60]). The individual's competence is measured by his ability to function within and maintain the economic

and social structure of the community. Certain groups of persons are not competent to function within this structure. Lack of competence exhibits itself in various ways, many of which result in inability to earn needed income. A large part of the efforts of all non-market agencies influencing the distribution of incomes is directed not towards changing economic magnitudes, but is directed towards increasing the competence of individual and families to deal with their situation in life. The result of intervention with the decisions of individuals is (1) greater productivity, (2) less asocial behavior, and (3) more effective communication of societal goals and techniques for learning to the succeeding generation.[5/] Greater productivity develops as individuals learn to work and contribute more effectively to the organizations in which they are employed; asocial behaviors are reduced as rehabilitation provides incentives to support families and earn a living in ways that are commonly accepted; communication with succeeding generations is strengthened by a more competent family structure that supports the community's education, creative learning, and economic success.

Adequate consumption. A fourth motive influencing the distribution of income has been the desire to provide minimum adequate consumption to households, regardless of their activity in the society. In part this is satisfied by direct provision of consumption goods through scrip monies designated for special uses and by the direct maintenance of incompetent persons in institutions and families of relatives. Indirectly maintenance of basic consumption is provided by support payments originating in the government, charitable business, or private household sector.

Direct provision of consumption may be defended as satisfying merit wants, preventing self-destruction, or increasing individual's competence. However direct support can also be criticized as a device that unnecessarily restricts personal freedom to enjoy income and inhibits the development of competence to manage the family's economic situation. It also underwrites extremely poor living conditions in instances when a large proportion of support is committed to paying rent in substandard housing that often violates local building ordinances.

2. Dynamics affecting the distribution of income

A description of forces leading to the distribution of income such as the one just presented singles out the actors and some of the underlying motivations affecting income distribution. This is merely a classification where what is really required is understanding of the functioning of redistributive institutions. An important element of the functioning is the dynamic response which each of the actors makes to changing economic conditions. We now consider these responses in greater detail.

Businesses demand for resources is bound by contractual commitments. Resource prices fixed on a salary basis within a general structure of job grading will be relatively unresponsive to the available supply of work. On the contrary, interest rates may respond very quickly to fluctuaions in the private supply of funds (if the monetary authorities do not choose to compensate for the change).

The funding of private pension plans offers another example of constraint on dynamic responses. In the competitive market the amount that employers can spend for wages is limited by marginal productivity

considerations. One employer acting alone cannot choose to provide a part of the wage in the form of pension rights. Either his labor costs will rise above the level at which he can compete effectively or he will have to offer a smaller wage than competitors and risk a poor quality labor force. Competitive pressures thus lead to minimum pension and other fringe benefits.[6/] Similarly competition leads to pension rights in which the employee has little or no vested interest -- rights cannot be transferred to other companies. Institutional arrangements permitting transfer would be more expensive than rights which terminate with employment, so that few employers would be likely to undertake a unilateral increase in their costs without hope of any direct benefits.

In their role as suppliers of insurance contracts businesses are relatively inflexible. The nature of this type of contract is that it must fix the future liability of the businesses within its future financial resources. While it is possible to escalate the liability to compensate for inflation, this is seldom done. Businesses would have to be sure that the escalation factor did not exceed the inflation of their assets. Similarly the reasonably large pooling of risks involving large numbers of chance events required for private insurance means that the insurer is limited in the number of different kinds of contracts which he can write and still be sure that each is an actuarially sound program. With too many contracts the possibilities of adverse risk selections, and a few adverse drawings might jeopardize the companies resources.

Dynamic constraints on non-profit businesses engaged directly in income maintenance and social services are less clear. Casual observation suggests that the relatively short time horizon of most fund-raising

efforts and the short-sightedness of the philanthropist make it difficult to plan any sustained expenditures for longer-term rehabilitation, growth of clientele, and reorganization to meet changing needs of the clientele. The affluence of charitable business undertakings is inversely proportional to the size of the population in need. In times when incomes are high and rising contributions may also rise. When incomes stabilize and unemployment increases, then the volume of contributions is likely to stabilize or decline.

While government agencies appear to be less constrained than others because they draw on the resources of the whole economy, their responses are determined by the scope of existing law. In the case of tax law, the dynamic response to growth may or may not increase progression depending on how changes in income are distributed.[7] If we are concerned with real incomes the matter is even worse, as income tax yields respond to changes in the price level which would otherwise have left every member of the community in the position of being able to enjoy the same consumption that he enjoyed prior to the price rise.

Households also operate under constraints. Lack of information, requirements of minimum portfolio size necessary to take advantage of changing asset prices, and lack of the necessary skills may make it difficult for some persons to convert assets at retirement into forms that provide both the security of a minimum income and the potentiality of sharing in the increasing productivity of the nation's resources. Certain types of insurance may not be available to those who already are considered poor risks, at any price. The best types of health insurance and certain social insurance programs are not available for employees of

small firms. Lack of funds in the short run and rationing of credit may lead the household to make consumption choices that it knows are inefficient or undesirable in the long run. (For example, families of unemployed persons may move in with relatives, not because they can actually expect to save money, on the average; but because they could not possibly afford to stake all their available funds on the uncertain prospect of being reemployed in a period shorter than the average lay-off. Statistics presented by Cohen, Haber, and Mueller (11) suggests this hypothesis.)

3. A program of research in the field of income distribution

While any program of research will depend heavily upon the training of particular people directing the research work, the previous discussion suggests a number of areas where either empirical data or an appropriate conceptualization of the problem must be developed.

(1) Much work has been done on the distribution of income, but little or nothing is known about mechanisms whereby the family strives to maintain its economic security.[8/] What factors influence the level of insurance acquired by the family? To what extent do informal non-contractual devices exist for providing protection against risk? How does the family cope with expected fluctuations in purchasing power, known probabilities of different levels of income at different stages in the life cycle, and the likely improvement of living conditions due to economic growth?

(2) When demand for economic security can be defined by characteristics of households and the community organizations in which they function, what can be said about an optimum division of the supply of protection

between government and private groups? What are the benefits of standardized and universal programs in relation to the individual choices that are foregone? Private hospital and medical insurance protection, for example, may be organized in a manner that offers the individual little choice of alternative contracts. What are the costs to individuals of the lacunae that exist in public programs relative to the costs to the society of extending coverage?

(3) What criteria delineate areas in which the supply of services is preferable to changing money income distribution? How do we determine whether benefits from a service exceed costs? How do we define the merit wants that are objects of such expenditures? For example, it would be extremely significant if all the agencies engaged in the provision of merit wants had substantially the same goals in their programs, in spite of alternative financing and institutional arrangements.[9/] It is also possible that research will uncover competing groups that have conflicting ideas of the appropriate wants to be supplied on a merit basis (e.g., Planned Parenthood and the Catholic Church). Is such competition desirable in a democratic society?

(4) What is the nature of the social consensus that sanctions progressive taxation and the public transfer of income to families consuming less than an adequate amount? Is it a desire to reduce the economic power of the rich and wealthy as much as it is an egalitarian motive to provide subsistence to all? What role do the organizations of the market play in determining the nature of the tax burden (55) and what role does the average citizen take in casting votes?

(5) What dynamic changes in income distribution does a synthesis of knowledge obtained by research in these areas reveal? The incidence

occupational and industrial mobility to known changes in the structure of the economy.) Previous work on both a theoretical and empirical level has attempted to provide a suitable stochastic distribution function for income or account for variability in employment and participation (47, 31, 9, 1, 18, 8, 24). We are a long way from integrating these models, and we are still further from knowing how behavior of the individual might influence this variability (21).

Government influence on the market for resources.

It is commonplace that the level of government expenditures and taxes affect market demands for resources (4). In fact little is known about the dynamics of such expenditure (58) or its impact on small area sectors of the economy. These problems are of particular interest to persons concerned with providing for an adequate level of income maintenance. The demands created by government expenditures or the funds released by tax cuts may not benefit the groups whose income we desire to support. We need to know how many, and how many with inadequate incomes, are actually benefitted by different types of changes in government operations.

Voluntary household decisions generating income transfers.

Three major areas require study: (a) household demand for insurance (of all types), (b) household demands and willingness to supply inter-family aid, (c) household willingness to supply funds for charitable services. The demand by households for some types of private insurance has been studied (26) but not within the context of the complementary protection against risk that is provided publically. The latter two topics have received minimal attention, at least from economists or others in a dynamic formulation of the supply of voluntary giving (32,

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37 [Ch. 14, 15], 30, 27, 3). What is needed are quantitative studies following the lead of Schorr (51) defining the situations in which inter-family aid is given and the type and amount given. Analysis of relationships between the extent of charity and characteristics of the community and its service organizations would probably also be extremely useful.

Compulsory household transfers.

Under this heading we include all those payments that arise out of the law regarding responsibilities of an individual for his family and the welfare of the general public. A number of interesting investigations undertaken in this area could be extended and elaborated. Morgan and Pratt (38) have investigated the costs of automobile accidents in relationship to compensation received by settlements; Morgan, Snider, and Sobol (39) studied the effectiveness of lump-sum settlements as motivation for rehabilitation of disabled persons eligible for workmen's compensation. Similar studies on the effectiveness of compensation in paternity, divorce, and negligence proceedings should be carried out to determine whether other institutional arrangements (perhaps new forms of social insurance) could not handle certain classes of proceedings more effectively and with more constructive impact on the physical and economic-well being of the parties involved.

Business supply of insurance.

Just as the demand of individuals for economic security in the form of insurance should be investigated, the conditions affecting the format and supply of contracts should be studied. In hospitalization insurance organization of hospitals has resulted in a large share of insurance going to one specific type of management (Physician-sponsored

enterprises). In life insurance competition has failed to stimulate the market that might be imagined for variable annuity contracts, for declining term insurance, and disability insurance. Instead the latter has quietly been adopted as a regular component of wages by a large fraction of employers. Particularly important and relevant for comparison with provisions of a social insurance scheme are statistics describing the number of persons excluded from desired coverages.

To the extent that insurance is offered through employer groups two further questions are extremely significant: (1) to what extent does participation in the group coverage present the individual with real alternatives as to the scope and level of his coverage; and (2) to what extent do benefits lapse at times when the individual is particularly likely to need them -- retirement, lay-off, and change of jobs?

Non-profit business influence on income distribution.

Studies in this area should outline the determinants of supply of social services. In the long-run adequacy of supply may raise questions about the rate at which new professional staff is being trained and recruited to the field, or perhaps the rate at which existing services for the poor are being reduced to make way for community-wide public services. Foote and Cottrell (19) raise several important research questions concerning the ability of these organizations to plan and integrate their activities and improve therapeutic and planning services.

Government.

Research on government's role in determining the distribution of income has unique elements. Government is the only agent whose actions approach universal application. Government is also the only agent that

can require compulsory redistribution on the basis of majority decisions (possibly even on the basis of a majority of representatives that do not represent a majority of the population). Finally government has major roles in shaping the level, structure, and growth of economic activity. Actions taken in the name of redistribution may have unforeseen or premeditated effects in these other areas. The converse is also true.

A first question for research is how can government best complement the efforts of other agents to create an optimum distribution of income? What limits on government activity are imposed by administrative expense, need for flexibility, and the existence of conflicts over the definition of optimum distribution? To answer these questions public desires for insurance and protection must be considered in relation to the available private supply. The advantages of public insurance to reduce gaps in coverage and excessively costly private plans must be weighed against the reduction in consumer choice that arises out of compulsory allocation of income. Existing gaps in universal public coverage of programs such as workmen's compensation should also be studied to determine benefits and costs involved in their elimination.

A second problem for study is to what extent should government supply services to satisfy merit wants? How do we measure the benefits to the community from such "educative" services?[11/] Can any general criteria be formulated which delimit the set of merit wants that are accepted by large groups of the community?

A third area for research is study of the consensus which legitimizes present government intervention in the distribution of income. Several approaches seem desirable. The legislative history of tax proposals and litigation concerned with income tax progression should be carefully

analyzed to see what coalitions and groups used their support for passage of a progressive tax structure with income maintenance for the needy and redistributive social insurance payments. Public opinion should be surveyed to develop a clearer description of group attitudes towards social insurance, assistance, their clientele, and the conditions under which individuals view themselves as making use of these programs.[12/]

Public views on what constitutes a minimum adequate level of living are closely linked to public support for redistribution. Such views can be studied directly through the public opinion poll and indirectly by surveying educated judgements of experts in family budgeting and the administration of welfare. The foundations upon which definitions of adequacy are built appear to be a variety of standards of family competence. A nutrition standard, for example, is based upon the fact that a family cannot physically maintain itself for less money. Other standards of competence refer to (1) infant mortality, (2) high school dropouts (16), and (3) family ability to cope with ordinary risks of illness and death (37 [427-48]). Other questions that require study relate to the definition of adequacy for changing household structures (13, 14, 7) and to the relationship between changing levels of income and concepts of adequacy (29).

In addition to studies of public opinion analysis of public and private expenditures is needed to test the hypothesis that tax progression and income maintenance can be justified as the mechanism for reducing social costs of protection against theft, epidemic disease, and so forth (22).

Study of the quality and cost of consumer expenditures is also required. I hopothesize that a low level of living costs more than a

high level of living per unit of goods consumed. This is the case when low-income families must pay higher interest charges on their borrowing than corresponding high-income families; when low-income families pay more because local groceries give credit but supermarkets do not; when low-income families use commercial services rather than their own durables because the housing arrangements make it impossible to install washers and dryers; or when low-income families burn excessive amounts of fuel because the landlord will not repair the premises. If economies of scale exist in consumption (or the earning of income) then progressive taxation and income maintenance would be justified as a mechanism for equalizing cost of consumption (earning income).

A fourth area that requires intensive work is the study of interactions between the various roles of government in supporting growth, incomes, stability, and the provision of social goods. The differential incidence of new programs for financing social insurance must be studied to supplement earlier work (42, 10, 44). The redistributive content of existing programs of social insurance must be carefully analyzed to satisfy critics such as Friedman (20). Investigation of tax incidence by permanent income levels should also be given a high priority.

As alternative methods of financing social insurance are considered, attention should also be given to the equity, incentive effects, and administrative gains and losses that can be obtained by integrating benefit payments with the definition of taxable income. At present some (perhaps only a very limited number of persons) benefit from reduced tax burdens on their incomes as a result of the exemption of unemployment insurance payments, OASI benefits, and similar payments from taxation (23). In addition the present interpretation of the limitation of earnings for

social security beneficiaries operates to put a large disincentive on regular part-time work and a great incentive on intensive seasonal participation in the labor force. The actual extent of this disincentive and the probable disincentive of alternatives should be studied.

A whole range of studies should be developed to describe the dynamics of existing redistributive legislation under varying conditions of growth, inflation, and unemployment. The contribution of payrool taxes to built-in flexibility, dynamic incidence (15) of payroll taxes during growth and typical inflations, and the interaction of specified benefit schedules with likely changes in risks of mortality, survivorship, and disability are all topics that need to be examined.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Exhaustive expenditures are those which require a using up of physical resources available in the economy.

[2]Actually the market distribution itself is shaped by these amending forces as redistribution of income from what obtains in a purely private economy results in different demands for available resources. Changes in relative demand shape the distribution of income to the available supplies.

[3]One might hypothesize that definite knowledge that condition (2) is satisfied has been the most restrictive limit on the types of insurance offered.

[4]This is the problem discussed by Yaari (60, 61, 62) and Ando and Modigliani (2).

[5]Government programs for redistribution of income are criticized on the grounds that they reflect paternalistic intervention with the decisions of free and informed persons (20 [160-202]). Such skepticism could be rigorously analyzed by studying the benefits of increased competence enumerated above on relation to the costs of (1) less efficiency in the private market and (2) reduction in individual welfare arising out of limited choice.

[6]Unless union, government, or other monopoly forces can change the conditions of employment for all competitors simultaneously.

[7]To handle this problem economists are now trying to formulate a terminology to describe dynamic incidence (15).

[8]Similarly little is known about how the community educates itself to changing patterns of work and consumption.

[9]To use the language adopted earlier, agencies would strive to implement the same concept of competence in all groups with whom they have to deal.

[10]Social security longitudinal wage record data will become increasingly useful for such dynamic studies as the period during which essentially all earners in the United States are covered extends through time. The records also could provide a unique sources of information on the experiences of particular age cohorts.

[11]Vogeley (57) offers some interesting examples of how government agency functions can be evaluated by studying similar activities in the private sector. Some lead has already been taken in the field of education and related discussion of investment in human beings (34, 43, 54, 56).

[12]Existing work on public evaluation of taxes and government expenditures indicates poorly integrated concepts of government expenditures and the vertical equity of taxation (40, 12, 6). The present state of research suggests that indirect studies of attitudes towards (a) functions of government, (b) poverty, and (c) extreme wealth will be more productive of insight into the consensus supporting income redistribution than direct studies of attitudes towards tax progression.

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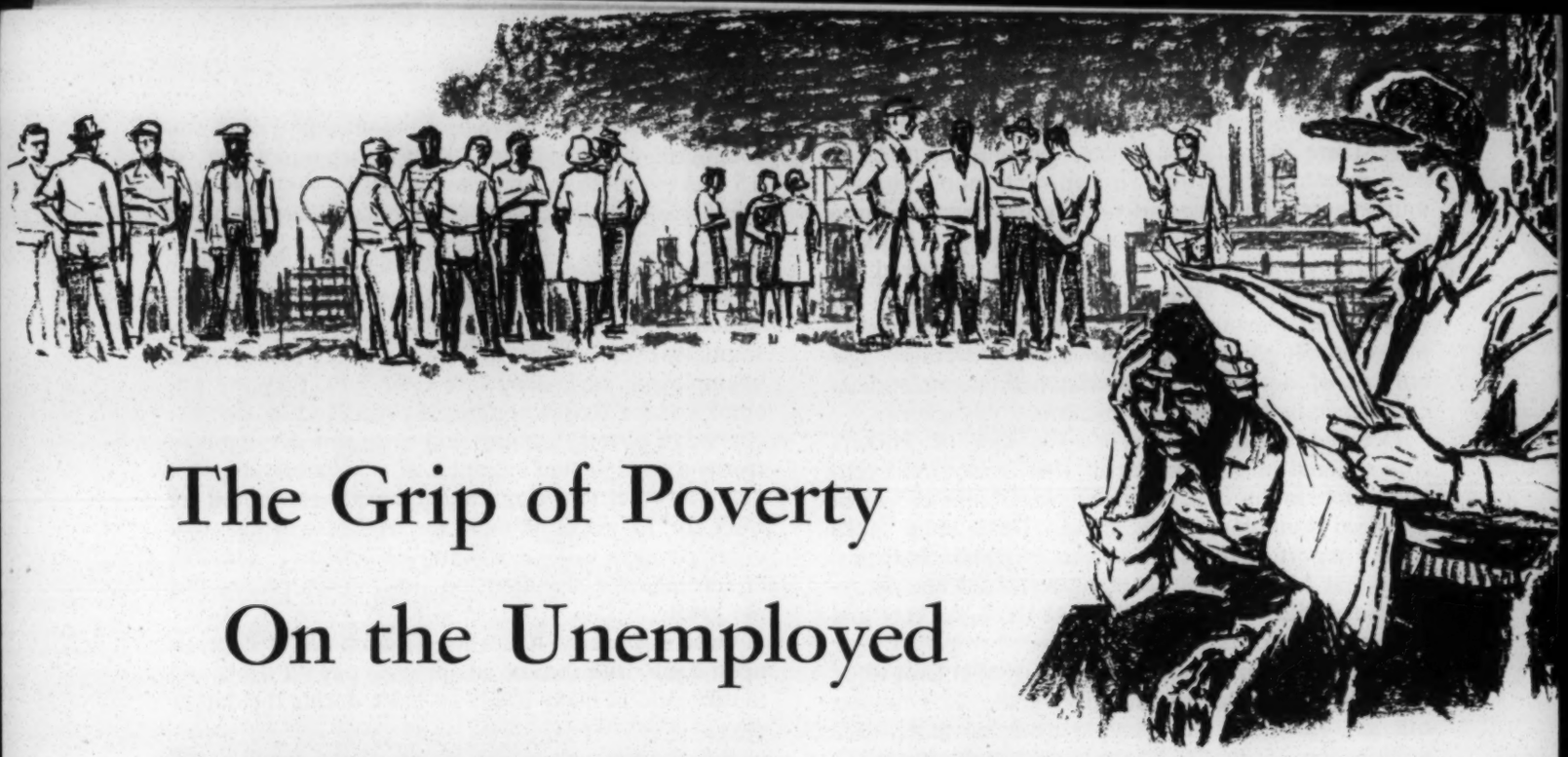

The Grip of Poverty On the Unemployed

Poverty and unemployment go hand-in-hand. For many millions of Americans poverty is a constant threat. With a job it can be held off. But it quickly invades the household when the income that goes with the job is cut off or sharply reduced. It is then that the family is pushed to the wall, without enough money to meet its basic needs.

Unemployment is, of course, not the only cause of poverty. There are many causes—low wages, inadequate social security benefits, welfare and relief programs that are themselves poverty stricken, the lack of adequate social services in most communities and the simple denial of equal opportunity.

All of these, and many others, are among the causes of poverty in America. In any war on poverty they all warrant attention. But a war on poverty that does not include a major assault on joblessness is hardly more than a skirmish.

Over 15 million different workers suffered some unemployment in 1962—the latest year for which such detailed data are available. More than 5 million of them had two or more separate bouts with joblessness during that year. And there is no doubt that 1963, when the figures are published by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, will show a similar pattern—a pattern of one worker out of every five losing income because of joblessness.

Any loss in current income is the first backward step towards poverty. The most immediate and drastic reduction in income occurs when the family breadwinner loses his job. Even though short-term joblessness may not immediately cause poverty, it leads to hardship. It forces the family to reduce spending and do without. If unemployment persists, whatever savings exist are eaten up. The longer the unemployment lasts, the more the family spending is reduced; the more it does without. The family eats less and not as well; it goes into debt; it may be forced to move, perhaps even losing its investment in a home. The family is denied not the frills but the necessities of life.

For many families, poverty is averted only because there is more than one wage earner in the family. The breadwinner's earnings may be low but, when combined with the added income of a wife or child, the family is better able to make ends meet and buy the necessities of life. However, when joblessness strikes and the income of one of the wage earners in the family is eliminated, such families must quickly retrench.

Thus poverty is not a problem to be discussed only in terms of unemployment among breadwinners—although this is a vitally important yardstick. It is, above all, a problem of family income. And, because family income depends upon the jobs of all wage earners in the family, poverty is related to the general level of unemployment. It is not related just to unemployment among family heads. And, in the United States during the past 10 years, the general level of unemployment has been moving upward for all workers—the married and unmarried, men and women, the skilled and unskilled, the white and the non-white.

Unemployment is Widespread

In 1963, there were 4.2 million people unemployed in the United States, according to the U.S. Department of Labor. This was 5.7 percent of the civilian labor force. By way of contrast, in 1953 there were fewer than 2 million workers unemployed—2.9 percent of the civilian labor force. In other words, between 1953 and 1963, unemployment in the nation more than doubled. Furthermore, since late in 1957—for 78 consecutive months—the unemployment rate has not dropped below 5 percent of the workforce.

However, the figure of 4.2 million is nothing more

ECONOMIC TRENDS *& Outlook*

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FEB 65 ?

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Third Meeting: Migrant Labor in Wisconsin and the U.S. Summary of Remarks by Elizabeth Brandeis and of Discussion.

(There were a few errors in the original summary. This is a corrected version.)

Migrant workers constitute an embattled group. They are often foreign born, uneducated, unorganized, and unprotected by the laws which aid other Americans. Often, where they are protected by various laws, their ignorance, lack of organization, and inability to speak English means that they are still denied their rights. Some of the problems, especially of Texas-Mexicans who work in Wisconsin, and some possible solution to them were discussed.

Research and attempts to quantify some of the migrants' problems is hampered by the unavailability and/or inadequacy of current data. The only available national data comes from the Current Population Surveys of the Census Bureau. Only 150 migrant families (of the more than 2 million individual migrants in the country) are interviewed; and they are questioned about their hours and days of work and earnings in December, after a year of irregular work for many employers in many parts of the country. This scant data is hardly a basis for any general statements about the economic position of migrant workers.

Whereas Mexican nationals ("braceros") are relatively well-protected by treaty and the interest of consular officials, Texas-Mexican migrants are not covered by much of the conventional labor and other social legislation, remain the victims of unenforced legislation, and are ineligible or unaware of community services where they work. They are excluded, as agricultural workers, from the Federal minimum wage and from state unemployment compensation laws; their children are covered by the Federal child labor law only while school is in session. The women and minors are covered by the Wisconsin minimum wage law; the men are not. They are included in O.A.S.D.I., but because of the failure of their employers — and who the employers are is by no means certain — to contribute and their failure to insist on the proper deductions and contributions, probably not more than one-half of them are building up credits for social security benefits. Similarly, some of the growers, in Wisconsin, refuse to recognize the workmen's compensation law and the migrants

remain unprotected against losses incurred in injuries.

Because it is hard to say who the employer is in a given situation, because children must be attended to by their parents in the absence of day-care facilities, because no child labor permits are required under the state-commercialized agriculture child labor order, its enforcement is difficult. School authorities either refuse to accept migrants' children or refuse to force them to attend school — in any case, they make a mockery of the compulsory education law. Lastly, migrants often are unable to obtain medical services in local communities because the local officials, who are responsible for providing emergency medical "assistance" for non-residents, commonly refuse to pay it — even though they would be reimbursed by the State Department of Public Welfare.

Questions arose as to whether it is desirable to pass and enforce a Federal minimum wage law for migrants; then, if it is desirable, is it possible to really enforce such a law? Supposedly, profit margins are small in the types of commercial agriculture in which migrants are used; if increased labor costs would merely necessitate the substitution of machines for men, is there any net gain in increasing the earnings of some at the expense of the employment of others? This question is not peculiar to this industry. It has been raised whenever a minimum wage has been proposed. One answer is that even if unemployment does result, then the more dire poverty of migrants might force some government action. A reasonable minimum wage might also attract local high school students for summer work. This would undoubtedly result in unemployment for the migrants.

If we assume that a minimum wage law is desirable, the problems involved in allocating earnings among all the workers in a given family, in converting piece-rate compensation to hourly earnings, and in inspection make enforcement difficult. But money, many capable inspectors, and some cooperation from the growers makes enforcement a possibility. Because of the effort of their consuls, certainly Mexican nationals receive a minimum wage. They are even reimbursed for time not spent at work because of weather conditions.

The problems involved in getting migrants their due are many and complex. Should Mexican nationals be kept out of the country to limit

the supply and thus force wages to rise? With the expiration of Public Law 78 Mexicans will be prevented from immigrating. California growers and their new Senator, George Murphy, claim that Americans can't and won't do "stoop-labor". This remains to be proven. Decline in supply of immigrant laborers should lead to improved conditions for American migrants. To enforce labor laws, the employers must be identified; but who is the employer — the grower, the processor, the crew leader, the head of the migrant family?

Some concrete proposals were made to deal with the problem. To induce migrants to report their hours of work and pay, and to provide them with an income subsidy, migrants might be given 5¢ or so an hour for each work hour reported. Since education is the key to the future well-being of migrant children, economic incentives should also be used to get them to attend school: their families should be compensated for not having them in the fields, and local schools should be compensated, just as schools in "federal impacted areas" are today, for accepting these children. Similarly, migrant workers might be given sick pay to induce them to leave work when sick and receive medical care.

The migrant problem will not disappear in the coming years as technological change has its impact in the fields. The basic problems of tending to the daily needs of the people and to the children's need for education remain. Some social inventiveness is needed to handle this problem. Social will is also necessary. Not only research, but also other action is demanded — even of professors.

15th March, 1965 Leonard Hausman

FEB 65 ?

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Fourth Meeting: "Community Development Among the Poor," Summary of Remarks by Charles O'Reilly and of Discussion.

"Community development" programs provide the greatest hope for the early elimination of poverty. As long as the poor are dependent on the beneficence of the middle class for needed income and social services, their position is precarious. Their own political and social senses should be sharpened - they should make certain that their interests are protected.

Social welfare programs (social security, public assistance, etc.) have traditionally been designed to meet the socio-economic needs of people - presumably the most needy. Social work originated as one aspect of social welfare. It is a professional methodology which has become directed towards meeting psycho-socio needs, that is, basically non-economic human needs. The earliest American social work agencies, which were private and voluntary, were established for the socially deprived. But as social workers became more influenced by analytic Freudian concepts after 1900, the poor became less receptive to their case and group work methods. Social work became a middle-class business; it dealt with the problems of the middle class in adoption, marriage counselling, etc. And to this day, private social work agencies remain separated from their original client group. A recent study of poor Negro residents of Milwaukee revealed that few of them were aware of the existence of such private agencies; of those who were aware, most would refuse and would not recommend to others the use of such agencies as a community resource. Settlement houses are used by 2nd generation families who have moved away from poor districts, not by current residents. As the community at large has failed in meeting the needs of the poor, so has the profession of social work.

"Community development" is a type of social work program in lower class areas in which the people are involved in solving their own problems. With the assistance of "outsiders", the community - or, to be more precise, the district - people set their own goals and responsibilities, develop their political skills, rouse their neighbors from their slumber of apathy, and act collectively to realize their ends. The concept is not new; Jane Adams

and her Hull House people acted to get their alderman to improve garbage collection; Saul Alinsky was active in the 30's at the grass roots level in Chicago doing this type of work.

Community development begins with the identification of the problems of lower class or slum or decaying districts. Individuals must be found who have the qualities for strong, indigenous leadership. Goals and an organization must be established in as self-directed a manner as is possible. A sense of community must be developed. The forces that prevail in the larger community must be recognized and dealt with.

Of course this sounds simpler than the process in fact is. Current knowledge of communities and sub-communities is insufficient and largely impressionistic. The problems of one community are often peculiar to it, so that if one would call on people who successfully guided community development programs in Chicago, New York, or Philadelphia, they would probably be ill-equipped to deal with the problems of Milwaukee's inner core. The poor often don't even belong to church or other organizations so they are very difficult to contact. It is difficult to arouse people whose primary value is survival. The culture of poverty is not easily changed.

There have been results, in spite of the formidable problems, in a number of community development programs. Neighborhoods have been cleaned up, police protection increased, delinquency reduced, schools with better programs and expanding counselling services have been provided in response to the new militancy among the organized poor. Mobilization For Youth, (M.F.Y.) in New York is one program which has had results. The outgrowth of 6 or 7 years of planning, M.F.Y. began about 3 years ago on the Lower East Side to deal with the problems of an area that seemed to be beyond hope. Crime, slum housing, inferior schools, bad law enforcement and a complete breakdown in municipal services characterized the area. But imaginative leadership and dedicated social workers helped organize the movement. The momentum developed, combined with civil rights agitation, led to the famous rent strikes, school boycotts, and other protests. The city responded somewhat to these demands but slum-lords and others also let their feelings be known at City Hall. The result: a witchhunt conducted

by the N.Y. Daily News and somewhat legitimized by the head of the city's Anti-Poverty Council.

A serious question, in regard to M.F.Y. and other current community development programs, is whether the results are a product mainly of the efforts of social workers and indigenous leaders in organizing the community around local issues - garbage collection, police protection, better schools; or are they a product of the momentum of the civil rights movement? If the civil rights movement is the major explanation of success, then some other way and issues must be found to replace the power of the movement, when it subsides.

Some people may be interested in merely making the poor less miserable. They are certainly opposed to sponsoring a program that will upset the going system of power structure. But community development programs are designed to make the poor politically active and militant - they are designed to achieve ends through conflict. This is why a C.D. program is nipped in the bud in Milwaukee and M.F.Y. might be well emasculated within a year in N.Y. In what direction is the administration's war headed - towards making our poor more comfortable or toward making them poor no longer?

Is there a need for some type of parallel education and organization in the middle-class community, to make such people receptive to the demands of the poor? The middle class will somehow have to be attuned to the fact that, as in Sweden, poverty can really be eliminated. The process may take 3 generations, but the end will be the elimination of poverty if the community does more than provide services, if the poor are not only made more comfortable. The poor must become less "nice". And just as the middle class has traditionally done, they must learn to organize, agitate, and protest to realize their ends.

March 4, 1965. Leonard Hausman.

FEB 65 ?

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Fifth Meeting: Summary of General Discussion on How $20 Billion Ought to be Spent in the War on Poverty.

Two things were accomplished in this seminar. First, a list of techniques for dealing with the poverty problem was drawn up and discussed. Second, crude estimates of the costs involved in eliminating poverty in the near future were derived.

The poor can be helped by providing them with direct financial support, by providing them with a host of services that will enable them to make the climb from poverty themselves, and by altering the economic and social environment in which they struggle.

Financial support is presently provided through social insurance and public assistance. The present public assistance system employs a "means test" for recipients; the affront to human dignity, the economic costs involved in the use of the means test, and the disincentives to work involved in present assistance formulas suggest that a change is desirable. A universal family allowance system is one alternative; each family in the population receives some (taxable) allowance for each family member; the means test is circumvented. A second alternative is the negative income tax. From the total of wages and other income, possibly including income from social insurance, the total value of exemptions and deductions would be subtracted; thus if a family or individual had a net taxable income of less than zero dollars, a "negative tax" rate would be applied to that income and the taxpayer would receive a "refund". Whereas our present income tax system often redistributes income among the non-poor, this system would include the poor in the redistribution process. To avoid building large disincentives into the tax system, a low negative marginal tax rate would be desirable. Lampman has estimated that there are, under the present tax law, $15 billion of unused deductions and exemptions; the application of a 14% negative tax rate to this figure would yield about $2 billion.

Services of many types would be useful. Pre-school education, improvements of the education of the poor, and retraining are already incorporated in the administration's efforts. Medical and nursing services, and child day-care centers are important. Since the poor are harassed by some

unethical businessmen and have problems in managing their finances, services in these areas may also be necessary.

Lastly, macro-economic policies to ensure fall-employment, reduction of congestion and social disorganization in slums, the manipulation of minimum wage standards and other labor standards for groups such as migrant workers, and the elimination of racial discrimination would help set necessary conditions for the elimination of poverty. These types of policies may be termed environmental policies as they affect the poor only indirectly by changing their environment.

Now that we've mentioned some of these areas, how should funds be allocated among competing areas?

Income maintenance

Using social security (?) standards and data from the Economic Report of the President, we find that somewhat less than 9 million families, with $1500 median incomes, suffer from an average income deficit of $1300 per year and about 5 million individuals, with estimated median incomes of $1000, suffer from an average deficit of $500. It would thus take $14.2 billion (11.7 for families, 2.5 for individuals) to meet the basic subsistence needs of the poor.

Investment in human beings

Investments in the future earnings potential of the poor can take a number of forms. If we supply 3 years of training to the adult (ages 18-64) poor with less than 8 years of education, 2 years to those with 9-11 years of education, and 1 year to poor high school graduates, at the cost of $1500 per training year over their future lifetimes, it would take a total of $24.2 billion to meet the need. Perhaps $7 billion would be required in the first year. Beyond this, by spending an additional $280 per pupil on poor children already in the schools to improve the quality of their education, $320 per pupil on poor children of ages 3 and 4 for pre-school training, and $600 per pupil for dropouts who would be brought back to school, the cost of improving the educational system for the poor would be $3.8 billion per year.

Housing

There were 6.7 million families living in substandard housing in 1960. If we assume that all of these families were part of the poor, and

that $^1/_3$ of these houses can be rehabitated at a cost of $2000, and $^2/_3$ must be rebuilt at a cost of $15,000 per unit, and if the costs of rehabitation are spread over a 10 year period and those of rebuilding over a 25 year period, $2.1 billion would be necessary to meet the need in the first year. (Reducing the $15,000 figure by 50% would not have a very substantial effect on the annual cost figure.)

Additional government services

Lastly, if additional government workers are hired, at an annual salary of $10,000, for each 100 poor persons, another $3.5 billion is needed.

Adding

$ 14.2	(subsistence costs)
7.0	(retraining)
3.8	(improved education)
2.1	(housing)
3.5	(government workers)
$ 30.6 billion	

we find crude but not exaggerated assumptions that $30.6 billion could be used to combat poverty. This amount is beyond what federal, state, and local governments are currently providing.

The problem is huge. As resources are always scarce, choices have to be made. These choices have a variety of dimensions. In using resources for income maintenance a choice must be made among direct income support, direct services, and altering the socio-economic environment. A choice must be made between using resources for rehabitation and other "investments" to increase future earnings capacity as opposed to bettering current subsistence.

In some respects the problems are more simple than they appear to be at a quick glance, in other cases more difficult. $17.2 of $30.6 billion needed "merely" involves transfer payments, the redistribution of income. The remaining $16 billion must be used to draw human and physical resources from alternative public or private uses or on unused resources. The moneys spent to accomplish these same objectives must then be increased. To the extent that resources are used to bid for persons and materials that are

already employed, inflation of resource costs results. Another serious problem is that as the poverty effort is enlarged, the chances of affecting some non-poor are increased. In practice it will be difficult to find "hurdles" that allow only the poor to benefit from new programs. Indeed political considerations may dictate that resources are widely spread in the community.

It was suggested that some resources be used to bring the society to accept the integration of the poor into society, to increase the awareness of the middle class of the problems involved, to make sure that programs for the poor remain just that from the time of the enactment of legislation to the administration of the programs. It was also suggested that existing university resources could be used towards these ends.

17th March, 1965 Leonard Hausman

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF POVERTY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

March 4, 1965.

There will be NO MEETING of the faculty seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S. this coming Monday, March 8, 1965.

The next meeting will be held on Monday afternoon, March 15.

Sixth Meeting

Speaker: Karl E. Taeuber, Department of Sociology.

Topic: Perspectives on Negro urbanization, residential segregation, and relative economic status.

Room: 262 Social Science Building.

Time: 3:30 p.m.

Interested Graduate Students Please See Professor Martin David.

Readings: Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Ch. 29, "Patterns of Social Segregation and Discrimination."

E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, Ch. XI, "Urban Negro Communities."

C. Horace Hamilton, "The Negro Leaves the South," Demography, 1:1 (1964), 273-295.

Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Negro as an Immigrant Group," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX: 4 (January, 1964), 374-382.

_____, "The Changing Character of Negro Migration," ibid., LXX: 4 (January, 1965), 429-441.

Karl E. Taeuber, "Negro Residential Segregation: Trends and Measurement," Social Problems, 12: 1 (Summer, 1964), 42-50.

(Note: Reprints of the last 3 items may be obtained from the secretary in the Demography Lab, Room 402 Social Science. Copies of the first three are available from her for use in the Lab. during working hours.)

Questions for Discussion:

Does the changing character of Negro migration to cities alter the need for or character of programs to assist impoverished migrants?

What is the role of segregated housing in the vicious circle of segregation, poverty, inadequate education, poor jobs, little political power, etc.? Is it necessary to attack housing segregation as part of an attack on Negro poverty, or can it be left as a somewhat separate civil-rights issue? How can housing segregation be attacked?

Education underlies occupation which underlies income. Negro-white differentials in education require at least several generations to eliminate. What are the implications of this for policy to upgrade Negro occupations and incomes?

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF POVERTY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

March 25, 1965.

The next meeting of the faculty seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S. will be held this coming Monday, March 29, 1965.

Eighth Meeting

Speakers: Mr. S. Staniforth, Department of Agricultural Economics, and Mr. Douglas Marshall, Department of Rural Sociology.

Topic: Rural Poverty in Wisconsin.

Room: 262 Social Science Building.

Time: 3:30 p.m.

Interested Graduate Students Please See Professor Martin David.

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3. ____ "Social Response to Population Change and Migration," North-Central Regional Research Publication No. 153.

4. Leo J. Moran and Sydney Staniforth, "Rural Development in Price County," AES, Research Bulletin 216.

5. ____ "Economic Opportunities for Rural People," University of Wisconsin, Extension Service, Circular 596, July 1961.

Questions

1. What is the nature and extent of rural poverty in Wisconsin?

2. What are the causes of rural poverty?

3. What are the opportunities to improve the incomes of the rural poor?

4. The role of ARA and RAD.

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Sixth Meeting: "Perspectives on Negro Urbanization, Residential Segregation, and Relative Economic Status." Summary of Remarks by Karl E. Taueber and of Discussion.

Some insight into the problems of the Negro -- and not only the poor Negro -- was gained from a discussion of Negroes as an immigrant group, Negro migration patterns, segregation in housing, and the relative economic status of the Negro.

Some have viewed the Negro as just another immigrant group. As the Germans and Poles, who migrated from Europe, adapted to city life and assimilated into the social structure, Negroes too will soon begin to climb socio-economic ladders. But intergenerational studies indicate that whereas all immigrant groups have simultaneously experienced social and economic advancement as well as residential desegregation, Negro economic advancement has been accompanied by increasing residential segregation. More recent immigrant groups, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, are less well-off economically, but their residential segregation has already declined. Given the strategic importance of housing in gaining access to schools, hospitals, and other public facilities, increased social and economic advance for Negroes is greatly inhibited. Negroes are locked in their ghettoes.

A common explanation of the plight of the Negro in the northern urban area is that he has just emigrated from the "primitive folk culture" of the South and thus he has not had time to make the necessary adjustments to urban living. This is no more than myth. Census migration data for 1960 reveal that non-white migrants to northern metropolitan areas, in the period 1955-1960, accounted for less than 10% of the total Negro population in those areas in 1960; moreover, those migrants were coming mostly from other northern metropolitan areas; only southern metropolitan areas experienced much Negro immigration from rural areas. In-migrants from metropolitan areas were of at least equal education, occupational, and income status than the resident Negro populations -- and even compared favorably, in these forms, with the resident white population. The Negro has become more urbanized than the white; the large outflow from Southern rural areas has subsided; any increase in the northern, urban Negro population can be attributed largely to a higher rate of natural increase.

Thus programs directed at illiterate, impoverished, rural in-migrants in these areas are somewhat misguided. Welfare and other agencies must take cognizance of the new migration patterns. We must cease to attribute Negro poverty to outdated causes.

For every problem the Negro has, a myth seems to have developed to explain it. The real estate people have a very plausible one for the residential segregation of the Negro: he is poor and can't afford to live in anything but the slum. By use of the "segregation index", which measures the degree of uneveness or dissimilarity in the residential distribution of whites and Negroes in a given city, one finds that there has been and is rigid racial segregation in housing in every major American city which had Negroes in more than 1,000 dwelling units in 1940. The segregation index values were far higher for whites and nonwhites than for any other socio-economic divisions. The degree of segregation has become higher over time, both in the South and North -- although there was some modest improvement in the Northeast in the last decade -- and in large and small cities.

To some extent, Negroes have been able to move out of the ghettoes as their economic status has improved; but their movement has not matched their status improvement. If they continue to move out at the present rate, it will be many decades before significant desegregation can take place. If desegregation associated with improving occupational status to this date is any indication, more than 100% of nonwhites must become white-collar workers to reduce segregation to levels typical of income or education group segregation. A study of Chicago income and housing patterns demonstrated that present white-Negro income differentials cannot explain most or all their residential separation. Median rent proved to be the same for white and nonwhite groups. Evidence in Taueber's study showed that income variations, in 1960, accounted for only 12% of the residential segregation. Negroes are confined to their ghettoes -- and because of their confinement must pay a premium for their inferior housing.

Some demographic data from tables distributed during the seminar yielded these conclusions: Nonwhites improved their occupational status,

vis-a-vis whites, from 1930 to 1950; in the cohort groups just referred to, there have not been significant gains since then. Nonwhite entrants to the labor today, though, start out from a better relative position than previously. Data from another table revealed that educational attainment differences between whites and nonwhites cannot account for the disparity between their occupational distributions. At the level of 1 to 3 years of high school, and 4 years of high school, the occupational distributions are most disparate. In addition nonwhites are moving into these educational levels in increasing numbers and that labor forces members past school age (25-34) still are in a relatively poor educational position to compete for skilled jobs due to their poorer quality education. Thus the prospects for economic equality between whites and nonwhites in the near future are grim. Given the best of government policies, the educational, occupational, and income differentials that presently separate Negroes and whites will probably not disappear for another 50 years.

The discussion centered on the problem of racial segregation. To alleviate the problem, a new approach is being employed in N.Y. Poor families will be given rent subsidies to live in private, middle-income housing. Whether the white, middle-income families who will occupy housing in these projects accept this approach is a serious question.

One other hope for achieving residential desegregation lies in the spread of school desegregation. If whites cannot run to segregated suburban schools, perhaps residential segregation in urban areas can be achieved.

But whites are resistant. In some desegregated Chicago areas, white parents have sent their children to private schools. Perhaps the problem is such that urban redevelopment is the answer -- even if large numbers of Negroes are displaced; we'll just have to continue to reshiffle the population. Somehow, because of its crucial role, housing desegregation must be achieved. It must pay to become not-poor.

March 25, 1965 Leonard Hausman

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Eighth Meeting: "Rural Poverty in Wisconsin." Summary of Remarks by S. Staniforth and D. Marshall.

Public attention is usually focussed on urban poverty; but rural poverty is also a substantial problem. The nature and extent of rural poverty in the U.S. and in Wisconsin and means to combat it were considered in this seminar.

Whereas less than one-third of the population lives in rural areas, about one-half of America's poor reside there. Substandard housing and limited access to medical facilities is common among the rural poor.

Poverty is widespread in rural areas because children who were raised there received little and/or inferior education, had limited capital resources, and thus had few alternatives to farm or rural non-farm subsistence existence. Moreover, the size of the economically adequate farm unit has increased at a rapid rate as technological change has had its impact. To do better than simply survive, farms have had to undergo an average of 2 or 3 major reorganizations in the last 30 years; many farmers had neither the capital, the credit, nor the know-how to undertake such reorganizations.

People who once migrated from rural to urban areas often return when unemployment strikes because it is so much cheaper to live in a rural area, and this adds to the number of rural poor.

A number of methods to improve the income position of the rural poor are available. In some places industrialization may be feasible. Plants which require minimal social overhead capital can be encouraged to operate in rural areas. This has been a major feature of the Area Redevelopment Administration's program. It is desirable from the rural person's point of view because it allows them to live where they prefer to. But industrial development is difficult, so a second method involves supplying the rural poor with opportunities to supplement or stabilize their income on their farms or in their homes through various contract enterprises (e.g., growing broilers or making handbags); in conjunction with this, attempts can be made to raise the Social Security benefits of farmers, or provide some other income subsidy. Again, this approach allows rural people to live more decently in their preferred rural environment. The

government can assist rural people in a variety of other ways, some of which will contribute to their mobility and the depopulation of rural areas. Aid to the education of the young and retraining programs for adults would be in this latter category. But "community action" programs, which are directed towards re-vitalizing rural areas by mobilizing their existing resources can also be useful. Community action programs may also involve industrialization; they provide much promise for some areas in the war on rural poverty.

Recently Kermit Gordon, the federal government's Budget Director, suggested that out-migration and relocation must be encouraged among the rural poor to solve the rural poverty problem. A study of Price County, Wisconsin, revealed that among the young and educated rural population there is great out-migration and little need for encouragement. Only the aged, whose assets cannot be easily liquidated and who are often hampered by physical disabilities remain. If these people were moved to urban areas, the problem would merely be shifted, not solved. They are too old to enter new occupations and, what's more important, they want to live in rural areas. Their needs should be met where they presently live. On purely economic grounds, it is questionable whether out-migration for some groups from rural areas should be encouraged: it would be much less costly to provide income and services for the rural poor in the rural areas, than to cover moving and housing costs, in addition to meeting income and services needs, if they were to move to urban areas.

In regard to rural poverty in Wisconsin, it should be remembered first, that it is by no means confined to the northern part of the state, and second, that not only marginal farmers but also various Indian groups and Negroes and Mexicans who inhabit rural, non-farm areas constitute a significant part of the rural poor.

The discussion centered on the need to consider the desires of rural people to live in rural areas. Mr. Marshall suggested that, if the government takes a role in solving the problem of rural poverty, it should do just as much to subsidize and encourage staying in rural areas as it does migration from them. Especially for the older people, the answer is income subsidies -- that's what will most satisfy them and what will be most economical.

Whether the various redevelopment programs have been successful in places such as Price County remained an open question. It is difficult to isolate the effects of such programs and to attribute any observable economic improvement to them. What can be said, though, is that they do stimulate thinking and leadership where they are notably absent; when local leadership is generated and when things such as bank services are improved at least a basis exists for further progress.

April 7, 1965 Leonard Hausman.

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF POVERTY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

March 31, 1965.

The next meeting of the Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S. will be held this coming Monday, April 5, 1965.

Ninth Meeting

Speaker: Mr. David Mechanic, Department of Sociology.

Topic: "Social Status and Morbidity: Data and Methodological Issues."

Room: 262 Social Science Building.

Time: 7:30 P.M.

Interested Graduate Students Please See Professor Martin David.

References

Dept. of Vital & Health Statistics, National Center for Health Statistics, Series 16 - #9, "Medical Care, Health Status and Family Income."

Jacob Feldman, "Household Interview Survey as a Technique for the Collection of Morbidity data," Journal of Chronic Diseases, VII #5, pp. 535-557, May, 1960,(Medical Library).

E.G. Jaco, ed. Patients, Physicians and Illness, Section I, Social & Personal Components of Illness, pp. 9-49.

D. Mechanic, "The Concept of Illness Behavior," Chronic Diseases, 15, 1962, 189-194.

M.W. Susser and W. Watson, Sociology in Medicine, Oxford University Press, (Chapter on "Social Class and Epidemiology," pp. 64-110).

Questions

1. What is the relationship between socio-economic status and health status (mortality and morbidity)?

2. What is the relationship between socio-economic status and health care coverage generally?

3. To what extent can socio-economic differences in health care status be attributed to inadequate economic resources, and to what extent are such differences attributes of the culture of poverty?

4. What are the sources of morbidity data? What are the methodological issues which have relevance to the meaning and interpretation of modbidity data?

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Seventh Meeting: Summary of Remarks by Warner Bloomberg, "Notes on Poverty, Dependency, and Unemployment," and of Discussion.

The problem of poverty (i.e. the problem of people having inadequate income) and the problem of economic dependency can be analyzed and dealt with separately. Questions of values and of policy in regard to the problems of poverty and dependency dominated this seminar. Since Warner Bloomberg's valuable "Notes on Poverty, Dependency, and Unemployment" have been distributed, what follows is a summary of the discussion generated by the paper rather than of the paper and talk themselves.

To deal with the insufficient income aspect of poverty, Bloomberg suggested that we begin to give serious consideration to extending "positively sanctioned dependency status" to the involuntarily unemployed and under-employed. As the student, the housewife, and the retiree are conceived to be and treated as legitimately dependent, and as the professor on sabbatical leave is likewise treated, so should the involuntarily unemployed be treated during unemployment periods, useful alternatives to "work" could be offered to them at such times. The tie between income and "work" does not hold for many in our society; we must now see whether it should not be broken for a larger segment of the society. This is a fundamental values question raised in the context of prolonged, serious unemployment, but certainly relevant outside of that context: even if we had a full employment economy, the question would be worth examining.

Bloomberg also suggested that the dependency aspect of the poverty problem can only be solved when the poor are politically organized. Their political organization will meet two vital needs: first, it will enable them

to overcome the powerlessness and despair which in good part explains their refractoriness to resocialization programs; second, their demands on the power structures of local communities across the nation and on the national level will be the major means of inducing policies for a full employment economy and redistribution of income. In effect, apart from political action on the part of the poor, there is little value in the plans of government officials and economists that presently adorn drawing-boards, and for two reasons: one, recent experience has shown that the plans become working policy -- if they ever do -- only after considerable delay, and two, there is no significant and lasting attitude change on the part of the poor unless they are involved in the process of getting their due -- they must begin to feel powerful and significant by forcing the plans off the drawing-boards and into operation.

In view of the fact that so many of the poor have special problems of old age, ill health, unwed motherhood, is there a need to make the poor angry and politically active or can't we merely change laws and existing programs; is a revolutionary movement of the poor a necessity? Yes, because the society won't respond to these needs unless pressured, as it has been by the civil rights organizations; and even if it would somehow respond spontaneously, the poor need to be organized to combat the dysfunctional aspects of newly instituted programs. But it must be emphasized that the society probably won't respond spontaneously: would it take the seemingly simple and rational economic action of abolishing the degrading means test for welfare recipients? Or seriously work for full-employment? If the dependency problem could be solved without political organization of the poor, that would be all right.

But even if it is assumed that present urban poverty and dependency problems can be solved, experience and data indicate that there is an almost unlimited supply of people in the rural areas who will re-fill the slums as soon as they are emptied. [N.B. This contradicts Taeuber's views in the Seventh Seminar.] Thus, do we need to follow Sweden and work with the rural poor, giving them educational and other tools, as well as with the urban poor? Do we need a national political movement of the poor? If the rural poor move into a more desirable urban environment -- if they join an already politicized group and if jobs are waiting for them -- then the problems of urban socialization will be more readily dealt with. If the rural poor come to live in new systems, they'll act in new ways.

Political action is needed to induce economic change. Perhaps such action will lead to a re-evaluation of the traditional connection between a job and income (and the job and dignity). Perhaps it will lead to a revaluation of the present concept of a job. It is a major weapon in the battle with dependency: for it will give a sense of power to the previously powerless and it will force the society to remove barriers that inhibit the poor. Even if the job retains its social and economic importance, it must be demanded by, not given to, the poor.

March 31, 1965 Leonard Hausman.

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
University of Wisconsin
March 29, 1965

To: Members of the Economics Department, Political Science and African Area Studies **and Members of the Poverty Seminar**

From: E.M. Kassalow

Assistant Secretary of Labor, George L-P Weaver, will be here as the guest of the Economics and Political Science Departments, as well as the African Area Studies Program, to deliver an all-university lecture on Wednesday, April 7, at 3:30 P.M in Room 130, Social Science Building. His subject will be Human Rights and the Struggle Against World Poverty.

Mr. Weaver is the U.S. Representative to the International Labour Organisation's governing body. He has had a long and distinguished career both in the international labor field and in the civil rights movement in the United States. I should appreciate your calling Mr. Weaver's lecture to the attention of those of your students who may be interested in attending.

4-5-65

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Tenth Meeting: "Equal Justice for the Poor." Summary of Remarks by Margo Melli.

The subject of "Equal Justice for the Poor" includes two main subjects: (1) The problem of provision of counsel for those who cannot afford it; and (2) the problem of the operation of the substantive law in relation to the poor. The problem of provision of counsel for the poor in criminal and civil proceedings was the main concern in this meeting.

Free counsel is required and must be provided as a matter of right only to an individual accused of violating the criminal law; and the individual must be accused of a crime carrying a substantial penalty. The provision of free counsel is not required for lesser offenses. The required provision of free counsel is limited not only to criminal cases where a substantial penalty may be invoked, but also the offender must be declared indigent; an individual who may become indigent as a consequence of providing for his own defense cannot receive free legal assistance.

Two principal means of providing free counsel to the criminal indigent have evolved: the assigned counsel and the public defender. Both have problems. In the assigned counsel system, the counsel is often selected in an inequitable way: an attorney sitting in the rear of a criminal courtroom may be chosen; appointment may be made from a limited segment of the bar who may be the less reputable members. Even where assignments are made from lists of all bar members there are drawbacks. A lawyer who has no experience with the criminal law or a very young lawyer, fresh from law school, may be assigned. If all members of the bar could be given refresher courses in criminal procedures and if clerical and investigative staff could be provided to assigned counsel, the criminal indigent would have a better chance of receiving the equal protection of the law.

The public defender is a lawyer who is paid a salary from public funds to defend indigents charged with crime. In most counties, the position is part-time and is given to one of the least experienced members of the bar.

Of course public prosecutors are often similarly unqualified in small counties. Although both systems have problems, because the assigned counsel system would keep all lawyers abreast of developments in criminal law, it seems desireable to improve and place greater emphasis on this approach.

Free counsel is not required for the indigent in civil cases -- although the need for counsel may be as great as in criminal cases. The principal way of meeting the need for counsel in civil cases has been through Legal Aid Societies, supported by charity and the bar. But Legal Aid Societies are hampered by limited financial resources, by the fact that they are often not permitted to provide aid in divorce and bankruptcy cases, and by the fact they can only offer aid to a limited number of people before they run into conflict with bar members who fear the loss of clients. Another source of help, this one supported by government funds, has been small claims courts established to allow the indigent to represent themselves, essentially by telling their side of the story. But their monetary jurisdiction is limited and many feel they are misused by collection agencies and often hurt rather than help the poor. The low court costs and the lack of need of counsel make small claims courts of some value.

The legal profession has failed to institutionalize a means of guaranteeing the opportunity for equal protection of the laws to the poor. Perhaps the requirement of free counsel to the indigent should be extended to civil cases. Perhaps we should socialize the financing of legal services, as we have begun to socialize the financing of medical services.

It was suggested that basic changes in the system of providing legal services and in the law itself may be necessary to help the poor. Maybe we cannot significantly help the poor unless the present system is tampered with -- we often fail to consider such alternatives and seek to make all changes within the going framework. Since lawyers cannot climb in their profession by serving the poor, we could guarantee them at least some income and aid them to challenge the present law; for even if we provide free counsel to the poor, it is possible that the present body of law is not capable of meeting their needs.

May 6th, 1965. Leonard Hausman.

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF POVERTY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

April 14, 1965.

There will be no meeting of the Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S. this coming week. The next meeting will be held on Monday, April 26, 1965.

Eleventh Meeting

Speaker: Professor Robert Lampman, Department of Economics.

Topic: "Income Redistribution as a Means of Eliminating Poverty."

Room: 262 Social Science Building.

Time: 3:30 p.m.

Interested Graduate Students Please See Professor Martin David.

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Ninth Meeting: "Social Status and Morbidity: Data and Methodological Issues." Summary of Remarks by David Mechanic.

There is no question that there is a relationship between socio-economic status (S.E.S.) and health status; the lowest socio-economic group in our population experiences far above average mortality and morbidity rates. The relationship was and remains clear where extreme "poverty" (that which involves seriously inadequate nutrition and living under highly unsanitary conditions) is involved; where poverty is less extreme, the relationship is not as pronounced or obvious. Other qualifications about the relationship are necessary.

A) The relationship between S.E.S. and mortality can be examined in a number of ways. Infant and maternal mortality rates for the very poor are far greater than for other socio-economic groups; for other S.E.S. groups, these mortality rates do not seem to vary in a systematic way; a middle-level S.E.S. group might have the lowest mortality rates.

Studies have also been done on neo-natal and post neo-natal mortality rates of different S.E.S. groups. Significant differences between the two groups exist primarily in the area of post neo-natal mortality. Since the neo-natal experience of the infant may be related to the nutritional condition of his mother or to other biological factors, it is best to use data from the post neo-natal period to isolate the effect of S.E.S; that is, in this latter period deaths are more preventable if the child received proper care -- and this, presumably, is a function of his S.E.S. A clear linear relationship is still evident.

The data below show average life remaining at two different age categories in the period 1959-1961. These race differences largely reflect S.E.S. differences.

Age	White Male	Nonwhite Male	White Female	Nonwhite Female
0	67.55	61.48	74.19	66.47
29-30	41.92	37.91	47.59	41.73

Substantial differences exist, even if we disregard the data for life expectancy at birth, when the greatest risks operate. The infant mortality rate for nonwhite is twice that of whites, 41.2 as compared to 22.3. (The data used here were not standardized for income differences.)

Qualifications are in order though. The available data is poor, but the differences are large enough to allow the conclusions to stand. There is also a causality problem here: is it S.E.S. that causes mortality rates to vary or does morbidity influence both S.E.S and mortality? This problem is especially relevant for adult mortality.

B) In considering the relationship between S.E.S. and morbidity a number of precautionary steps must be taken. First, it is necessary to separate types of diseases; some diseases (e.g. coronary heart disease) are positively related to income whereas others (such as T.B.) may be negatively related to income. Second, it is necessary to distinguish between morbidity incidence and morbidity prevalence. Incidence refers to the number of new cases of a disease within a specific time period; prevalence refers to the total number of known cases within a specific time period. Because factors which produce and factors which exacerbate a given disease are often different, the incidence and prevalence for given income groups may be different: the poor and the rich might develop illnesses at the same rate, but because the poor may have inferior clothing and heating, and more limited access to medical care, their illnesses may last longer and have more serious consequences for health status.

Third, it is very difficult to interpret data because morbidity is a subjective state and is thus very hard to define. The problem involves both medical diagnosis and the attitudes of individuals towards their physical condition. Two physicians, each asking the same questions of the same individual, have been found to make different assessments of that individual's condition. Moreover, people from varying socio-economic groups often perceive illness differently.

Fourth, and also related to the interpretation of data, it is necessary to note the period for which the interviewed individuals are asked to recall their morbidity experience. One study revealed that a recall period of one day yielded morbidity rates that were 4 times the size of those yielded by a 1 month recall

period. Such recall and definitions used in the National Health Survey problems probably lead to a greater downward bias in morbidity for low S.E.S. groups. In view of these considerations, it can be concluded that S.E.S. is inversely related to morbidity.

Work loss attributed to non-job related illnesses is greatest among the low income groups. Chronic limitation of activity also varies inversely with income.

C) Health insurance coverage also varies among income groups. 36% of the individuals with income of less than $2,000 per year have hospital insurance; 85.9% of those with income of more than $7,000 are covered. A disproportionate number of the poor have no teeth and make no dental visits each year. Other data on health care coverage of a variety of kinds reveal that the poor do not have equal access to medical care.

D) Large quantities of data on morbidity and mortality have been generated by the federal government; much of it, like that from the "Household Interview Survey" is of questionable reliability. Detailed studies of the health problems of the poor are not available. Presently, though, a group at Cornell is supplying free care to the poor and, at the same time, studying their health problems; the federal government has also started a "Health Examination Survey" from which should come the most reliable health data available.

It is unquestionable, in conclusion, that mortality and morbidity rates are highest among the poor. A question remains, though, as to whether free medicine for the poor (only?) would solve the problem, for some studies reveal that S.E.S. affects the propensity to seek medical care; in some S.E.S. groups, individuals with trivial needs will seek care, while in others, the lowest ones, those with serious needs will not because of particular cultural characteristics. (What this "something" is, is not fully understood.) In Britain, "free" medicine seems to have overcome S.E.S. variations in propensities to seek care, but cultural differences affecting health status continue to persist.

April 14, 1965 Leonard Hausman.

MAY 1965

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Thirteenth Meeting: "The Consumer World of the Poor." Summary of Remarks by Milton J. Huber.

We have spent much of our time talking about the productive powers of the poor, about their earnings and income. But their income is not the sole determinant of their level of living. We much give serious attention to the "outgo" side of their ledgers, to their behavior and problems as consumers. The poverty line might be set at something close to $3000; yet there are families which earn over $4000 per year and live at levels below those of public assistance because of their consumer problems.

The poor are the prey of unscrupulous merchants in the urban slums of our major cities. They have a need for the consumer durables that fill the homes of most Americans, but have neither the cash to make outright purchases nor the collateral needed for credit from banks, other lending institutions, or department stores. They are bad risks -- bad risks with needs. And to meet these needs an array of "friendly" door-to-door peddlers and local, small merchants has evolved in many cities.

How do these merchants survive dealing with this type of clientele? Unusually high mark-ups, often of 100, 200 or 300% are made on the merchandise; further, the merchandise is often quite shoddy and, when possible, the client is put on the installment plan which involves paying interest rates of 50% per year.

The poor are often deliberately kept in debt. Merchants may devise installment plans which they know the client will not be able to fulfill. A merchant might draw up a second and "better" plan, if a client complains or begins to miss payments. If a client still is unable to pay for his exhorbitantly priced durable, it may be re-possessed. If the merchant has an "add-on" contract with his client, he may re-possess more than the item he sold in an attempt to realize a profit. The story often doesn't end here, though, for too many. The re-possessed goods will be sold at such a low fraction of their value (to an associate of the merchant), again deliberately

that the merchant will be legally entitled to garnishee the wages of the client to cover his "losses". Sometimes the garnishment works and the merchant receives weekly payments from the employer of the client; sometimes a man will be desperate and seek to avoid garnishment by making a "deal" with the merchant's lawyer -- a "deal" which he possibly would not have had to make if he had a lawyer to represent him; sometimes the client's employer refuses to be bothered with sending the weekly payment to the merchant and fires the garnisheed worker.

For some the story does not even end here. They receive a letter from the merchant informing them of an error made in the merchant's records -- the client discovers that he is owed $2. Before he gratefully accepts his $2, the beleaguered client is told that he can use the $2 as a down-payment on a newly-arrived "special". And here we can start over again.

The poor tolerate this system perhaps because it is the only alternative open to them -- the only way they can make good and keep up with the Joneses. Merton has suggested they are engaged often in "compensatory consumption": this is their way of compensating for their lack of educational and occupational success. The system is also tolerated because the poor need washing machines and just can't get them at department stores or discount houses. Some of the poor get hooked by this marketing system involuntarily: they are pressured and deceived by salesmen.

It was suggested in discussion that the system may not appear to be such an evil to some of the poor, that high interest rates don't strike them as onerous. Their lives are so insecure, such a large number of events may spell further ruin and deeper poverty for them, that getting goods in this fashion is a very rational means of obtaining enjoyment while the going is not too bad. They may never have to worry about completing payments.

It must be recognized, in formulating plans of action, that it would be in vain to suggest to the poor that they refrain from buying consumer durables or that they should buy exclusively on a cash basis -- because they just don't have it.

The Center for Consumer Affairs at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee hopes to soon embark on a program to deal with the consumer problems of the poor which includes the following:

"1. A debt-amortization service - a first-aid station to help over-extended credit families work out a repayment program with their creditors in line with their incomes. Financial counseling to families in less serious difficulty would also be provided.

2. A residential credit union for the central city - a facility to provide an alternate source of credit for the poor. For the first time government officials are approving charters for credit unions drawn up on the basis of streets as boundaries for areas of service within a city. Settlement houses, churches, and social agencies within the given area would be included in the common bond.

3. A neighborhood legal service - a staff of full-time lawyers to represent poor clients in cases involving consumer abuse and exploitation. More than a "repair" service, test cases challenging old canons of the common law usually interpreted to the benefit of creditors would be carried through the courts to establish new interpretations beneficial to the consumer. Crucial for the effectiveness of this unit would be the involvement of law school personnel to provide the grounds for argumentation for these cases.

4. Community organization activity - sub-contracted to a neighborhood house committed to the utilization of protest and demonstration techniques typical of the civil rights movements, this unit would attempt to dramatize any present inequities in the law resulting in repossessions, garnishments, etc. in the interest of establishing "consumer rights."

5. A community information center - an educational unit to provide information, materials, and courses in the area of housing, credit, appliance purchasing, insurance, etc. This center, in co-operation with County Extension Service, would provide exhibits and demonstrations of consumer products. A significant responsibility of this unit would be the provision of experimental educational materials to challenge the communications-barrier that has been so insurmountable in other efforts to reach the poor with consumer education materials.

6. Financial Counselor Training Center - using the debt-amortization service as a training basis, this national center would be operated by the Center for Consumer Affairs to train and provide family financial counselors for consumer programs being organized in the larger cities as part of the anti-poverty program."[1]

Attention must be given to the consumer activities of people in determining who is poor; income data tell only a part of the story.

June 1, 1965 Leonard Hausman

[1] Milton J. Huber, "The Consumer World of the Poor," based on the Findings of David Caplovits in The Poor Pay More.

UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF POVERTY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

May 19, 1965.

The next meeting of the Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S. will be held next Monday, May 24, 1965.

Fourteenth Meeting

Speaker:	Professor Helen Clark, Graduate School of Social Work, and Mrs. Joan Miller, School of Social Work.
Topic:	"The Problems of Planned Parenthood."
Room:	262 Social Science Building
Time:	3:30 p.m.

This will be the final meeting of the Faculty Seminar.

Faculty Seminar on the Elimination of Poverty in the U.S.

Fourteenth Meeting: "The Problems of Planned Parenthood." Summary of Remarks by Professor Helen Clark and Mrs. Joan Miller.

There is frequently public clamor over growing A.D.C. rolls. Talk of public support of birth control often induces similar clamor from certain elements in the community. The facts are that lower class families would sometimes be anxious to reduce the frequency of pregnancy but have neither the information about nor access to contraceptive devices. It would be in the interest of these lower-class families and society to provide them with the relevant information and the contraceptives.

In 1873, federal legislation was passed which prohibited the use of the mails or interstate commerce for the sale of contraceptives or the dissemination of information about them. Since that time, the courts have modified the effects of that legislation by allowing doctors and pharmacists to use the mails and interstate commerce, if the contraceptives will be used for the prevention of disease or the protection of health.

Some state laws remain very restrictive in this area. Massachusetts and Connecticut forbid the sale of contraceptives. Connecticut prohibits their use -- though this part of the law is not enforced. In Wisconsin, the sale of contraceptives may not be advertised; coin-operated machines may not be used to dispense them; and they may not be distributed to unmarried persons. State laws vary in all the states.

The only real source of organized opposition to the liberalization of state laws relating to contraceptives and public support of birth control has been the Roman Catholic Church. Traditionally, the church has associated planned parenthood, with the aid of means other than the rhythm method, with abortion and euthanasia. Lately, however, signs of change have been noticed; it has announced that it will no longer oppose the repeal of the relevant laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut. This kind of change augurs well for increased government activity in this area.

Recent studies of birth control among lower class families produced interesting results. It was discovered that birth control was not commonly practiced; first, because many of them had little or no knowledge of the processes of conception or contraception. Second, these families lacked access to doctors or others who normally dispense birth control information to middle class families. Third, women in these families, even after experiencing a number of unwanted pregnancies, have great difficulty in broaching the topic of sexual relations with doctors. Fourth, and of extreme importance, men in lower income groups who have not succeeded educationally or occupationally often measure their own value by their "productivity"; they take any interference with the sex act as a threat to their ego and are disturbed when their wives favor the use of contraceptives.

In another study of social workers, 64 of 68 interviewed dispense birth control information; of the 4 who refused to do so, 2 were conservative Roman Catholics and 2 were inhibited by their agency's policy on the matter. (11 of the 13 Roman Catholics interviewed did dispense information because they felt they had no right to determine the actions of others.)

Not all social workers were equally successful in preventing further pregnancies among their clients. The most successful were those who made a serious effort to supply their clients with educational material and strong moral support; those who made only casual comments were not as successful. Many of the social workers felt they were violating some law or agency policy when they supplied information.

Another study of birth control practices among lower income group families revealed that upwardly mobile families were most likely to accept and successfully employ contraceptives; if they were given the proper information, if they were willing to undergo attitudinal change, and if they saw the possibility of attaining some financial goal in the future, they were successful with birth control.

These recommendations for the expansion of birth control among lower income groups were offered for the local area:

(1) A Planned Parenthood Center should be established.

(2) Private agency directors should take more positive positions on the issue; they presently pussyfoot around the issue and allow their social workers to determine their own actions, without any guidance.

(3) The Department of Public Welfare should make the dissemination of information and devices and the encouragement of public assistance recipients to practice birth control matters of public policy. Presently, the State D.P.W. neither discourages nor encourages action on the part of individual social workers.

We must be careful to avoid coercion of public assistance families to reduce the size of their families, if we embark on a public program of birth control; no-one has the right to determine the size of anyone's family. But where a poor couple or unwed mother is interested in controlling family size, it would be socially and perhaps economically desirable to assist them. As of now, they don't have the means to engage in such voluntary action.

June 10, 1965 Leonard Hausman

EVC - Poverty

June 1, 1965

Mr. Bud Frankenberger
P. O. Box 29093
Texas Christian University
Station
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Bud:

Hayes Mizell has asked me to write you about the Poverty Program, its weakenesses and its strengths, as I see them. This is a hard assignment as the program covers a considerable number of problem areas. Perhaps I can best serve your needs by posing several questions about the Poverty Program. A few of these questions are my own but a majority of them have been asked by others.

The Job Corps -

1. Is the program only accepting "desirable" candidates so as to guarantee success?

2. The WPA program, the CCC camps, had 2,700,000 youths enrolled in the same length of time that the Job Corps has approximately 5,000. Why is this, if it is war?

3. Can training in conservation techniques enable a person to gain employment or will he just return to his home and be more bitter than before and still unemployed?

4. Why cannot jobs be guaranteed the graduates of Job Corps?

5. What of the involvement of big business (Western Electric, Burrough's Inc.) as contractors with the Job Corps, at a considerable profit?

6. How many communities have turned down job corps training centers near them because of the undesirability of "delinquents" being close to their town?

7. How could the Job Corps be improved?

The Community Action Program -

1. Are poor people being involved at the basic planning levels or are the majority of programs politically controlled?

2. Can the War on Poverty be won provided there is sufficient political and administrative determination or is a matter of conflict over moral values and fundamental changes in market economy?

3. Can the Poor plan for themselves?

4. Are 25,000 dollar salaries justified for men attempting to find ways to keep children from going hungry?

5. Will the poverty program reach the lower Strata level of poor people that previous attempts through Welfare programs have failed to touch?

6. Are minority groups being involved equally in Poverty programs?

7. How serious is the power of veto by the Governor of a state to the War's success?

The Work-Training Program -

1. Will these programs pay minimum wage scale even when the people the students will be assisting do not receive minimum wages?

2. Granting that a student can make minimum wage level he can at best earn approximately 800 dollars a year. Is this sufficient to keep a person in school?

3. Can a person from a poverty background afford to work 15 hours a week at the expense of time that perhaps could be better used in remedial academic work?

4. Does the work-study program include the average, really poor student or is it aimed only at the student of above average ability since a student must be already accepted to a University or be a member in good standing in order to qualify for the program?

There are other questions, less specific perhaps, but ones that must be asked concerning the program as a whole. Can the War on Poverty be aptly named when only 800 million dollars will be spent in 1964 and perhaps 1.5 billion in 1965 or would it be more correctly named an "Effort at Peaceful Co-Existence"? This is said in reference to the fact that we have a 99 billion dollar budget, 52 billion of which is spent on defense alone. Can a nation realistically make a war on poverty when the minimum wage earner working full-time is automatically relegated to the government's present standard for considering a person to be living in poverty? Is a war on poverty that does not include job or wage guarantee in a society that is changing from one that wanted all men to work to one that will have only a few men working sound? Can a war on poverty be successful without a major redistribution of wealth? Is the war on poverty being waged in an effort to control the poor and limit riot activity this coming summer? Is it an effort to benefit a minority slightly, indirectly promoting even greater inequality? Or is the new welfare, as some have referred to the poverty program, merely a means to gain new allegiances, for instance, the strengthening of the Democratic party through the addition of the tokenly helped poor.

The questions could be continued at length, but this will do for a starter. I guess what I am asking is for you to think about the program and eventually I would enjoy hearing your answers to these questions, which I have also been trying to answer myself. Perhaps the war is something more basic than equating education and medical care with refrigerators and mink coats? I would enjoy seeing what you come up with as you read and question.

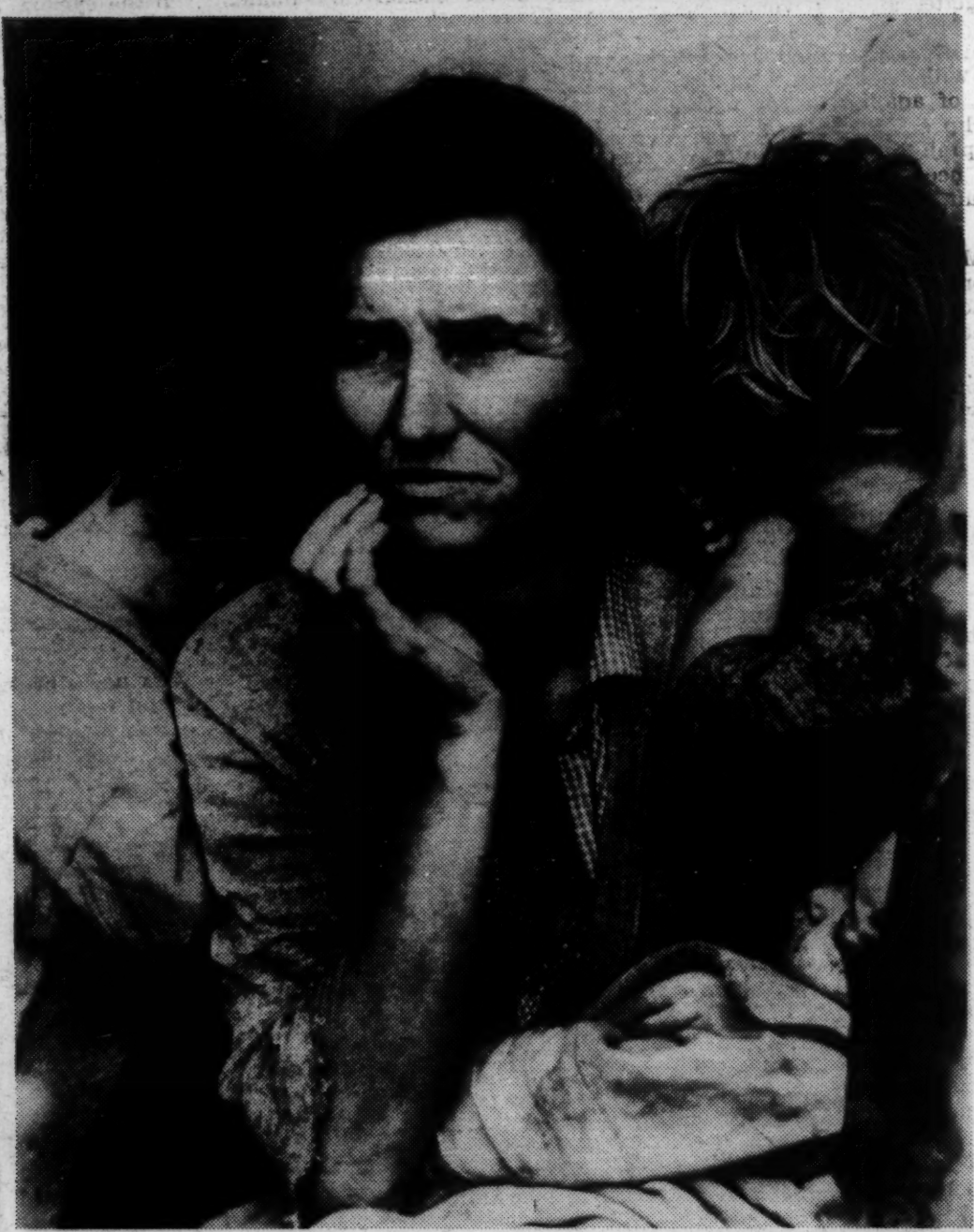
If I can be of further help to you, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU/rh

The LABOR MOVEMENT & the WAR AGAINST POVERTY



"Here in these United States, where there can be no economic or technical excuse for it, poverty is not only a private tragedy but, in a sense, a public crime. It is above all a challenge to our morality."

WITH these words A. Philip Randolph, long a stalwart in the labor and civil rights movements and a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, recently launched his campaign for the "Freedom Budget." The "Freedom Budget" is a proposal to spend over the next ten years $185 billion from our increasing productivity to eradicate poverty from the United States.

The specific goals proposed by Randolph to be attained in the ten-year period are:

1. To provide *full employment* for all who are willing and able to work, including those who need education or training to make them willing and able.

2. To assure *decent and adequate wages* to all who work.

3. To assure a *decent living standard* to those who cannot or should not work.

4. To *wipe out slum ghettos* and provide decent homes for all Americans.

5. To provide *decent medical care and adequate educational opportunities* to all Americans, at a cost they can afford.

6. To *purify our air and water* and develop our transportation and natural resources on a scale suitable to our growing needs.

7. To unite sustained full employment with sustained *full production and high economic growth.*

The A. Philip Randolph Institute, of which Bayard Rustin is the Executive Director, is spearheading this drive for a decade of dedication to eliminating want in our land.

How To Do It

Here is how the Randolph Institute figures the job can be done:

If our nation's annual wealth were divided equally among all us Americans, each share would be worth roughly $3,500. Of this, we grant to the Federal government a slice equal to roughly $500 in the form of taxes, leaving us an average of about $3,000 to spend on other needs.

If our nation's productivity continues growing at the same rate as in recent years—and it will if the Freedom Budget is adopted—each share will grow to about $5,000. Thus, the Federal government's slice will grow to $700, with the present Federal tax structure, and we will still have $4,300 left for our other needs.

What the Freedom Budget proposes is this: Budget a fraction of the $200 increase in Federal tax revenues to provide jobs for all who can work and adequate income of other types for those who cannot.

Where will the money come from?

The Freedom Budget recognizes that we cannot spend what we do not produce. It also recognizes that we must spend wisely what we do produce.

It proposes that a portion of our future growth—one thirteenth of what can reasonably be expected to be available—be earmarked for the eradication of poverty. The Freedom Budget proposed outlay of $185 billion in 10 years sounds like a great deal of money, and it is a great deal of money.

But it will come from the expansion of our economy that will in part be the result of wise use of that very $185 billion. It will build homes and schools, provide recreation areas and hospitals. It will train teachers and nurses.

It will provide adequate incomes to millions who now do not have them. And those millions will in turn buy goods they cannot now buy.

So the wage earner of today will benefit as well. His earnings will go up and his enjoyment of life will be increased. The opportunities for private enterprise will increase.

The breeding grounds of crime and discontent will be diminished in the same way that draining a swamp cuts down the breeding of mosquitos, and the causes of discrimination will be considerably reduced.

Must Be National Effort

But the Freedom Budget cannot become reality without a national effort. It requires a concentrated commitment by all the people of America, expressed in concrete goals and programs of the Federal government. These goals and programs must encourage to the utmost the efforts of state and local governments and private enterprise.

In this effort, the labor movement can and must play a leading role. Over the years, labor has succeeded in raising millions of Americans from the ranks of poverty to a level where these workers can enjoy at least some of the good things of life. But the task is far from done; millions of Americans who are fully employed still exist at or below the poverty level—farm laborers, service workers, employees of marginal business. It is on their behalf, more than the interests of its own members, that the AFL-CIO fights for a decent Federal minimum wage law and coverage for all workers.

There is another dimension to the struggle against poverty. Increasingly, it is clear that the victims of poverty are, more often than not, also victims of racial discrimination.

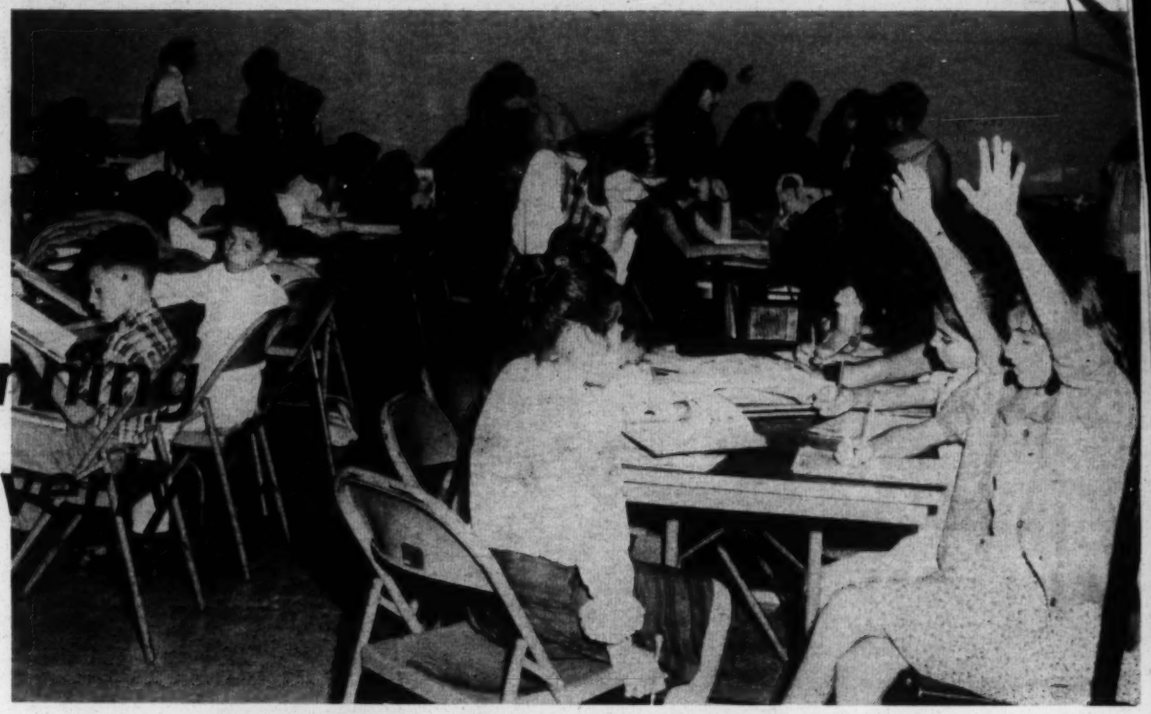
True, there are millions of poverty-stricken whites in such special areas as Appalachia, but the bald fact is that a huge proportion of the impoverished millions in America are Negro, Puerto Rican or Mexican-American (not to mention the American Indian).

This is why the civil rights movement and the labor movement must be conjoined if the war on poverty is to bring the horizons of a better life nearer to those who have been denied it for far too long.

In short, the war on poverty is largely labor's war. The union card is a draft card in that war . . . and it's not for burning!

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Corpus Christi Is Winning The War Against Poverty



Kids Seize Opportunity to Learn

An average of more than 260 grammar school-age children throng to the Corpus Christi, Tex., Boys Club for an hour and a quarter five afternoons a week after school. For a program of fun? No, they go to the club, where they have a place to work and help when they need it, to do their homework for the next day of school. Even more amazing is the fact that nearly 650 "tutors" have volunteered to help the youngsters. About 100 of them serve each day. Most are high school students, a few of college age.

CAN YOU BELIEVE more than 250 grammar school students VOLUNTARILY giving up an hour and a quarter of their free time five days a week after school to study their lessons in a place where they can get help with their homework?

If this is not too much, can you believe 600 of the same age group studying two hours a day all through the summer vacation period so they will be ready to keep up with their classes the following school year?

And all this in a small city?

This is only a part of the story of the highly successful War on Poverty in Corpus Christi, Texas, estimated population 175,000.

A group of public-spirited citizens recognized more than three years ago that Corpus Christi, with a large percentage of its population of Mexican-American descent, had a major poverty problem. Nearly 60,000 citizens lived in slum housing, including 20,000 children; 18,000 adults were unable to read or write.

Many were hungry, sick without medical care, inadequately clothed, unwanted and uncared for. The slum areas gave the city half its health problems and 70 percent of its juvenile arrests.

The small group of concerned people called an open meeting for early February, 1964, to try to find out the extent of interest and what could be done about the complex problem.

Response was immediate and good. Corpus Christi declared its own War on Poverty and set up an organization to press the fight, the Community Committee of Youth Education and Job Opportunities, first confined to the problems of the city but later expanded to include the entire county.

ACTIVE in the project from the start and a vice president of the board of directors is OCAW Intl. Rep. J. Elro Brown, who lives in Corpus Christi. Other representatives of organized labor who have given their time and efforts to the fight are Intl. Rep. Paul Montemayor of the Steelworkers Union, and Pres. Oscar Rena of the Coastal Bend Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

Corpus Christi declared its drive against poverty more than seven months before the national War On Poverty legislation was passed. The Federal program was only in the talking stage.

Results so far of the activity can be described as no less than excellent.

The group began by involving as many organizations and agencies as possible to make the project truly a community activity. More than 15 agencies are working together, ranging from the independent school districts through Del Mar College and the Planned Parenthood Association to the Women in Community

ter" sessions are of Mexican descent, 10 percent are Negro and 10 percent are Anglo.

Their problem begins at birth. From that time until they begin school they are exposed to only the Spanish language at home, and English is the language of the school when they begin first grade.

Add to this the facts that slum area homes have no proper place for children to study and their uneducated parents are unable to help them with their lessons.

The "Headstart" classes provided pre-first grade instruction for 1,823 children in 1966 and, according to Collins and Lewis, there was a "marked improvement in their learning abilities that approximately 300 tutors are registered with the study centers and an average of slightly over 100 serve each day. And these are mostly high school and a few college students that give their time freely to help the younger ones. Five professional teachers help the tutors with the knottier problems.

During the summer months the number of grammar school-junior high students clamoring for help to prepare themselves for the coming school year is almost unbelievable. The 600 who attend have to be divided into morning and afternoon two-hour sessions.

THE POVERTY War's Neigh-

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Lewis Collins, executive director of the Community Committee, points with pride to the work of the Boys' Club of Corpus Christi under the presidency of Sheridan C. Lewis.

It is the Boys' Club that has provided school help for the youngsters, and the experience has proved that, given the opportunity, the kids will make many sacrifices to get an education.

HUNDREDS are determined to break out of the poverty cycle.

Eighty percent of those attending the "Headstart" classes and "After-School Study Center" sessions are of Mexican descent, 10 percent are Negro and 10 percent are Anglo.

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The "Headstart" classes provided pre-first grade instruction for 1,823 children in 1966 and, according to Collins and Lewis, there was a "marked improvement in their learning abilities over those who had not attended the classes."

In addition to the classroom instruction, field trips provided important educational exposure. Practically none of the tots had ever before seen a museum of any kind and few had been to such common places as a department store.

Hundreds more are given an early start through half-day summer "camps" operated by the Boys' Club.

The average attendance at the grammar school-junior high after school study centers for the six-month period ended March 31 was 265 students per day.

Equally impressive is the fact that approximately 300 tutors are registered with the study centers and an average of slightly over 100 serve each day. And these are mostly high school and a few college students that give their time freely to help the younger ones. Five professional teachers help the tutors with the knottier problems.

During the summer months the number of grammar school-junior high students clamoring for help to prepare themselves for the coming school year is almost unbelievable. The 600 who attend have to be divided into morning and afternoon two-hour sessions.

THE POVERTY War's Neighborhood Youth Corps, covering both high school and post-high school age youth and operated in cooperation with the Texas Employment Commission for those out of school, has also enjoyed outstanding success: only three percent of the graduates of its 1965 and 1966 programs are unemployed. Thirty-two percent are now full time college students, 30 percent are working and going to college and 14 percent are holding down full-time jobs.

A welcome fringe benefit from these programs, according to Collins, is that there has been a marked drop in police calls to poverty area neighborhoods.

But the work of the poverty

Continued on Page 11

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Training for a Paying Job

The Corpus Christi, Tex., War on Poverty has a job training program for adults. Here Fred Galvan is learning small engine repair. Most trainees get decently-paying jobs.

Help Keep the Program Moving

It takes the efforts of many people to keep the Corpus Christi, Tex., War on Poverty moving. A few of them are full-time personnel; many others give all the free time they can spare. One of the latter is OCAW Intl. Rep. J. Elro Brown, left, a vice president of the board of directors, who has been active in the program almost since its inception. At right is Lewis Collins, executive director of the city's Community Committee on Youth Education and Job Opportunities. Right center is Collins' assistant, Sam Gomez, and at left center Ernest Briones of the City-county health and welfare department.

Constitution

The committee above screened proposals for amending the International constitution which came before the recent District 7 Council meeting. Left to right are Dale Gaddy of Local 7-513 (chairman), Carl Miller of Local 7-624 and Pete Schilling of Local 7-210.

Credentials

Credentials of delegates to the recent District 7 Council meeting were kept in order by the committeemen above. Left to right: Harold McMillion of Local 7-509, Nick Kostandaras of Local 7-148 and Walter Smith of Local 7-230 (chairman).

McClain Tells Of Organizing In District 7

Organizing of new members for the union was emphasized by District 7 Director H. J. McClain in his report to District 7 Council in May.

He thanked the council for financial support in various organizing campaigns — support which he said made the difference between victory and defeat.

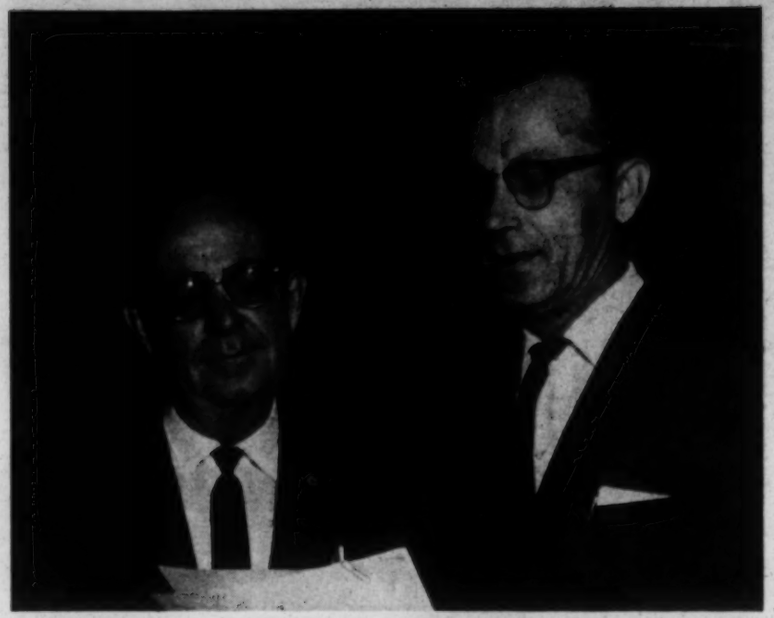
McClain announced that a series of training schools on organization would be held this summer at various points in the district, with instructors supplied by the AFL-CIO organizing department.

The director enumerated several organizing projects underway, then announced that a day earlier OCAW had won a representation election at American Crayon Co. in Sandusky, O.

Eddleman Says Union Requires Better Financing

Kenneth Eddleman, member of OCAW's International Executive Board from District 7, urged delegates attending the district's council meeting in Cincinnati in May to vote for better financing of the union at the convention coming up in August.

"We must take a good look at proper financing of the union," said Eddleman. "The proposed per capita increases were developed by the officers after talks



District 7 Council Leaders

HUBERT BURDEN
Recuperating

HERMAN LODEN
Died May 19

District 7 President Herman Loden Dies

Herman Loden, 56, president of District 7 Council and of Hammond, Ind., Local 7-336, died of a heart attack May 19.

His untimely death came as a shock and surprise to his many union friends, especially in view of that fact that just six days earlier he had presided in healthy and cheerful mood over a regular meeting of District 7 Council.

District 7 Director H. J. McClain paid a simply eulogy: "I say as a fact that Herman Loden was one of the most cooperative and well-liked men I have ever known."

Loden had been employed by Lever Brothers in Hammond for about 30 years. He had been active in Local 7-336 about 15 years, 11 of these as president of the local. He had been reelected president of District 7 Council several times.

(Ironically, the veteran secretary-treasurer of District 7 Council, Hubert Burden of Lawrenceville, Ill., Local 7-368, missed the recent District 7 meeting because of a heart attack. However, at last report he was recovering satisfactorily.)

Loden was buried May 23, in Rockville, Ind. He is survived by his wife, Berniece, a 26-year-old son in Anaheim, Calif., and a 20-year-old son in the Air Force stationed in Alabama.

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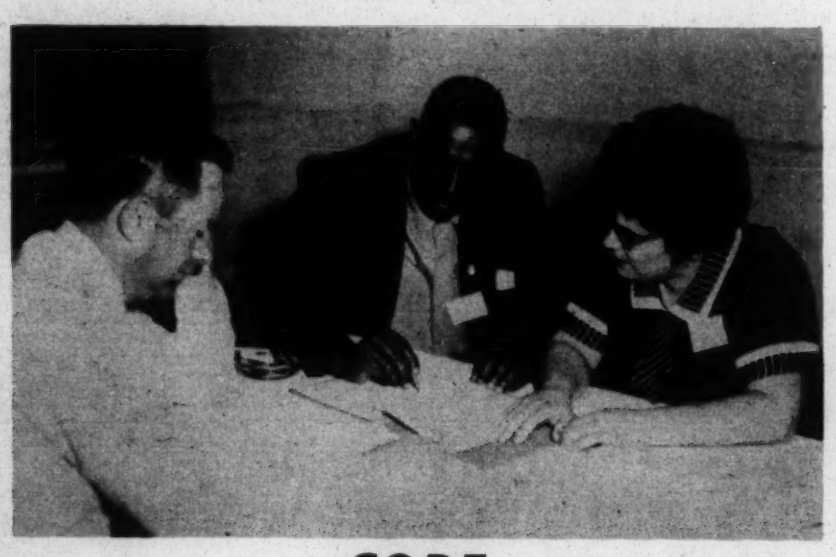
Resolutions

Serving on resolutions committee at the recent District 7 Council meeting were, left to right above, Richard Sorg of Local 7-517, George Woytko of Local 7-148, James Price of Local 7-450 (chairman) and Allen Ropp of Local 7-540.



COPE

COPE Committee Members for District 7 Council are shown above. Left to right are Arnold Hucol of Local 7-176, Reginald Raines of Local 7-230 (chairman) and Cora Licursi of Local 7-622.

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"We must take a good look at proper financing of the union," said Eddleman. "The proposed per capita increases were developed by the officers after talks with various groups in the union. The proposition was well thought out.

"It would provide for three things: (1) additional defense fund money to support strikers, (2) overdue pay raises for the people who work for the union and (3) additional funds for the operation of the union — needed funds, needed for expanding the services of the union."

Eddleman voiced strong support for a better defense fund, commenting that "the strike still can be an offensive weapon if properly financed."

The Executive Board member declared that overall conditions in District 7 are good and complimented the district director, staff representatives, and council officers.

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Seven: A Key District

OCAW's big District 7 covers a key area of industrial America around the Great Lakes.

It encompasses Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and most of Ohio.

With 29,988 members, it is second in size of the union's nine districts. There are 96 locals and 296 contracts.

About three fourths of the members are in chemical and related industry. But the one-fourth in oil include some key refineries and other installations which play a vital role in oil negotiations.

Attending the district's May council meeting were 106 delegates, all of whom appeared to be in good humor, generally pleased with gains made in recent negotiations and optimistic about future union programs.

Corpus Christi Fights Poverty

(Continued from Page 12)

fighting organization is not confined to youth. Other important programs are provided for adults, giving many the opportunity to support themselves and their families, improve home life and leave the welfare rolls.

Family planning clinics are provided, and Collins emphasized they are only for those who want the advice. Those who accept learn how to avoid bringing more children into their homes than they can support.

Neighborhood community centers provide adult education in such things as sewing, arts and crafts, upholstery, cooking and diets. Legal aid is available for those who need it.

But the big opportunity for men and women is the Adult Work Experience Training Program under Homer Gonzales of the State Department of Public Welfare.

Because of lack of funds, this program did not get started until last summer. So far, 73 have completed training in such things as heavy equipment operation, vocational nursing, welding, small appliance repairing and clerical work.

Of these 73, only eight had not found jobs as of April 13; 65 had been placed in productive employment.

One man who has a wife and three children had only a fourth grade education and had never earned more than $2,000 a year as a laborer. After training in the War on Poverty Program he is now earning $2.63 an hour as a fork-lift operator and has an excellent employment record.

He has broken out of the poverty cycle and there is no doubt that his children will have far better opportunities than otherwise would have been their prospects.

PROBABLY the secret of the success of Corpus Christi's program is the close cooperation and contact between the administrators and the people the program is designed to benefit.

Neighborhood councils elect members to the board of directors of the Community Committee of Youth Education and Job Opportunities.

Executive Director Collins emphasizes that these members advise the board on what the people want and need.

1967

Viewpoint . . .

TO PRESENT A VARIETY OF VOICES

Segregated Slums Dangerous As Atomic Bomb to America

By EDWARD P. MORGAN

The United States presided over the invention of the atomic bomb and it is now presiding, negligently, over the preparation of another explosion which it must prevent if American cities are to be saved from sociological destruction.

There may be parallels that are more apt. But I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that unless drastic measures are taken soon against the violent deterioration of the nation's metropolitan areas, the damage to the country will cause historians to conclude that it might as well have been subjected to a nuclear atack.

A volcanic series of race riots need not erupt in order to make that dour projection prophetic. The "inner city" is already dying and the mortal wound is more likely to be inflicted by careless neglect of the crisis than by the repetition of another holocaust like Watts.

The scientists have not invented a way to deal with the problem within the problem — the segregated slum. There is a solution but its very simplicity only dramatizes the terrible complications which beset it.

The solution is for people to live in neighborhoods instead of in enemy encampments. But this involves sacrificing the prejudices nurtured in ignorance and fear. Yet what other alternative is there?

Here are some facts. In a speech in Washington, Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, said that today in America more people live in slums than live on farms.

This reflects in part, an "explosive increase of the Negro population in northern, central and western cities (which) represents one of the most dramatic social changes in urban history . . .

"In 1910, 73 per cent of all Negroes lived in rural areas. Today 73 per cent of all Negroes live in cities. In just one decade New York City lost a middle class white population almost the size of Washington, and gained a non-white population almost the size of Pittsburgh."

The urban Negro has become trapped in the ghetto as middle-class white continue to flee to the de facto segregation of the suburbs, taking shopping centers, better schools, industry and tax revenue with them. The inner city is rapidly becoming a kind of ghost town, increasingly

"Next Stop . . . Portzbflsk . . . Farschechram . . . and Klotzjmxsty!"

Destruction of Civilian Centers, U.S.A.

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The urban Negro has become trapped in the ghetto as middle-class white continue to flee to the de facto segregation of the suburbs, taking shopping centers, better schools, industry and tax revenue with them. The inner city is rapidly becoming a kind of ghost town, increasingly inhabited, you might say, by black ghosts.

A brilliant, responsible citizen, Young and his staff have built the Urban League into one of the most effective agencies in the land in breaching barriers against Negroes in the areas of jobs and housing.

Ironically, like Roy Wilkins and the NAACP, both Young and the League have had their leadership at least temporarily discredited among the increasingly impatient Negro population as the white power structure failed to keep pace with the civil rights revolution and as young "activists" like Stokely Carmichael have drawn more and more headlines. The terrible damage that the "black power" shibboleth has done, as New York Times Columnist Russell Baker so caustically notes, was to make bigotry respectable again.

If the crisis of the city is to be solved, black and white Americans alike must open their minds to the urgent reasonableness of men like Whitney Young, as they argue that massive efforts must be made in the ghetto to redeem or replace housing, make schools excellent and social services adequate, no matter what the composition of the population in the immediate or surrounding area.

The gap between the white and non-white population, Young warns, is widening. It will take responsible leadership on both sides to close it.

The responsibility, in this case, is heavier with the haves than with the have-nots.

(This column is excerpted from the nightly broadcasts of Edward P. Morgan, ABC commentator sponsored by the AFL-CIO. Listen to Morgan Monday through Friday.)

Destruction of Civilian Centers, U.S.A.

What Makes George Wallace Run?

"Those Demonstrators are Getting More Radical all the Time."

2

Copy for BV

OEO increases funds for hard-core jobs

An increase in Fiscal Year 1969 of employment programs for the hard-core unemployed, funded with monies appropriated to OEO, has been announced by Bertrand M. Harding, acting director of OEO.

Out of the $1.948 billion appropriation approved by Congress in October, $937 million has been allocated to employment programs for the current fiscal year, as compared to $807 million obligated for such programs in Fiscal Year 1968. (Fiscal years begin July 1 and end June 30).

Other OEO programs in Fiscal 1969 will generally continue at existing levels with the cost of on-going programs rising somewhat above the previous fiscal year. This is largely because of one-time economies for the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Fiscal Year 1968 that are not available again, re-funding of Fiscal 1967 projects which needed no funds in 1968, and increases for projects either started or still building in the previous year.

* * *

THE LARGEST increase in OEO allocations is for the JOBS Program (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector). The allocation goes up to $162 million as contrasted with $70 million in Fiscal Year 1968. The program is operated by the National Alliance of Businessmen in a cooperative venture with government.

As approved by the Bureau of the Budget, the allocation to JOBS will provide for 70,000 employment slots, which President Johnson specified when he inaugurated the program last year.

Other employment programs which will be increased slightly are the Concentrated Employment Program, up to $83 million from $74 million, and the Special Impact Program, up to $22 million from $20 million.

The out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps Program will go from $96 million in Fiscal 1968 to $130 million in Fiscal 1969; Operation Mainstream from $22 million to $41 million; summer Neighborhood Youth Corps from $114 million to $125 million; and New Careers from $8 million to $19 million.

The increased allocations will provide a greater investment in programs that serve the elderly poor. At the same time, assistance to the poor in rural areas will receive increased emphasis through the strengthening of current programs in these areas.

* * *

IN OTHER PROGRAM areas the Head Start appropriation will remain at $318 million; Head Start Follow-Through will go from $15 million to $30 million; Comprehensive Health Centers from $33 million to $60 million; Family Planning $9 million to $13 million; Emergency Food and Medical, $13 million to $17 million; Legal Services $36 million to $42 million; Local Initiative, $321 million to $332 million; and Upward Bound, $32 million to $30 million.

The Job Corps will drop from $282 million to $280 million. Migrant programs will be up from $25 million to $27 million; VISTA up from $29 million to $32 million.

The small decrease in Job Corps and Upward Bound allocations do not reflect a reduction in the level of activity in those programs. Because of carry-over funds, these programs carry the same or an increased number of slots for Fiscal Year 1969.

* * *

IN TERMS of persons served:

Full-year Head Start will remain constant at 218,000.

Summer Head Start will remain at 477,000.

The Job Corps remains at 36,000 slots.

VISTA is up from 4,300 slots to 4,900.

Upward Bound from 25,000 to 26,000.

Comprehensive Health Centers from 960,000 served to 998,000.

Legal Services from 475,000 to 600,000.

Los Angeles Times
—Fri., Jan. 31, 1969

Aides Plan to Keep Training Unit Open

Directors of the Opportunities Industrialization Center said Thursday they plan to keep the South-Central Los Angeles vocational training facility open despite the pullout of federal funds.

OIC's board elected a new acting director, Clarence Shaw, 31, an assistant program coordinator of the County Probation Department's Volunteers in Service to Offenders project.

The Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency, local community action agency, last week ordered a phaseout of funds for OIC from federal sources—the Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Labor Department.

The local OIC, which offers basic and motivational education at a feeder center in Watts and vocational training at 6135 S. Central Ave., originally was formed here by ministers and other black community figures as part of a nationwide self-help program headquartered in Philadelphia.

How OEO divided funds

OEO's division of the $1.948 billion fiscal year 1969 appropriation shows a sharp new emphasis on programs to recruit, train and hire the hard core unemployed.

For the first time in OEO's history, community action programs have been displaced as the largest single money recipient among the anti-poverty agency's parts.

Congress decided upon the $1.948 billion figure. OEO officials then divided the money among their various programs.

They did have some guidlines for the allocations from Congress in the authorization bill and legislative history on some other measures.

Here is a partial breakdown of the OEO decisions on allocations for fy 1969, as compared with fy 1967 and 1968.

Program	Fy 1967	Fy 1968 (in millions)	Fy 1969
Work and training includes:	$779	$807	$937
Out-of-School	148	96	130
Operation Mainstream	26	22	41
In-School	69	59	46
Summer	133	114	125
Job Corps	209	282	280
New Careers	17	8	19
Concentrated Emplayment	49	74	83
JOBS	—	60	152
DOL Support	11	18	20
Special Impact	7	20	22
Work Experience	100	44	10
Foster Grandparents	10	10	9
Community Action includes:	$806	$864	$931
Head Start	349	318	318
Follow Through	—	15	30
Comp. Health Centers	51	33	60
Family planning	4	9	13
Emer. Food/medical	10	13	17
Legal services	25	36	42
Senior oppty	—	3	4
Local initiative	278	321	332
Support	61	84	85
Upward Bound	28	32	30
Migrants	33	25	37
VISTA	26	29	32
General administration	14	14	15
Unobligated	4	7	—

Poverty

copies for EV Liberalate JW, JL, R.C.

(Acker)

WASHINGTON POST FEB 6

Moynihan: The Lasting Value Is Dubious

MAXIMUM FEASIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING:

Community Action in the War on Poverty

BY DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

(Macmillan—The Free Press, 218 pp., $5.95)

Reviewed by Joseph A. Califano Jr.

Califano was a special assistant to former President Johnson.

A brief description of *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*, Daniel P. Moynihan's book on community action in the War on Poverty, would have to term it outdated, narrow and defensive. What the work gains in a lively, impressionistic chronicle of early phases of some parts of the community action program, it loses in both currency and lasting value. The book is neither representative nor worthy of Pat Moynihan's considerable talent and imagination.

It is not a fair description of most of the community action programs of the War on Poverty as they are now operated. Moynihan either ignores or treats as too little and too late the changes made since 1965—changes that range from auditing procedures to improvements in the tripartite relationship among the local community action agency, the local or state government and the Federal apparatus in Washington. As poverty expert Bob Levine has pointed out, Moynihan takes slightly more than one per cent of the total Federal effort going to locally planned community action and treats it as the Johnson Administration strategy.

I am not personally familiar enough with the early days of the conception of the Poverty Program to assess the accuracy of Moynihan's interesting narrative of 1963-1965. But I hope it is more accurate than the bogus story he uses in the preface to "sum matters up" in early 1968—the assertion that the President "was forced to slip into St. Patrick's Cathedral by the back door" at Cardinal Spellman's funeral. I rode down Fifth Avenue and walked up the front steps of St. Patrick's with President Johnson, an event that was witnessed by millions of supporting witnesses on television.

Moyihan indicts the Johnson Administration for its failure to provide an objective evaluation of the poverty (community action) programs and for using its energies on community action and categorical grant anti-poverty programs, rather than enacting some sort of massive income maintenance program. No mention is made of the persistent attempts of some departments, the Budget Bureau and, indeed, the White House staff, to obtain adequate funds for the evaluation of domestic programs and for the planning program and budgeting officer essential to a systematic analysis of what was happening as Federal money was poured into our cities and states.

No mention is made of the establishment of the Urban Institute, chaired by R. J. Miller, with Bill Gorham as chief executive officer—the first major attempt by the Federal Government to set up the mechanism for an objective appraisal of domestic programs.

No mention is made of several of the enormous advantages of the action programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, ranging from the first steps to change the delivery of medical services in our country, to the tremendous value of focusing the attention of the affluent majority on the indigent 15 per cent of America.

In this connection, the two most glaring faults of the Moynihan analysis lie in the area of manpower training and the benefits of the competition that the Office of Economic Opportunity introduced into the Federal Bureaucracy. Anyone involved in the intensive search for the keys to hard-core unemployment from 1966 to the end of the Johnson Administration recognize that the tremendous competition between OEO and the Labor Department, and the use of the flexible legislative authority in the Economic Opportunity Act, were the keys to current successful manpower training programs, such as the JOBS program of the National Alliance for Businessmen. Equally beneficial results accrued from the competition that OEO provided to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare with Head Start, with Upward Bound and comprehensive health centers.

Moynihan also neglects to mention that there were exhaustive considerations of income maintenance programs within the Federal Government, particularly in late 1965 and late 1966. Based on factors that he will come to respect in his current post, the judgment was made that a vast income maintenance program could not be passed during the second session of the 89th Congress or during either session of the 90th Congress. As a partial substitute for such a program, the Administration proposed sharp increases in minimum payments under the Social Security Act, the revision of welfare program standards, and significant increases in other programs, including food stamps.

In short, we did two things Moynihan himself implicitly suggests should have been done in one portion of his book. We took the judgment of social scientists that more funds and/or basic necessities and services were needed by the poor, but abandoned the politically impossible massive income maintenance program in favor of the politically achievable changes that could be made promptly. And we made a judgment that most of the conclusions of the social scientists about the need for an income maintenance program required detailed study to determine their validity.

Thus the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs was created and will report to President Nixon some time late this year. At that time Moynihan will have an opportunity to help make decisions in this area.

The lasting value of Moynihan's book is dubious. The lessons he draws will not be new to anyone in the field—the need for better analysis, the need for social statistics to provide the raw data on which major investment decisions by the government should be made, the need to temper social theory with political reality.

Even here, Moynihan neglects to note that some work has begun, particularly in HEW, where the first relatively accurate welfare statistics were gathered, and where the beginnings of an annual social report were prepared this past year.

Moynihan's book is defensive in two respects. It represents in substantial measure a thinly disguised attempt to restate and protect his earlier work on Negro family life. And its pages are replete with references to the fact that he was not privy to everything that went on in the government once he left it.

As far as writing is concerned, Moynihan's prose is lively and almost invariably enjoyable. It is unfortunate that, in an apparent attempt to gain greater currency as the result of Moynihan's present post, somewhat irrelevant paragraphs related to events in 1968 were inserted; a portion of the book jacket seems to have been redone and the book's price was increased, from $4.50 to $5.95.

BETHLEHEM
(continued)

mere assignment of an employee on the basis of race or color did not constitute discrimination.

Mr. Fisher conceded that in his Lackawanna testimony he drew a distinction between racial "isolation" and "racial discrimination," and snapped today that "It is none of your business," when Mr. Fauver asked him if this reflected the official view of the union and I. W. Abel, its international president.

The Rev. Dexter L. Hanley, S.J., chief of the Georgetown University Law Center and the chairman of the panel, quickly warned that he could not "permit an open free-for-all between witness and counsel," and urged the "need to avoid phrases of exacerbation."

NEW YORK TIMES
FEB 12

POVERTY PROGRAM HELD 'INNOVATIVE'

Study Urges Administration to 'Nourish' Agency's Role

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11 — Community action, the most controversial aspect of the Gov- made by the Center for Man- made an important beginning toward involving the poor in political and social decisions and should be nurtured in the future, according to an independent study of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The three-year study was Poor Law." Johns Hopkins power Studies of the George Washington University and was headed by Sar A. Levitan. It was financed by a Ford Foundation grant and its findings are to be published in a forthcoming book by Mr. Levitan entitled, "The Great Society's Poor Law." John Hopkins Press is the publisher.

An advance copy of the chapter on community action agencies was made available here at a time when the Nixon Administration is debating how to reorganize and reshape the poverty programs. The first recommendation on dismantling the Office of Economic Opportunity and placing its programs under other departments and agencies is expected from the White House soon.

Critical of Critics

Mr. Levitan is critical of both the agency and its critics, particularly Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Executive Secretary of the Council for Urban Affairs. He also charges that in 1964 nobody knew the meaning of "maximum feasible participation" despite "later claims by kibitzers in the outside of Government, including some celebrated Great Society dropouts."

The community action section of the agency, Mr. Levitan said, "must certainly be judged an innovative agency, which gave the poor their first social and political role."

Dr. Moynihan's criticism of community action is contained in a book written before he was offered a post in the Nixon Administration. It is entitled "Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding," after a section nity Act, which says community of the 1964 Economic Opportu- action programs should be "developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."

There was a wide diversity in both the character of the 1,000 community action agencies that grew out of the act, Mr. Levitan wrote, but this did not prevent some critics from lumping them all together as failures.

"According to [Dr.] Moynihan," he wrote, "militant community action agencies could not survive under O.E.O. and were invariably taken over by the established institutions or ended up in bitter conflict with them. They evidence supplied to prove this 'trend' is based only upon the history of the community action agency in Syracuse and two in New York City during the first two years of O.E.O., and there is room to question [Dr.] Moynihan's interpretation of the facts in these two cities."

Community Action agencies were intended to help the poor to help themselves. They became controversial when they were depicted as organizing militants to march on City Hall and stir up trouble of various kinds.

In 1967 the Johnson Administration saved the program from extinction by accepting an amendment by Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, to permit local governments to take them over. Only about 30 have been taken over, an indication to Mr. Levitan that they are no longer considered anathema by the local governments.

Mr. Levitan said there was too much "hindsight" in criticism of the program.

"Indeed, no one in 1964 could have foreseen such developments as the transformation of the civil rights movement, the advocacy by many of black power, the riots in scores of American cities, and the political and social reactions of many whites to Negro demands," he said.

For the future, Mr. Levitan said, the agencies must stick by the concept of the poor organizing to express themselves on specific grievances against established institutions such as school systems and welfare agencies.

"Many Community Action agencies have made faltering steps toward overhauling delivery systems of aid programs," he wrote.

"The effort should be nourished even if progress thus far has been uneven and falls short of the hopes advanced by the anti-poverty warriors that community action would eliminate the need for a welfare system by eradicating poverty."

Please make note for Thurs 6

EV

Los Angeles Times
Thurs., Feb. 6, 1969

U.S. Makes Advances in Robot Development

BY EDWARD GROSS
Exclusive to The Times from Science Service

WASHINGTON — Since 1923, when the Czech, Karel Capek, introduced the word robot to the world in his play "Rossum's Universal Robots," the idea has come to represent the last stage in a mechanical evolutionary process that started in the industrial revolution and has reached the point of automation.

Created by man in his own image, a perfect robot would obey every command, automatically relieving man of tasks menial and burdens impossible.

If automation is the latest step, and a thinking robot the ultimate goal, a stage between the two is the humanoid.

Human in shape creatures, even when completed, will not be ready for true robothood in the fullest sense of the word because man will still be at their controls. But there will be an intermediary: a computer. That intermediary makes the humanoid different from the common remote manipulator.

The first humanoid will be finished early this year in a joint project by the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

A humanoid's justification is its ability to improve man's senses, or add new ones, and then do his bidding. Its human features allow the operator to identify with it and thereby operate it more easily. It can be built to see via television, detect heat through thermal sensors, feel shape with tactile devices and transmit these sensations to the operator.

Christened SAM (Self-propelled Anthropomorphic Manipulator), it is equipped with artificial arms, TV camera and sound pickup and is intended to retrieve highly radioactive materials or rescue people in contaminated areas.

The Navy is also considering using a humanoid

The major problem still to be overcome in humanoid development is communication: communication between the operator and the computer and between the computer and the humanoid. In each case — human, computer and humanoid—a different language is spoken (verbal, mathematical and electrical), which requires translation.

At the University of Santa Clara, Dr. Richard Dorf and his group are devising a man-computer language to avoid the lengthy teletype method SAM requires. They hope ultimately to reduce the communication problem to the simple pushing of a button.

WASHINGTON POST FEB 9

Lag in Equal-Job Pacts May Delay Va. Roads

RICHMOND, Feb. 8 (AP) — The Virginia Highway Department disclosed today that only about one-fourth of the highway contractors who normally bid on State road jobs have fulfilled Federal equal employment opportunity pledges.

Only 52 of 192 State contractors have drawn approval in Washington from the Federal Highway Administration and the delay could mean that Virginia's traditional season start on road construction may be thrown well off schedule.

Until the contractors comply with the FHA regulations, they are ineligible to work on the Federal aid highway projects, and $84 million in Federal aid highway work is left hanging as a result.

To make matters worse, the Virginia Highway Department hasn't received approval of its own departmental equal job program. It's the only department in the Nation that hasn't.

State officials insist they have nothing against equal job opportunity for Negroes, but don't like the Federally required programs designed to guarantee it.

But Highway Commissioner Douglas B. Fugate may soon find he has no choice.

The 52 qualified contractors fall far short of the majority Fugate says he must have to have any meaningful bidding on highway work.

And time is running out. The first projects list for the spring is scheduled to be advertised Wednesday.

Meanwhile, there's another statistic holding up the works.

Of the 192 contractors capable of carrying out big projects, just 91 have submitted equal employment programs to the FHA. The other 101 have not even tried.

as the Urban Coalition. Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.) recently said: "Neither the public nor the private sector alone can create a viable, civilized and challenging urban environment...What is needed is a combination of government incentives and private initiative." President Nixon has repeatedly stressed his interest in enlisting the private sector through tax incentives and credits. Opposition to this approach has been led by Rep. Wilbur Mills (D Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who described the approach as backdoor spending.

Urban Affairs Council—Early in his Administration (Jan. 23), the President established the Urban Affairs Council. It was assigned the task of formulating major urban policy and coordinating all urban programs having an impact on the poor. Daniel P. Moynihan, executive secretary, recently said that poverty and social isolation of minority groups in the central cities is the "single most serious problem of the American city today." A spokesman said the Council aims at eliminating urban problems through various methods—executive orders, legislative proposals and promotion of private enterprise involvement.

In his April 14 message to Congress on domestic legislation, Mr. Nixon included the following priorities: increased Social Security benefits, tax credits to enlist private resources in meeting social needs, and a comprehensive labor and manpower program. The President indicated that specific recommendations would be sent to Congress in time.

A problem yet to be faced by the Administration is what level of funding the 91st Congress will approve. Welfare and antipoverty experts say the success of programs depends upon how much money the Government is willing to spend. The fiscal 1969 budget, for example, was estimated to include $27.7 billion for all federal expenditures which aid persons living below the poverty line; at the same time, various studies say that at least $40 billion of federal funds is needed. For the past decade, the combined costs of federal, state and local public assistance programs, while rising each year to record highs, has remained at a fairly constant ratio of slightly less than 1 percent of the nation's personal income.

Efforts Against Poverty

In the 19th century, two-thirds to three-fourths of the Americans lived in what would in the late 1960s be considered conditions of poverty by Government definition. Attempts to alleviate the problems were almost entirely confined to local governments and private charity organizations.

The Depression in the 1930s led to greatly expanded federal efforts to improve the position of the economically disadvantaged. Over the years a twofold approach was developed for urban as well as rural anti-poverty measures, including the following major programs: (1) programs designed for daily maintenance—welfare, Medicare and Medicaid, food stamp and commodity programs, low-income housing and rent supplements; (2) programs designed for long-range improvement of the poverty environment—Office of Economic Opportunity projects and manpower training.

Anti-Poverty Program

References: *Congress and the Nation, p. 1225; Weekly Report p. 1407.*

Welfare. The most important welfare bill ever passed by Congress was the Social Security Act of 1935 (PL 74-271), which changed both the concept of personal economic security in the United States and the nature of federal-state relationships in the welfare field. By establishing a permanent, nationwide network of programs that guaranteed income for the individual when for one reason or another he could not provide for himself by working, the Federal Government for the first time assumed permanent responsibility for functions traditionally reserved for the family and for state and local governments, if governments were involved.

To carry out this broad design, the Social Security Act created five income replacement programs:

- Old-Age Insurance
- Unemployment Insurance
- Old-Age Assistance
- Aid to the Blind
- Aid to Dependent Children.

In 1950, a fourth public assistance program was added, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and in 1960, the Medical Assistance to the Aged went into effect.

All the public assistance programs operate in the same manner, with the states making monthly payments to eligible indigent persons to pay for their living expenses and the Federal Government reimbursing the states for part of their costs. The Act left it to each state to determine how poor an individual had to be to qualify for aid. Thus, variations in programs exist from state to state.

The most significant legislative changes in public assistance were periodic revisions starting in 1939 of the matching formula to provide greater federal participation. In addition, changes in the Aid to Dependent Children program featured including aid on the basis of unemployment of parents and permitting parents as well as children to receive aid. The name of the program was changed in 1962 to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). A recent controversial AFDC amendment (PL 90-248) required every state to participate in a work-training, work-incentive program for all recipients.

Although less controversial than public assistance, the most important program established by the Social Security Act of 1935 was old-age insurance—a vast, federally operated, compulsory national retirement-insurance system, providing monthly pensions at age 65 for insured workers. It was financed by a federal payroll tax levied on a mandatory basis on specified groups of workers and their employers. Congress added dependents' and survivors' benefits in 1939, and disability benefits in 1956. The program is now known as Old-Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance (OASDI). Its first payroll tax went into effect in 1937, levied on the first $3,000 annual earnings. Starting in 1950, Congress enacted increases, the most recent in PL 90-248 which raised the taxable base to $7,800 and the payroll tax to 4.8 percent each for the employer and the employee in

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10-15-69

War on Poverty Gets Approval in Senate For 2 More Years

10-15-69

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The Senate voted a two-year continuation of the war on poverty after approving standby curbs on crusading antipoverty lawyers that have antagonized some state governors.

The measure, approved in one afternoon of leisurely debate, goes to the House, where considerably more fireworks are expected. The House Labor and Education Committee currently is trying to devise an antipoverty package that won't be sliced up on the House floor.

The Senate bill, passed by a lopsided 72-to-3 vote, basically grants the Nixon Administration the two-year extension it sought, and authorizes the $2.5 billion the President requested for the current fiscal year ending next June 30. This was $292 million below the amount approved by the Senate Labor Committee. But the Senate left intact the $2.73 billion the committee had recommended for the following fiscal year.

Partially Earmarked

Within these totals, the Senate bill earmarks specific amounts for such antipoverty programs as Head Start, the Job Corps, community action programs and health assistance for the poor. But it also gives Donald Rumsfeld, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, authority to rejuggle up to 15% of his total budget from one program to another in the first year, and a 20% program-shuffling authority in the following year.

Since the antipoverty program was established in 1964 as part of President Johnson's Great Society, Congress has increasingly restricted the freedom of Federally financed poverty warriors to engage in activities that antagonize local power structures. Two years ago, lawmakers clamped down on voter registration activities of local poverty fighters and placed community action programs more closely under the control of state and local elected officials.

This year, it appears to be the turn of antipoverty layers to feel the checkrein. Lawyers working in the OEO's legal services program are supposed to provide various kinds of legal assistance for poor people. But in some states, notably California, the legal services program has offended the governors. California Gov. Reagan complained to California Republican Sen. Murphy about his lack of authority to put a stop to specific activities of OEO lawyers.

Murphy Complained

Mr. Murphy complained to the Senate that the legal services program is trying to undertake "law reform." He objected to the filing of class action lawsuits against state officials instead of concentrating on assistance to individuals. Sen. Murphy proposed giving governors power to veto specific legal service programs within their states, and removing OEO director Rumsfeld's existing authority to override such a veto. Sen. Murphy's proposal was adopted, 45 to 40.

The California lawmaker left town while the Senate was still debating the bill, so he wasn't present when his colleagues later reversed themselves in part. Sens. Nelson (D., Wis.), and Javits, (R., N.Y.) argued that somebody ought to be able to override a governor's veto that is patently unjust, and they proposed giving President Nixon this authority. The Senate approved this modification by voice vote.

O'Neill — pov. Sension

Hist^y background — religio-humanistic perch,
poor oriented for first 2 generations

Sep. Soc. welfare & Soc. Work

Development of Case work
group work

Early allianc of soc, soc. wk, reformers — attempts to get at poverty using tools of the day —

Shortly after turn of century reaction by Soc. Wks. against institutional approaches — upping of psych. content — understanding behavior — poor in general unreceptive to new social skill — one result is concentration of soc. wks. on middle class problems (adoption, etc.) — seek out client group that can use the skills they can provide —

Awareness of poor of soc. wk. services —
M'ker in inner cond — of 1/3 that had soc agency help only 1% sought put services even though 48% knew of such services —

Will use pub. agencies for assistance only —

Com org. — Usually relates to creation & support of agencies

Com Develop. — adopted from soc & Soc. Wks. at work in underdeveloped areas — cf. to Jane Addams, Saul Alinsky
But major influence has been recent

Mobilization for Youth, NYC
Basic concept is having the community identify & work to solve own problems —

EV Conflicting community development com develop?
Woodlawn Assn. — S.E. Commission — Hyde Park Renewal
Con. Cont — Plus Urban renewal, ~~B~~

Some of most successful has come along with Civ. ~~rts~~. movements — difficult to factor out —

Com. Development in Chicago e.g. HPKCC — is it all lost by failure to maintain integrated com —
training — peaceful transition —

Com. develop. where ethnic

3rd type — moving into lower class community — giving insights, help in developing leaders, & to develop a community —
Mobilization for Youth — such an example
had money — but out of toughest probl. in country —
poor schools, municipal services;
Harlem Youth Project

(Challenge vs. Com dev.)
Rev
is this new way

How to develop Com.

How get change — when does structural interfere —
What structures beyond family — and in
some cases (esp. urban I.C. Negro) not even a family structure.
Some ethnic groups (esp. Chicago, M'ke) have fairly solid
community structures — may be mobilized to resist change.
How develop leadership — first identifying existing leaders —
people with effective relations with others —
Rossi — we had descriptions — but not enough
Analysis to understand forces really operating —
many community studies — almost all
is descriptive (may be of little value when
moved to another community)

EV — Interview cities
One or another
Similar — what
for M'ke —

M'ke dif. from other or N. Com.
New: 8T - 1990 → 80T 1964
No effective leadership —
Organizations operating in isolation
impatient particularly —
no impact on unions
just recently effective with financial & business structures

No general theories —
but any success brings pol. reaction
so organize so not pol — or consciously pol. —

H-S-1

Soc.-Psych Conditions for War on Poverty -
Not just emphasis on individual

Beliefs about - perceptions of poverty programs
Question of imposing middle-class values on poor
yet we are attempting to change - to upgrade
the class - to have outward signs of mid. class -
Can this be done with out attitude change

Sop to the poor - fool into believing something is being done for them
Correct in that programs are not big enough -
that passage indicates change in public morality -

Concentration ~~of~~ on children now in poverty -
opportunity alone does not get people out of poverty -
(Lampman - relatively few people not born into
~~property~~ poverty, go into poverty - Shepherd
feels misses problem of aged said some
people interpret as all people now in poverty are born
into poverty -

[OEO unofficially set up advisory com. on older poor
and not just 65 & over -

Many kids recognize mistakes at ~~24~~-22-23, then
want to go back and work out new program - and
current youth programs have cut-off on age -
But is this just a transactional ~~problem~~ problem - not

9 May/June – Adversion

OE

Director
Field Consultant (recruitment)
+ perhaps a Univ people here –
(even native grad. student – peace corps. returnee)

} or Samuel Davis –

Follow-up –
articulated instructional media –

Advisory Committee
Mueller – Lutheran
Geo Weber – Cath Rural Life
2 students (by appointment problem from Prs. pt of view)
minorities

Group skills

Procedures

Form

Individual skills with & for

Reasonable Skills & Sources

Reading

Speaking

Form Filling

Community Understanding

Identifying & Utilizing Community resources —

Understanding the causes of poverty (Economics)

Understanding

Education

Economics

Economic Understanding

$1/100^{00}$/wk plus room & Bd —

Poverty

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

Wesley A. Hotchkiss

In speaking on educational programs for the disadvantaged, I would like, first of all to disavow the term "culturally deprived." I think the fact of this term and its usage is symbolic of a part of the problem. There is a status definition of the would culture which has something to do with the state of being cultivated, especially in one's taste and aesthetics. This is obviously not the usage of the term that we have in mind. There is a more sociological definition, and this I think is the way in which we should use the term. In this sense it has to do with the total patterns of human behavior and their products in thought, action, speech and artifacts, and a body of customary beliefs. In other words, to use the word culture in these terms is to refer to the sum total of one's human condition, of one's humanity. In this sense, of course, no one is deprived of a culture, because everyone if he is human is thereby possessed by a culture.

If we disavow the term "culturally deprived," who could we say are the "culturally disadvantaged?" A school superintendent in Darien, Connecticut quit recently because of his great discouragement over the cultural isolation of its very privileged youngsters, since Darien is one of the fashionable high socio-economic status suburbs of New York City. a Broadway play some years ago, a line in one of the songs referred to "Aryan Darien"-there are no Jews and practically no Negroes in Darien. That school principal quit in total discouragement because he felt that it was a tremendous disadvantage for any group of young people to grow up in that kind of cultural isolation. Another school principal, Eliot Shapiro in Harlem, reports that the children in his area, particularly those from fatherless homes, mature too fast -- that is, they are never really allowed to be children. Therefore, he sees this as a tremendous disadvantage of their cultural isolation. So apparently in Aryan Darien they never mature and in Harlem they mature too fast. Which is culturally deprived in these terms? Obviously the cultural deprivation of both is that they are deprived of each other. If we could somehow overcome the isolation of both these groups then neither would be as disadvantaged as it is.

This is a fundamental issue in the consideration of segregation and its evil effects. Most attempts to deal with the problems of segregation have been attempts to overcome the "cultural deprivation" of the minority. Now this is prejudice almost by classical definition, because it indicates a superior attitude on the part of the majority group toward the minority. It intimates that the minority is disadvantaged because it is not allowed the cultureal advantages of the majority group. We should approach it rather from the point of view that in any sit-

uation in which two groups are segregated from each other it is the cultural isolation that is the evil and not the fact that the minority group is disadvantaged. If we could make this shift in our thinking we would go a long way toward overcoming the implications of this approach to desegregation, particularly as it affects education. We have not really understood, or have not admitted, the implications of the Supreme Court Decision on desegregation of public schools. We have interpreted this decision to mean that segregation is bad for Negro children, and, therefore, we have to help overcome their disadvantage, but the broad meaning of that decision is that all groups are disadvantaged by segregated education--and I think that is what that school superintendent in Darien meant. We have been approaching desegregation, and sometimes working hard for it, from a prejudiced point of view.

Now if cultural isolation is bad, then what is good? If cultural isolation is bad, then is the solution to obliterate all cultural differences, and homogenize all of us into one uniform culture? This brings up some of the paradoxes in dealing with cultural isolation. We are talking now not just about desegregating the formal institutions of the society, but rather the psychological and the human dimensions of emerging from a ghetto. We don't know very much about the process, but I think that it would be safe to say that one should never emerge from a ghetto by disowining his culture--by obliterating himself, so to speak, culturally. It is true some people get out that way, but they commit cultural suicide and loose their self-identity in the process. Each person must have some identity for himself in terms of a culture, and it is by security in his identity that he is able to emerge into a dominant culture and take his own values with him. I think it is safe to say that, from the observations that have been made about this process, culturally isolated people can only emerge when they have a secure appreciation of their own culture. Then they are able to emerge into a larger society and bring their constribution with them. In the early beginnings of the discipline of sociology, some of the great classics were written about this process because it happened that formal sociology really emerged as a science at the same time that we were having large groups of immigrants coming into this country. A common generalization about all of these studies is that cultural isolation can only be overcome when a person is secure within his own self-identity and appreciation of his own culture. So it is not obliteration of differences that we seek, but an appreciation of differences.

With this background, let's turn to education and see what implications this has. I am not going to talk about elementary and secondary education because I don't know anything about it. I am going to have to stick to higher education, and those of you who are involved in education at other levels are going to have to make whatever translations are necessary. I would like here to take one particular type of institution within higher education: The Negro college. This is a very sensitive business in these days, because one can be so easily misunderstood when he begins to talk about the nature of the Negro

colleg--whatever you say about it is almost certain to be wrong among certain groups.

Let's begin with a historic look; that is fairly safe. The American Missionary Association (AMA) is a peculiar tradition within Negro higher education, because its colleges were formed in the New England tradition of the liberal arts. New England educators, the same kind of people who had founded Harvard, Yale, Amherst, and Holyoke, and practically all the other early liberals arts institutions in this country, took the same religious and educational tradition into a new intellectural frontier in the American South--the newly emancipated slave. The AMA actually began its educational endeavors before the Emancipation Proclamation, when it went throughout the world under the impetus of the abolitionist motive. But after the Emancipation Proclamation its people saw the American South as such an overwhelming task that they withdrew all their forces from around the world in order to concentrate on this enormous task. So, immediately following the Union armies, the AMA went into the South and established schools. First, of course, these were schools at the elementary level, with programs for literacy, but then they followed them on through to the higher education level. I want to emphasize that this was not a movement only to educate Negroes, because in all of the literature of the period these people were terribly conscious of the fact that, because of the evil influence of the system of slavery, the whole South was educationally disadvantaged. They set up these colleges very carefully with no reference to the fact that they were for Negroes. They fully expected that white people would come to these institutions, and they were disappointed terribly when they did not.

So here were a group of colleges formed with this classical tradition, but because of the prejudice of the region they became predominantly Negro in their student bodies. They were always integrated and well-balanced racially in their faculties. All during the period when the institution of segregation came in to replace the institution of slavery these colleges had as their underlying reason for being the motives imposed upon them by the segregation system. Because they were the only institutions in many instances where Negroes could receive higher education with a semblance of equality, their reason for being was most easily explaned in racial terms--education for Negroes. For a hundred years, therefore, these colleges have had as their prime motive that of imitation. Since their basic purpose was to provide education for people who otherwise would be denied, they existed then only to imitate the best colleges in the country, trying to be as equal as possible under the disadvantages that they had.

The question then arises in our time, in a desegregating society, what is the role of the Negro college? Everyone is asking this question from several different motives. First of all I would like to say that the term "Negro college" is a perfectly good term. I am quite impatient with all of the attempts to find some euphemism for the term: "we are a predominantly Negro college," or "we are a historically Negro college," etc. I think that the time is coming when the general concept of the

Negro college will be so well established in our society that we won't have to qualify it. It is a term of great heroism, of great educational excellence, of a wonderfully conceived idea and purpose--all of this is wrapped up in the works "Negro college." This I think will remain.

What then is the future of the Negro college, which up to now has had its whole reason for bing handed to it by the segregated system, but now finds itself in a desegregating society? If the principle of emergence from isolation, stated previously, is correct--that is, that one emerges from isolation by an appreciation for his own culture and with security in it--what does this have to say about the Negro college in the desegregating society and its attitudes towards its culture? I think that it implies that the Negro college can best emerge in the desegregating society by being more Negro and not less. If that sounds a little startling, I hasten to say that I mean this in a cultural sense. In other words, I think the Negro college will not make its finest contribution to the general educational establishment by becoming white, either in its attitudes or in its racial character. Here again is a strange paradox, since the Negro college must become more Caucasian in its racial character at the same time that it is becoming more conscious of its Negro heritage. At the same time that the Negro colleges desegregates racially in its student body and includes more and more white students in its midst, it is going to maintain its uniquesness by being more conscious of its Negro heritage and building this without apology into its general educational system. The Negro college will become more Negro culturally at the same time that it is becoming more Caucasian racially, because this is the way that culturally isolated groups emerge into a generall society.

Underlying this is another basic aim of eduation. If we go back to the previous premise that you do not overcome cultural isolation by the obliteration of differences, then in order for the Negro college to put this basic premise into its educational philosophy it would mean that this kind of education is to make the world safe for diversity. This is an underlying aim of all good education--not to homogenize us into one uniform culture, but to make our society a place of cultural diversity where we will appreciate differences and hot obliterate them. One of the reasons why these things are so difficult as concepts is that the Negro college is perhaps one of the most misunderstood educational institutions in America. We as Americans with our cultural faith in this thing called Americanism cannot really understand an educational institution that has this identity, and the only way we can deal with it is to think that it has got to get "white" culturally and racially.

Also, the conepts that are symbolized in the term "cultrually deprived" make the whole educational establishment look upon the Negro college in prejudicial terms, not understanding its great qualities. I would like to talk about these for a few minutes, because there is a real crisis in the higher educational establishment symbolized by what is happening on practically all of our campuses. It is a crisis of value and purpose. Nobody quite

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knows really what we are trying to do when we set out to give every human being a higher education. But there are three points of critical tension where the Negro college has something particular to say to the educational establishment.

The first of these is the matter of purpose and value. The purpose and value of higher education is under serious questioning in our general society, but here are a group of institutions who have never questioned their basic purpose. It was to liberate human beings and to provide people with an education who could not otherwise get it. That dominant purpose has impressed these institutions with the very sense of purpose which is in crisis in the ducational establishment in general. Therefore, if the educational establishment wants to know where to find educational institution which have a concept of purpose they might try looking here.

The second area of crisis in higher education is the loss of the human dimension, which takes many forms. Its most obvious one is the objection of the undergraduate student to being treated as a statistic in the registrar's office, as standdardized units in a consumer-oriented educational system. But the Negro college, ironically, has been free from these evils, because the Negro college has dealt with a student who was so badly prepared by a disadvantaged educational system at the elementary level, that, when he appeared at the door of the college for admission, he was so unstandardized that no standardized test could deal with him at all. It is not uncommon for some of our AMA colleges to admit students who have scored 200 on their verbal SAT--those of you who may not be teachers should know thatt you get 200 for signing your name at the top of the sheet. I saw the figures for one of our colleges and one of those youngsters who had 200 on his verbal SAT score was an A student in his high school. There was only, I think five in that particular freshman class that had scores over 500, but there is no necessary correlation between these scores and a person's achievement in college. So what we do is just give them all the tests so that they won't feel deprived and we throw the tests away. How are you going to mass produce higher education, which is essentially the maturation of a single unitary, unrepeatable human organism? The only way is to standardize but when you standardize you have denied the basic premise of higher education. For education take a look at Negro colleg

The third area of great tension is what we are educating for. We are beginning to worry about education for conformity, and this is what underlies so much of thesstudent unrest. They are being processed for conformity in the general homogenized socity, rather than being given education for liberation. If the educational establishment is in crisis on this question when I suggest that they might look to the Negro college, because the circumstance of the founding of these institutions is so dramatic a demonstration of education for liberation. In the first place it was the physical liberation from slavery, and then almost immediately it was intellectural and spiritual liberation. This has so formed the character of these institutions that they could not educate for conformity even if they tried, because they are committed by their history, their character, their whole motives and

purpose, to education for liberation. They cannot avoid the consequences of this kind of system. So if the establishment wants to know how to educate for liberation they might take a look at the Negro college, because it has been doing it for a hundred years. The irony of this situation is that the same barriers which prevented the Negro college from access to the advantages of the establishment, which now have thrown the whole educational system into crisis.

There is another area that I would like to talk about and this is the concept of undergraduate education. Here again the unique role of the Negro college has something particular to say. The educational establishment is demonstrating that there has to be a clear distinction between the kind of educational assumptions that are emerging in the modern university, with all of its complexity and the expectations of the general society, and the peculiar character and nature of the institution that is devoted to undergraduate education. These distinctions have to become more and more clear, if we are ever to get over the impasse that is bothering us so in higher education.

Let me explain what I mean. The modern university is required to respond to the explosion of knowledge in a certain way, and this has done things to the nature of this university which are both good and bad. The only way that the contemporary university can respond to the explosion of knowledge is by specializing, because no human being can encompass any longer the whole field of knowledge. There is apparently no alternative but to divide and specialize, and to proliferate its curriculum, because this is the only way we can get around the vast quantity of knowledge in our time. Furthermore, the technological society looks to the university for advice and counsel on how to run the technology, and the university simply must be able to respond. This means that the entire university is organized around disciplines, around subjects; the people who are engaged professionally in the university and earn their livelihood that way are required to discipline themselves around their subject matter. The only way you can hope to be competent in any professional educational field is by sticking to your subject and mastering it, and so the career satisfactions of people engaged in teaching in a university system, and the whole orientation of the enterprise is on a discipline-oriented basis.

It is quite apparent, therefore, that the forgotten element in this system is the human being, primarily the undergraduate student because he doesn't fit anywhere in this discipline-oriented structure. He is there only incidentally to sort of sit at the table and pick up the crumbs from the major purpose of the university, which is to go deeper and deeper into the specialities around which the university is organized. All of a sudden we have now discovered that this educational institution is beautifully designed for graduate work, but it is not designed to teach undergraduate education, which takes the knowledge that is produced in such tremendous quantities in the multiversity and orients it towards the student. If on the one hand you have a discipline-oriented university, its corollary must be a student-

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oriented college.

Those educators who agree with my prejudices are beginning to see that there is a unique function to be performed by the undergraduate, liberal arts college. After a student has come through the secondary level and has gotten some of the tools for intellectural inquiry, then he needs a period of "unforced maturation" during which, under great teaching, he can somehow come to his own self-identity and become a person. Then he will be able to go into the multiversity as a whole human being, knowing who he is, to engage in the very rigorous business of mastering a discipline or going into a career. Here is a clear call, it seems to me, for a peculiar institution oriented to students and built around the process of teaching and learning, in which students can come for this period of their lives and prepare themselves. A decade ago many leading educators were announcing the demise of the liberal arts college, because they saw a rapidly developing secondary system which was taking over some of the liberal arts college's work at the bottom end of the scale, and they saw specialization of the university coming down into the college years allowing students to specialize earlier and earlier in ther careers. In a sense, the student would go from a very sophisticated high school directly into graduate study.

The events of the last few years have called this seriously into question and I hear now a reaffirmation of the unique role of the liberal arts college. The Negro college has been so desperate to imitate in this period of its life, because it was attempting desperately to be equal, that it sometimes took the the university as its model to imitate, and it thereby denied one of its great uniquesnesses and assets. By going to the university as its model, the Negro college thought that the more courses it could have in its catalogue the better it looked. Thus, some Negro colleges have attempted to be little universities, and I think this was a great mistake. There never was a clearer call for the Negro college to assert itself and to be true to its own uniqueness as a college and forget the university business, because that is not what it is best equipped to do. Given the fact of the emergance of the liberal arts college as a desperately needed institution in the general educational establishment, and given the Negro college's unique combination of heroic history, dedication to purpose, human dimension, this college never had a greater opportunity to make a contribution to higher education in general.

I would also like to say something about the relationship of the Negro college to the civil rights movement. There has always been a very peculiar relationship between the Negro college and the mass movements for civil rights. When you teach people to think for themselves--which is the objective of the liberal arts education--they don't make very good members of a mass movement. Because mass movements, as the name implies, are not made up of people who think for themselves. You have to have something of the "true believer" concept in order to have a good mass movement. (I am talking now about the term invented by Eric Hoffer in his book.) In order to be a disciplined member of the mass

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movement you have to depend on pattern thinking, you must respond to slogans. Many great things have been done throughout history by mass movemen s where the objective was a laudable and valid one, but they depend pretty largely upon patterned thinking. This is good if you happen to agree with the objectives of the mass movement and it is bad if you don't.

But this builds conflict and tension between the Negro college, as college, and the mass movements for civil rights. The whole educational premise of the Negro college would affirm the objectives for which the mass movements in civil rights have been pressing. ut the Negro college, as college, cannot be the campaign headquarters for the mass movement, because there is just naturally a distinction of function. The Negro college has gotten considerable kicking around by those leaders of the mass movement who would like to turn the college into the command post for the revolution. But it simply cannot, because these are roles that must be distinguished in any kind of social revolution. Anyone who chooses to work in the field of education for these objectives in which education is seen as an instrument for social change can expect to get kicked around by both the status quo and the revolutionaries. Tougaloo College in Mississippi is accused by Governor Johnson of being the headquarters of the civil rights movement in Mississippi--he calls it a cancer in the society of Mississippi. And the college also gets kicked around by the militants in the movement, because it is not, as college, leading the revolution.

But that is all right; we understand it. The AMA has chosen the instrument of education for social change deliberately. It was at work prior to the Emancipation Proclamation, and I think it will be at work long after the current crop of militant revolutionaries have worn out their slogans. I truly believe that education, in its finest sense, is the only long range-solution. There is one very descriptive educational formula which sums it up very well, and I am indebted to Reinhold Niehbur for the phraseology. He says that the objective of a liberal arts education has three great factors: "The appreciation of, sympathy for, and detachment from one's culture." That is a significan combinati , and it is really what we are talking about. The Negro college, if it took this seriously, would clarify its role and purpose in a desegregating society. One has to appreciate his culture because that is where we all get our self-identity. We must also have sympathy for our culture--we can't disavow it or pretend it is not there. But the third thing is detachment from our culture. This perhaps is the most difficult part of education, because we have to be able to see our culture in the light of other cultures.

So if we can get to the point where we can have appreciation for our culture, have sympathy for it, but also detachment from it to the extent that we can see it objectively, we can be truly liberated human beings. It is not surprising that we are concerned about education for the disadvantaged at the same time that the educational establishment is in trouble over how to deal with undergraduates, because these two things are not un-

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related. At the same time that we are in anguish over the purposes of higher education, we are in the midst of a desegregating society. It might almost be said that they are one and the same problem, because Free Speech Movement at Berkeley was born in Mississippi summer before last. And so the Negro college in a desegregating society is forced to take a radical look at itself. What does it see? It sees an institution that is peculiarly fitted to say something educationally to the major issues of the day. If it will only stop imitating, and begin to innovate within its own genius, it can make a tremendous contribution. By being true to its cultural heritage, the Negro college can help begin a new era in higher education.

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The Law School Student Bar Association

presents a lecture on

POVERTY AND THE PRACTICE OF LAW

by

WILLIAM STRINGFELLOW

Monday, April 5 3:30 p.m.

Room 225, Law School

Mr. Stringfellow has lived in East Harlem and practiced law from his slum apartment. His latest book is autobiographical: My People Is The Enemy.

Poverty

88TH CONGRESS 2d Session } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { DOCUMENT No. 243

POVERTY

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

RELATIVE TO

POVERTY, AND A DRAFT OF A BILL TO MOBILIZE THE HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE NATION TO COMBAT POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 16, 1964.—Referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed with accompanying papers

To the Congress of the United States:

We are citizens of the richest and most fortunate nation in the history of the world.

One hundred and eighty years ago we were a small country struggling for survival on the margin of a hostile land. Today we have established a civilization of freemen which spans an entire continent.

With the growth of our country has come opportunity for our people; opportunity to educate our children, to use our energies in productive work, to increase our leisure; opportunity for almost every American to hope that through work and talent he could create a better life for himself and his family. The path forward has not been an easy one. But we have never lost sight of our goal: An America in which every citizen shares all the opportunities of his society, in which every man has a chance to advance his welfare to the limit of his capacities.

We have come a long way toward this goal. We still have a long way to go. The distance which remains is the measure of the great unfinished work of our society. To finish that work I have called for a national war on poverty. Our objective: total victory.

There are millions of Americans—one-fifth of our people—who have not shared in the abundance which has been granted to most of us, and on whom the gates of opportunity have been closed.

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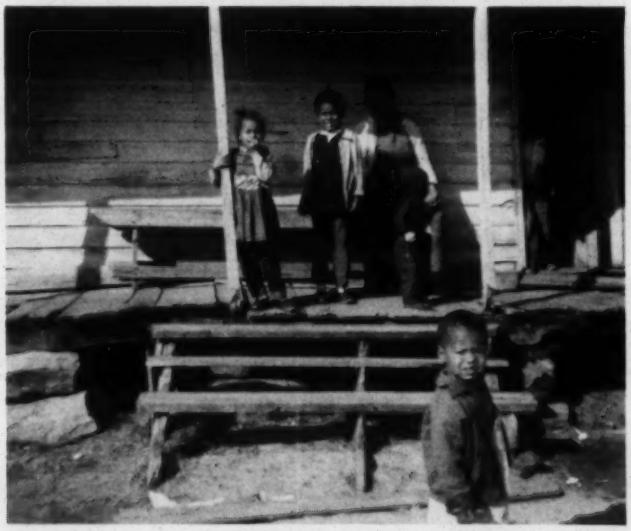
TUFTS IN MISSISSIPPI—THE DELTA HEALTH CENTER

By H. Jack Geiger, M.D.

Professor of Preventive Medicine—Project Co-Director, Tufts Comprehensive Community Health Action Program



TUFTS PREVENTIVE MEDICINE EXTENDS TO MISSISSIPPI

Delta Cotton Fields and Housing Problems in or Near Mound Bayou

Reprinted from Tufts Medical Alumni Bulletin, November, 1966, Volume 25, Number 3

Wage Hike Tops List:

UAW Parley Sets '67 Contract Goals

By Eugene A. Kelly

Detroit—Delegates representing 1.6 million U.S. and Canadian members of the Auto Workers took two days to debate a collective bargaining program for 1967 negotiations with the auto industry, then adopted it by show of hands with less than 10 dissenting votes.

The program, departing in only two minor respects from the recommendations of the executive board and a convention committee, gave top priority to a "substantial wage and salary increase for all" and strong emphasis to 20 other contract objectives including wage parity for Canadian workers, a guaranteed annual wage patterned on that of office workers and company officials, "equal pay" for skilled trades workers, and improved working conditions.

Delegates from more than 1,000 local unions of production, skilled trades, technical, professional and office employes voted unanimously to support the current strike of 50,000 members of the Rubber Workers and passed the hat for striking farm workers.

Resolutions for changes in the bargaining program submitted by two UAW locals were defeated by margins of more than 95 percent. Ford Local 1250 proposed a 35-hour workweek resolution, and Fisher Body Local 45 offered a retirement-at-55 resolution with no reduction in benefits. Both locals are in the Cleveland, O., region.

Broad Goals

The convention supported a request by UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther that union bargaining committees be given broad general goals rather than mandates for specific objectives like the 35-hour week or a spelled-out wage proposal.

On wages, the report adopted by the convention noted that wage and salary income lags behind property income "such as dividends, interest and profits." The average rate of

UAW in 1967 make a maximum contribution" toward establishing "a healthier balance in the distribution of our national income through the winning of substantial wage increases for all its members."

The program makes these other points:

- There must be "no tampering" with the cost of living wage escalator nor the improvement-factor wage increases except to improve them.
- Elimination of the wage differential between American and Canadian auto workers will be a primary goal this year. While auto makers pay their Canadian workers less than in the U. S., they charge Canadian buyers higher prices for Canadian-made and U. S.-made cars.
- The "degrading" hourly-wage system has outlived its time. The union is determined to end it and "replace it with an annual income guarantee or contract of employment."
- Corporations must end the "double standard" of lower wage rates for skilled tradesmen than for workers hired by "outside" contractors to do essentially similar work.

The convention program also calls for better supplemental unemployment benefits, improved pensions, gains for white collar workers and employes of small shops, higher pension benefits for retirees, full health-care services, better vacation and holiday provisions, an end to overtime

NEW LABOR ADVISERS to the Office of Economic Opportunity are shown as they met with OEO Dir. Sargent Shriver. From left: Hyman Bookbinder, head of OEO's Office of National Councils & Organizations; William Gary, civil rights director for the Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; Tom Cosgrove, OEO labor liaison officer; Evelyn Dubrow, Washington representative of the Ladies' Garment Workers; Shriver; Julius Rothman, assistant director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Social Security; Joseph Joy, Job Corps labor liaison officer, and Rosa McGhee, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers. Other newcomers to the 17-member council are Walter Davis, AFL-CIO education director; William Lucy, community affairs director of the State, County & Municipal Employes, and West Virginia AFL-CIO Pres. Miles Stanley.

'Massive' Educational Effort Urged To Combat Poverty in Mississippi

Jackson, Miss.—Mississippi needs a "massive" adult education program as well as an expanded Head Start for young children in order to break the poverty cycle, State AFL-CIO Pres. Claude Ramsay told a Senate fact-finding committee.

"Many thousands of people have been pushed off the farms and plantations in recent years by mechanization of farm equipment," Ramsay said. "Even though jobs are available, these people are unemployable because most of them have no education."

Only a large-scale federal effort can end poverty "as a way of life" in the state, Ramsay stressed. "Mississippi simply does not have the necessary resources" to do the job itself.

Ramsay spoke to the four members of the Senate subcommittee on Employment, Manpower & Poverty who came to Mississippi as part of a first-hand investigation of the nation's anti-poverty programs—chairman Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) and Senators Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.), Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and George Murphy (R-Calif.)

Ramsay urged the senators to "visit and listen to the experiences" of people who for the first time have been given "hope" that their children will be able to escape from poverty.

Mistakes have been made in many of the anti-poverty programs, but progress has been made, too, Ramsay observed.

The most important byproduct of these programs, he suggested, has been "bringing whites and blacks to the conference table where they could discuss problems of mutual interest." He added:

"To me it would be a real tragedy if these programs were to be abandoned, just when we appeared to be making significant progress."

Congress Weighs Action To Bar Rail Shutdown

on that of office workers and company officials, "equal pay" for skilled trades workers, and improved working conditions.

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On wages, the report adopted by the convention noted that wage and salary income lags behind property income "such as dividends, interest and profits." The average rate of return of the motor vehicle and equipment industry, it pointed out, was higher than the average for all other manufacturing corporations combined in 19 of the past 20 years.

"Both as a matter of equity for workers and their families, and as a necessity for the nation's economy," the report declared, "it is essential that the

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- Corporations must end the "double standard" of lower wage rates for skilled tradesmen than for workers hired by "outside" contractors to do essentially similar work.

The convention program also calls for better supplemental unemployment benefits, improved pensions, gains for white collar workers and employes of small shops, higher pension benefits for retirees, full health-care services, better vacation and holiday provisions, an end to overtime abuses, and the right to strike when legitimate grievances over production standards are not "fairly resolved."

The delegates approved a change in the UAW constitution to allow the union's executive board to "alter the union's relationship" with the AFL-CIO "in any way it deems appropriate."

Teachers Post Big Wins In Washington, Detroit

(Continued from Page 1)

that had been suspended for the balloting were resumed.

Mrs. Mary Ellen Riordan, president of the Detroit local called the vote a "clear mandate that teachers believe we are making progress and want the union to keep on representing them."

Negotiators scheduled two meetings in April and two more in May, with management counter-proposals expected May 9.

Pay Raises Asked

The DFT is asking the School Board for pay increases averaging $1,700 a year across the board, two weeks' paid vacation, a reduction in the size of classes, and a shortening in the school year from 40 weeks to the big-city average of 38.

Other union objectives in a written contract include longevity payments of $150 a year after 15 years of Detroit school service, $300 after 20 years, $450 after 25; a greater voice in the selection of textbooks and supplementary teaching materials; more substitute teachers, "professional service days" for home visits and attendance at professional meetings; board-paid tuition for further college training in areas of severe shortages; and free tuition for elementary pupils who fail a grade and must attend summer classes.

No organization had bargaining rights until 1964, when the union got 5,739 votes to the DEA's 3,848 to win recognition as the voice of the Teachers' Representation Committee.

The state law was amended in 1965 to permit an exclusive bargaining agent, and the board recognized the union as the teachers' choice.

The union won its first written contract Dec. 8, 1965, and a renewal contract July 1, 1966. That latter contract expires next July 1, by which time the union hopes it will have given way to a new pact, Mrs. Riordan said.

ens & Organizations, William Gary, civil rights director for the Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; Tom Cosgrove, OEO labor liaison officer; Evelyn Dubrow, Washington representative of the Ladies' Garment Workers; Shriver; Julius Rothman, assistant director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Social Security; Joseph Joy, Job Corps labor liaison officer, and Rosa McGhee, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers. Other newcomers to the 17-member council are Walter Davis, AFL-CIO education director; William Lucy, community affairs director of the State, County & Municipal Employes, and West Virginia AFL-CIO Pres. Miles Stanley.

'Massive' Educational Effort Urged To Combat Poverty in Mississippi

Jackson, Miss.—Mississippi needs a "massive" adult education program as well as an expanded Head Start for young children in order to break the poverty cycle, State AFL-CIO Pres. Claude Ramsay told a Senate fact-finding committee.

"Many thousands of people have been pushed off the farms and plantations in recent years by mechanization of farm equipment," Ramsay said. "Even though jobs are available, these people are unemployable because most of them have no education."

Only a large-scale federal effort can end poverty "as a way of life" in the state, Ramsay stressed. "Mississippi simply does not have the necessary resources" to do the job itself.

Ramsay spoke to the four members of the Senate subcommittee on Employment, Manpower & Poverty who came to Mississippi as part of a first-hand investigation of the nation's anti-poverty programs—chairman Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) and Senators Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.), Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and George Murphy (R-Calif.)

Mississippi repealed its compulsory school attendance law in 1956—and in 1964 53.9 percent of its young people failed the Armed Forces Qualification Test. Ramsay noted also that only 28.5 percent of youngsters who enroll in high school stay until graduation,

Half Illiterate

He found a direct relationship between statistics showing that nearly half the state's population is functionally illiterate and that more than one third of the population doesn't earn enough money "to purchase the necessities of life."

"We in the AFL-CIO have done our best to help initiate adult education and training programs throughout the state," Ramsay said, and "the doors to opportunity have been opened to several thousand of our unfortunate citizens."

He stressed, however, that "the surface has only been scratched" and the need is for a federally-financed "massive program."

Praising the Head Start program for young children as a "vehicle to break the vicious circle of poverty enslavement," Ramsay urged the senators to "visit and listen to the experiences" of people who for the first time have been given "hope" that their children will be able to escape from poverty.

Mistakes have been made in many of the anti-poverty programs, but progress has been made, too, Ramsay observed.

The most important byproduct of these programs, he suggested, has been "bringing whites and blacks to the conference table where they could discuss problems of mutual interest." He added:

"To me it would be a real tragedy if these programs were to be abandoned, just when we appeared to be making significant progress."

Two Major Areas Show Job Gains

Asheville, N.C., and Memphis, Tenn., moved in March from the moderate to the low unemployment category for the first time since the classification system was inaugurated in 1955, for 150 major man power centers. The Labor Dept.'s Bureau of Employment Security said the improved employment picture in the two communities raised to 61—the number of major areas reporting less than 3 percent of the work force jobless. Laurel, Miss.,

Congress Weighs Action To Bar Rail Shutdown

(Continued from Page 1)

partment, told the Senate Labor Committee at an April 24 hearing that the railroads have "refused to engage in meaningful collective bargaining."

He charged that management's goal is to get Congress "to take away our right to strike" through a compulsory arbitration law.

The strong likelihood of congressional action, he said, has encouraged management to hold out against union contract proposals.

A special three-member presidential mediation panel contended that its recommendations—rejected by both sides—presented a basis for settlement. It would provide a 6 percent general increase in an 18-month contract, with three 5-cent raises over the contract period for skilled workers.

Pres. Johnson, in making public the report, said a strike would have "tragic consequences" and asked both sides to weigh its impact "against the narrow issues" that separate them.

Fox praised the panel's efforts, but stressed that the unions had already come down considerably on their original proposals and the skilled shopmen are "grossly underpaid," with pay scales lagging 50 cents an hour and more behind other industries.

The unions involved—the Machinists, Boilermakers, Sheet Metal Workers, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Railway Carmen, and Firemen & Oilers—"are not strike-happy," Fox said.

"We have not had a national strike in 45 years. But it takes two to negotiate. Unfortunately, the railroads have not yet begun serious negotiations with us."

Fox told the committee that "a railroad strike need not be a disaster to the nation."

He pledged that "if we are allowed to strike, we will make every arrangement possible to see that all necessary shipments—either for the military or essential to the nation's health—continue to move."

There still need not be a strike, he declared. "The prime need is for railroad management to bargain seriously with us—and give up their goal of trying to use us as Judas goats to lead you to destroy the right to strike."

Earlier Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz and Transportation Sec. Alan S. Boyd said in a joint statement: "The ugly fact is that collective bargaining has fallen flat on its face" in the dispute.

Deadline Near

All of the cooling off and mediation procedures of the Railway Labor Act have been exhausted in the dispute and Congress has already passed legislation postponing strike action 20 days. That extension expires May 3.

The unions' last proposal suggested a two-year contract with a 6.5 percent general pay raise plus a 12.5 cent inequity raise for skilled workers the first year, and 5 percent plus another 12.5 cents the second year.

After the Senate Labor Committee session, the two parties met for a final effort at direct bargaining, but the talks broke off after management would go no farther than a 6 percent raise over 18 months, a single 5-cent skill inequity boost and a further job study.

Poverty / 1-18-69

In 3 Years:

7 Million Poor Rise Above Poverty Line

THE WAR ON POVERTY may become a prime issue in the 91st Congress but reports issued by both the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity indicate that the "war" has not been unsuccessful.

HEW Sec. Wilbur J. Cohen said that while official figures will not be out until spring, preliminary statistics show that an estimated 4 million Americans climbed above the poverty line in 1968 alone.

In August, acting OEO Dir. Bertrand Harding told a White House Cabinet session that more than 7 million Americans had escaped poverty in three years—1965-67, with 1967 accounting for nearly one-half of the total.

The OEO, in its year-end report declared:

"These numbers mean that millions more who still are poverty-stricken are finding not only 'hope' but measurable progress through the systems that deliver services in the legal, medical, educational, housing and job training fields."

Following is OEO's summary of the progress in the War on Poverty in 1968:

Community Action Program—Some 6 million people participated in programs administrated by some 1,012 locally-controlled agencies . . . 1.7 million young people and children enjoyed benefits of summer and recreation programs . . . nearly 1 million served through health centers . . .

Upward Bound—Aids urban and rural youngsters from poverty background to go to college . . . almost two-thirds of Upward Bound graduates have enrolled in college . . . 11,000 students now in colleges . . .

Head Start—700,000 youngsters from impoverished homes served by program for early-childhood pre-school training . . . supplementary training program started to train professionals in this field . . .

Health—A million people were served by OEO health centers during the year . . . total of 24 full-time health centers opened in neighborhoods, plus 17 offering limited services . . . 300,000 received advice for family planning and 500,000 people benefited from 234 food and health grants . . .

Legal Services—Some 500,000 cases were handled and groups representing thousands of other poor people got counsel and representation from OEO legal service units around the country.

Rural—591 rural Community Action agencies covering 1,505 counties in operation . . . in past two years 131 poor people's cooperatives funded—ranging from credit unions to production, marketing and consumer cooperatives . . . other rural programs . . .

Indians—Some 323,000 Indians belonging to 114 tribes in 20 states benefited from OEO programs . . . construction skills given to 2,500 Indians who repaired or built homes for 75,000 family members . . . Head Start, health, training, legal and other programs in operation . . .

Migrants—In all, 250,000 migrant workers and their families were served in 1968 . . . 7,200 workers and families received better housing and 1,100 temporary housing . . . day care for 13,200 children enabled parents to work . . . 1,000 high school dropouts prepared for college . . .

Elderly—About 550,000 elderly helped by OEO over the year . . . programs set up in 101 communities in 42 states—health care, transportation, consumer education, day care provided . . .

Job Corps—More than 67,000 out-of-school, out-of-work young men and women 16 to 21 received Job Corps training in 1968 . . . number of youth returned to the community since Job Corps began in January 1965 rose to 193,000, of whom 135,000 are in jobs, school or military service.

VISTA—Recruited volunteers with specialized skills to offer communities they serve . . . some 650,000 people helped on a regular basis in 1968. (PAI).

AFL-CIO News 1-18-69

WASHINGTON POST
FEB 1

U.S. Employe Pay Raise of 10 Pct. Seen

By Willard Clopton Jr.
and Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writers

A pay raise averaging as much as 10 per cent for Federal white-collar workers became likely yesterday in light of government findings of significant wage gains in private industry.

The increase, scheduled to begin July 1, will affect the paychecks of about 1.3 million classified, Veterans Administration and Foreign Service employes.

A survey of industrial salaries made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics provides the raw material from which the Budget Bureau and the Civil Service Commission will determine just how much of a pay boost workers should get. A substantial raise, perhaps the most that employes have ever had at one time, is likely.

The survey shows that most workers in the private sector got raises last year averaging between 5 and 6 per cent.

Under the 1967 Federal Salary Act, Federal workers are supposed to make salaries comparable to those paid outside government. Hence, raises reflecting the private gains should be forthcoming.

In addition, many employes are still owed raises averaging more than 4 per cent that were due last July but were delayed for economy reasons.

As things look now, some workers would receive raises of as much as 12 per cent or more, with the higher percentages going to upper-grade workers.

The Civil Service-Budget Bureau recommendations will be farmed out to government unions for comment and then go to President Nixon, who conceivably could make some adjustments. His proposals would become law unless Congress modifies the Salary Act.

Lower

WASHINGTON POST FEB 12

The Federal Diary

Record Raise Due Under Salary Act

Willard Clopton Jr. and Mike Causey

The government's official yardstick for determining Federal pay was issued yesterday and it confirms all the speculation—that Uncle Sam's 1.3 million white collar employes are likely to get their largest salary increase ever on July 1.

Barring intervention by Congress or the Nixon Administration, Federal workers are in line for pay boosts roughly averaging 10 per cent. The signs are that individual increases would run as high as 12 per cent, with the biggest percentage raises going to those in upper and upper-middle grades.

The measuring stick is the National Survey of Professional, Administrative, Technical and Clerical Pay, put out yesterday by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

BLS made a comprehensive study of salaries being paid to members of 13 professions in private industry as of June, 1968. The 13 job clasifications, ranging from clerical to engineers and attorneys, are deemed representative of the total Federal work force.

Eleven of the 13 professions enjoyed average pay raises during 1967-68 of between 5 and 6 per cent. Among the 11 were clerks, engineers, accountants, auditors, chemists, draftsmen, lawyers and office managers. The exceptions were buyers, who got 4.9 per cent, and job analysists, who went up 7 per cent.

The figures are only the averages for each profession. Within each group, there was considerable variation, as shown among chief accountants, where those at the middle level went up 8.4 per cent and those at the top only eight-tenths of 1 per cent.

Under the Federal Salary Act of 1967, Federal workers are to be paid salaries comparable to what they would get for the same or similar work in the private sector. Hence, they are supposed to get raises in July that would reflect the increases listed above.

In addition, many still have coming to them raises averaging more than 4 per cent that were due last July, when there was talk of closing the "pay gap" between salaries of public and private industry employes. For economy reasons, the Johnson Administration chose to close the gap only halfway and gave workers an IOU for the remainder, payable this year.

What happens next is that the BLS study will be worked over by the Civil Service Commission and the Budget Bureau, who will come up with a "pay line" determining just what increases will be recommended for workers at each GS level.

The recommended raises will then be sent out to government unions for comment. Afterward, they'll go to President Nixon, who'll make his official proposals. Under the law, the only way the increases could be changed after that would be if Congress were to amend the Salary Act.

Mr. Nixon does have authority to whittle down the recommendations that come to him. Whether he will do so, on economy or anti-inflation grounds, is the question.

For those who want to do any second-guessing, the BLS report is available for 75 cents from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, 20402.

Copy to Bob A.

Taxes — State & Local

BALTIMORE SUN
FEB 12

STATE, LOCAL TAXES RISING

U.S. Commission Sees No Prospect Of Abatement

By RODNEY CROWTHER
[Washington Bureau of The Sun]

Washington, Feb. 11—Taxing and spending by state and local governments "continued to grow in 1967 and shows no prospect of abatement," Farris Bryant, chairman of a federal advisory group, said today.

The former governor of Florida heads the Advisory Commission on Inter-governmental Relations, which issued a voluminous report on what these governments are doing with taxes to meet their own expenditure needs.

The report, which is to supplement recommendations for improvement in local and state tax systems, was issued on the eve of a meeting of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller with President Nixon to discuss a restructuring of federal aid to the states. . .

In making the report public, Mr. Bryant, said "the comparative tables [more than 65] in this report disclose the wide variety of ways in which hard-pressed state and local governments seek to raise funds to provide the services that the public demands."

1966 And 1967 Data

Most of the figures in the report are for 1966 and 1967. Data for 1968 collections and expenditures are not available yet.

Tax collections (state and local but not federal) shown in the tables ranged from a high of more than 12 per cent of personal income in Hawaii, Wyoming and New York to a low of 8 per cent in Ohio and Illinois.

The Maryland figure in 1967 was 9.6 per cent of state personal income compared with 8.55 per cent in 1962 and 7.3 per cent in 1957.

The 26-member commission of which New York's Governor Rockefeller is a member, and Vice President Agnew was a member as governor of Maryland, is a bipartisan body created by Congress to review relations among federal, state and local governments.

A new table in the report documents the effectiveness of what is called Wisconsin's "circuit-breaker" system for relieving low-income householders and renters of property tax overloads.

In 1966 approximately 60,000 low-income beneficiaries (families with up to $3,500 a year income) were granted property tax rebates.

For example, in the $1,000 to $1,499 income group there were 13,947 beneficiaries. Their average tax before relief was $199, and after relief $98. Before the relief was given to this income group taxes were taking 16 per cent of the household income The figure after relief is only 8 per cent.

Cost To Wisconsin

The cost to the state of Wisconsin, the report says, equaled less than 1 per cent of the total property tax take.

For the United States as a whole, state and local government's revenue in 1967 was $463.08 per capita, of which $78.34 (17 per cent) came from the federal government, $309.51 (67 per cent) from state and local taxes, and $75.19 (16 per cent) from charges and miscellaneous revenues.

For Maryland, total general revenue in 1967 amounted to $451.12 per capita, of which $56.91 (13 per cent) came from the federal government, $324.87 (72 per cent) came from state and local taxes, and $69.33 (15 per cent) from charges and miscellaneous.

NEW YORK TIMES
FEB 12

POVERTY PROGRAM HELD 'INNOVATIVE'

Study Urges Administration to 'Nourish' Agency's Role

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11 — Community action, the most controversial aspect of the Govmade by the Center for Manmade an important beginning toward involving the poor in political and social decisions and should be nurtured in the future, according to an independent study of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The three-year study was Poor Law." Johns Hopkins power Studies of the George Washington University and was headed by Sar A. Levitan. It was financed by a Ford Foundation grant and its findings are to be published in a forthcoming book by Mr. Levitan entitled, "The Great Society's Poor Law." John Hopkins Press is the publisher.

An advance copy of the chapter on community action agencies was made available here at a time when the Nixon Administration is debating how to reorganize and reshape the poverty programs. The first recommendation on dismantling the Office of Economic Opportunity and placing its programs under other departments and agencies is expected from the White House soon.

Critical of Critics

Mr. Levitan is critical of both the agency and its critics, particularly Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Executive Secretary of the Council for Urban Affairs. He also charges that in 1964 nobody knew the meaning of "maximum feasible participation" despite "later claims by kibitzers in the outside of Government, including some celebrated Great Society dropouts."

The community action section of the agency, Mr. Levitan said, "must certainly be judged an innovative agency, which gave the poor their first social and political role."

Dr. Moynihan's criticism of community action is contained in a book written before he was offered a post in the Nixon Administration. It is entitled "Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding," after a section nity Act, which says community of the 1964 Economic Opportuaction programs should be "developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."

There was a wide diversity in both the character of the 1,000 community action agencies that grew out of the act, Mr. Levitan wrote, but this did not prevent some critics from lumping them all together as failures.

"According to [Dr.] Moynihan," he wrote, "militant community action agencies could not survive under O.E.O. and were invariably taken over by the established institutions or ended up in bitter conflict with them. They evidence supplied to prove this 'trend' is based only upon the history of the community action agency in Syracuse and two in New York City during the first two years of O.E.O., and there is room to question [Dr.] Moynihan's interpretation of the facts in these two cities."

Community Action agencies were intended to help the poor to help themselves. They became controversial when they were depicted as organizing militants to march on City Hall and stir up trouble of various kinds.

In 1967 the Johnson Administration saved the program from extinction by accepting an amendment by Representative Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon, to permit local governments to take them over. Only about 30 have been taken over, an indication to Mr. Levitan that they are no longer considered anathema by the local governments.

Mr. Levitan said there was too much "hindsight" in criticism of the program.

"Indeed, no one in 1964 could have foreseen such developments as the transformation of the civil rights movement, the advocacy by many of black power, the riots in scores of American cities, and the political and social reactions of many whites to Negro demands," he said.

For the future, Mr. Levitan said, the agencies must stick by the concept of the poor organizing to express themselves on specific grievances against established institutions such as school systems and welfare agencies.

"Many Community Action agencies have made faltering steps toward overhauling delivery systems of aid programs," he wrote.

"The effort should be nourished even if progress thus far has been uneven and falls short of the hopes advanced by the anti-poverty warriors that community action would eliminate the need for a welfare system by eradicating poverty."

Los Angeles Times
Thurs., Feb. 6, 1969

U.S. Makes Advances in Robot Development

BY EDWARD GROSS
Exclusive to The Times from Science Service

WASHINGTON — Since 1923, when the Czech, Karel Capek, introduced the word robot to the world in his play "Rossum's Universal Robots," the idea has come to represent the last stage in a mechanical evolutionary process that started in the industrial revolution and has reached the point of automation.

Created by man in his own image, a perfect robot would obey every command, automatically relieving man of tasks menial and burdens impossible.

If automation is the latest step, and a thinking robot the ultimate goal, a stage between the two is the humanoid.

Human in shape creatures, even when completed, will not be ready for true robothood in the fullest sense of the word because man will still be at their controls. But there will be an intermediary: a computer. That intermediary makes the humanoid different from the common remote manipulator.

The first humanoid will be finished early this year in a joint project by the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

A humanoid's justification is its ability to improve man's senses, or add new ones, and then do his bidding. Its human features allow the operator to identify with it and thereby operate it more easily. It can be built to see via television, detect heat through thermal sensors, feel shape with tactile devices and transmit these sensations to the operator.

Christened SAM (Self-propelled Anthropomorphic Manipulator), it is equipped with artificial arms, TV camera and sound pickup and is intended to retrieve highly radioactive materials or rescue people in contaminated areas.

The Navy is also considering using a humanoid

The major problem still to be overcome in humanoid development is communication: communication between the operator and the computer and between the computer and the humanoid. In each case — human, computer and humanoid—a different language is spoken (verbal, mathematical and electrical), which requires translation.

At the University of Santa Clara, Dr. Richard Dorf and his group are devising a man-computer language to avoid the lengthy teletype method SAM requires. They hope ultimately to reduce the communication problem to the simple pushing of a button.

WASHINGTON POST FEB 9

Lag in Equal-Job Pacts May Delay Va. Roads

RICHMOND, Feb. 8 (AP) — The Virginia Highway Department disclosed today that only about one-fourth of the highway contractors who normally bid on State road jobs have fulfilled Federal equal employment opportunity pledges.

Only 52 of 192 State contractors have drawn approval in Washington from the Federal Highway Administration and the delay could mean that Virginia's traditional season start on road construction may be thrown well off schedule.

Until the contractors comply with the FHA regulations, they are ineligible to work on the Federal aid highway projects, and $84 million in Federal aid highway work is left hanging as a result.

To make matters worse, the Virginia Highway Department hasn't received approval of its own departmental equal job program. It's the only department in the Nation that hasn't.

State officials insist they have nothing against equal job opportunity for Negroes, but don't like the Federally required programs designed to guarantee it.

But Highway Commissioner Douglas B. Fugate may soon find he has no choice.

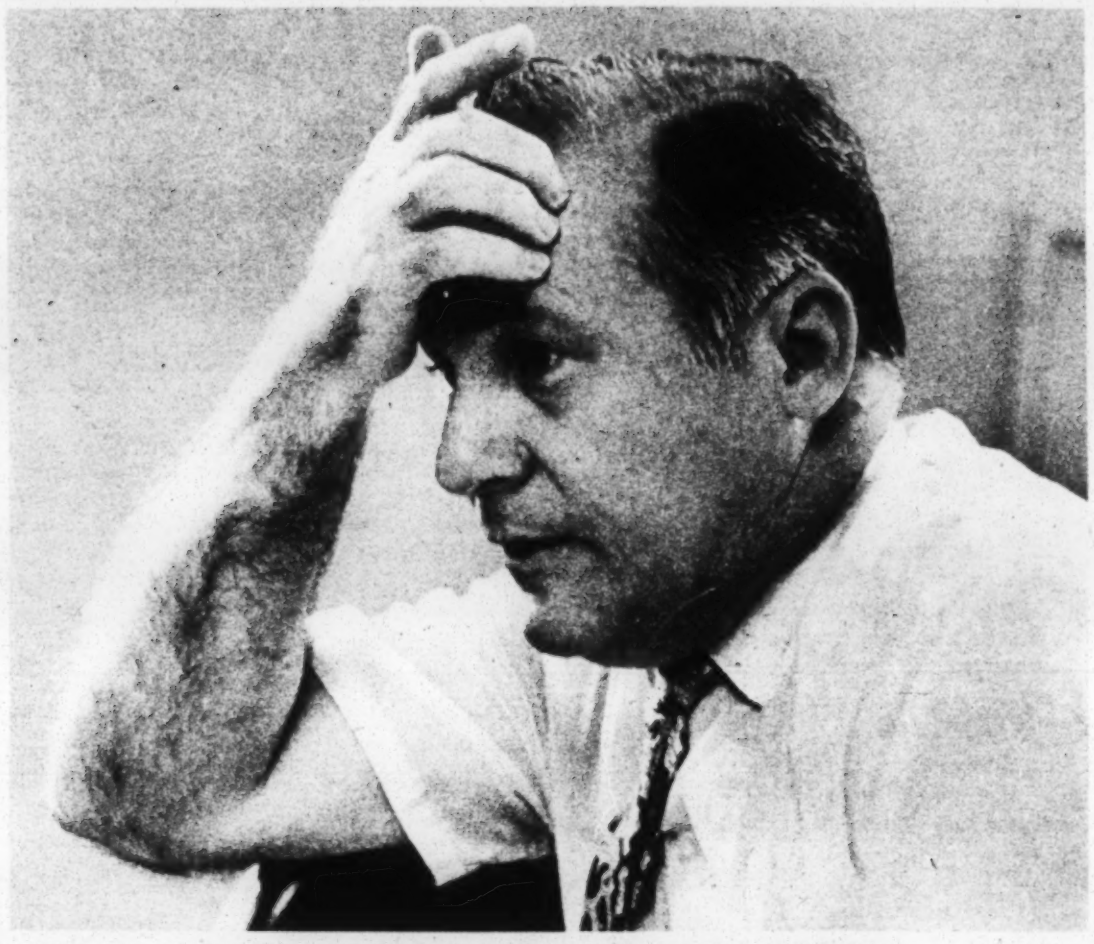
The 52 qualified contractors fall far short of the majority Fugate says he must have to have any meaningful bidding on highway work.

And time is running out. The first projects list for the spring is scheduled to be advertised Wednesday.

Meanwhile, there's another statistic holding up the works.

Of the 192 contractors capable of carrying out big projects, just 91 have submitted equal employment programs to the FHA. The other 101 have not even tried.

Poverty



Dr. Fred R. Crawford, Emory University sociologist.

Photography by Kenneth Rogers

"What I think we're seeing is the restatement of truths that have existed for generations, for eons and centuries: that you can gain the world and lose your soul."

The Losing Battle On Poverty

By Keith Coulbourn

THE War on Poverty is apparently another Vietnam, according to an Emory University sociologist.

There is no winning it, says Dr. Fred R. Crawford, because it's simply an unrealistic goal. It's the tar baby fight all over again. There's no rooting it out, not the way they've been trying to, because poverty—or at least some shades of it—is probably both a psychological necessity for some and a logical necessity of our economic system.

Indeed, there's some evidence to suggest that after all this all-out warfare, poverty was the wrong target.

Dr. Crawford, who directs Emory's Center for Research in Social Change, probably knows more about the War on Poverty in Atlanta than anyone else. He and his staff of some 200 persons have just completed a three-year study of it.

The results are published in nine fat volumes that cost the government more than $500,000. It's one of seven sociological studies of poverty programs under way around the country, the first to be completed.

Dr. Crawford's appraisal of Atlanta's poverty programs is not really as gloomy as it sounds. The War on Poverty will never be won, it's true, but only because of the way we've defined "winning." The goal, of course, was to eliminate poverty. And that meant to give poor people the boost they needed to make them self-sufficient.

More than $40 million was poured into the fight against poverty in Atlanta during the past four years, but very little of it went to poor people. It wasn't supposed to. The money backed up 62 different agencies that were designed to prop up the weak spots poor people presumably have. It trained them, it fought their battles in court, it helped them learn some of the social graces and it found jobs for them.

But the proportion of poor people in Atlanta and Fulton County didn't change during Dr. Crawford's three-year study.

This is not to say that they were the same poor people in the target area, of course. Many of the poor people who received help went on to greater things. They lived up to the American Dream, the assumption that if you just give people a chance they'll do for themselves. Unfortunately, however, the dream for many of them became a nightmare. Dr. Crawford found that they were unhappy in the economic rat race.

Like the poor woman who pulled herself out of poverty and into thousands of dollars worth of debt.

Dictionary makers haven't caught up with some of the subtler meanings of poverty yet. They still talk about it as if it's a completely economic thing. It's not, though. Poverty of the hard-core type, the deepest and most hopeless kind, is not eliminated with money. As sociologists have discovered, abject poverty is a state of mind more than anything else. Poverty's children are those who don't live up to the American Dream because not only do they not have the dream but—and this is the horror of it—they have no dream at all.

So in their wildest imagination they

Many poor don't share the American Dream, and for some who do it's a nightmare

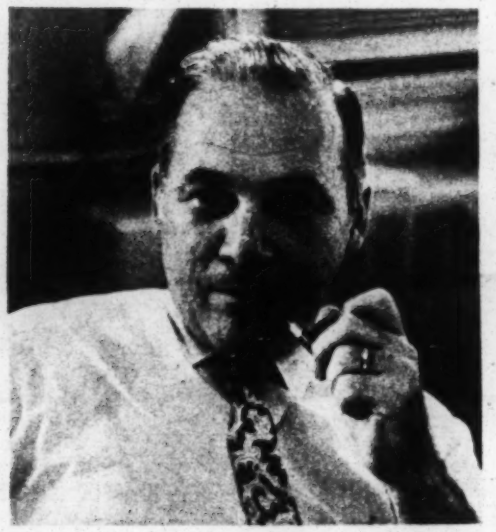
could never conceive what the War on Poverty is all about. As it turns out, they're right. Nobody knows. The ostensible aim of the War on Poverty was to wipe out an abstraction: poverty itself. And in this, says Dr. Crawford, it was doomed to failure.

But what a glorious failure!

Didn't it benefit some 50,000 Atlantans and save thousands of others from despair?

Didn't it prevent riots in Atlanta last summer?

And most important, didn't it finally



"I've seen very few systems or organizations that were not bureaucratic. If there's something better, we haven't stumbled onto it."

afford an understanding of what the poor man really wants?

Dr. Crawford, his staff and their computers could spend years analyzing all the data they compiled. Some analysis doesn't have to wait, though. Dr. Crawford lit up his pipe and burrowed back into the wealth of information to discuss some of the broader implications of it, some of his hopes and ideas about fighting poverty in the future.

Q. What are your most significant findings?

A. Wow! Let me start off and see what comes out here. Well, first: EOA (Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.) survived.

Q. Is that a good thing?

A. Let me get away from the word "good." This was an accomplishment for the simple reason that there were enough stresses and strains to have wiped out most bureaucratic structures. Financial, leadership, public support, legal and racial stresses and strains. And through the whole thing they now have a very efficient bureaucratic system which is functioning as an integral part of the community's total facilities.

Q. Some people when they use the word "bureaucratic" do so with disapproval. Is there some tinge of that here in your use of it?

A. Possibly. I'm not totally negative, however, because I've seen very few systems or organizations that were not bureaucratic. If there's something better, we haven't stumbled onto it. Maybe what you're asking now is one of the crucial points in the whole business: How do you get maximum feasible participation? Because the idea behind maximum feasible participation literally says the bureaucratic system is ineffective and that we must generate a different type of organization if we're going to reach the poor.

Q. Does anyone suggest anything better?

A. Ford Foundation researchers talk about getting people involved with their own committees, their own organizations, their elected officials, their own boards. But you see at that point somewhere they begin to replicate the bureaucratic system again. Except that the source of power is different and the functionaries are different . . . because instead of being trained people, they're now untrained people. Under the maximum feasible participation plan they turned it around. They said that the poor know more about poverty than anyone else and that, in a sense, is correct, but this doesn't necessarily mean there are not people who know more about poverty *per se* in a collective sense than the individual who is there.

The other side of it is that what I think we're seeing is the restatement of truths that have existed for generations, for eons and centuries: that you can gain the world and lose your soul. The point here being that literally material satisfaction does not produce psychological and emotional satisfaction. In fact it can create more dissatisfaction than before because of the frustration of hope. When the opportunities seem to open up and then are blocked by whatever it is, whether it is prejudice or the system (which is what some of the young people are screaming about)—anyway, in a sense, you see, the material survival, as necessary as it is, does not seem to be the dominant motivating influence on the lives of many of these people we call poor.

Q. What is it that the poor really want?

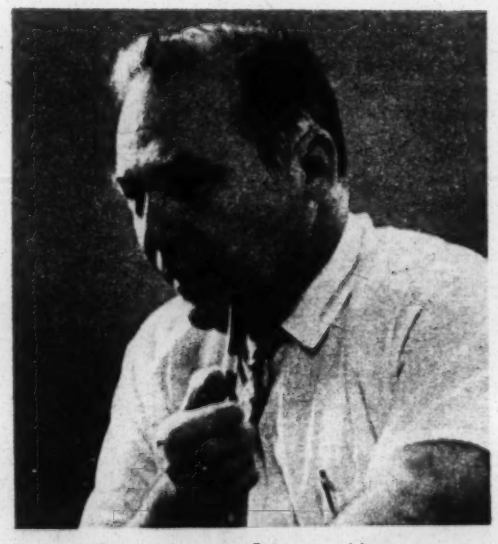
A. They would like to feel that they are human beings. And that, in a sense, they are equal to other human beings. The fact that they are poor is just a fact of life.

Q. They want to be equal in what sense?

A. In their ability to stand up and say that "I'm a man" or "I'm a woman." "I have a right to vote." "I don't have to take my hat off and be subservient to you or anybody else." "That I can't get kicked around." Maybe it's a power element.

Q. Power?

A. In this sense: When a police officer approaches a poor person, the poor person is automatically on the defensive and assumes that he is going to get the worst of it. When a police officer approaches a white middle-class person, he may be on the defensive, but he's not going to get the worst of it because he always has recourse to other forces than just that officer. When he goes to court he can get adequate representation. He is treated with respect by the police officer. He's had no experience that is negative at all with the police. He may have gotten a (traffic) ticket, but it's not the same thing at all that's happened to the poor person because he's the one that's down at the bottom of the pole. In psychology they call it the "pecking order." And these poor have been pecked on by everyone. Well, they resent it. They feel this is not really the life they want to lead. They would like to have the same protection, the same



"When a police officer approaches a poor person, the poor person is automatically on the defensive and assumes that he is going to get the worst of it."

". . . this War on Poverty evidently has little efficacy to alter or decrease the alienation which exists in the black community."

power to negotiate with the authorities in the community. . . .

Q. Did your studies go into all this?

A. We studied alienation.

Q. This is a form of alienation?

A. This is a very definite form of their subjective alienation and as you notice probably there are three basic dimensions of it: formlessness, isolation and powerlessness. And the peculiar thing about it is—the reason I drew the conclusion I did was that this War on Poverty evidently has little efficacy to alter or decrease the alienation which exists in the black community. . . .

Q. Except by raising them—or trying to raise them to the middle class?

A. Yes, but that won't get to it (the alienation) that way.

Q. And you, I think, say that it's not going to work this way. Is that one of your conclusions?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. I wonder if it's something like a logical impossibility to eliminate those at the bottom by raising them to the middle class?

A. That's right. Exactly. This is our society. It says that someone must be at the bottom.

Q. Are there historical precedents and so on for this?

A. It's as old as man. The point being that there are certain individuals, whether by temperament, by life experience, by mental ability or by motivation who simply stay at the bottom.

Q. The old pyramid idea of society is not really *(Continued on Page 37)*

Dr. Crawford says the poor need a Bill of Rights of their own

(Continued From Page 9)

the way it is, though, is it? Or the way it ought to be?

A. That's right on both counts. What we are saying is that within some defined middle range there are certain conditions, rights and whatnot that any individual should be privileged to share whether he's black, white, male, female, young or old. Now this is the hard cutting point because in one sense we're striving now—elements that are in one sense fundamental to survival: food, housing and medical care — and we're struggling now to redefine what we mean by rights, my rights and the poor person's rights in our society. Do you have the right to adequate medical care or not? Whether you've got money or not? Money is the kicker. If you didn't have money you went on charity, doffed your hat and said, "Thank you, boss," and went home. Now we're seeing a redefinition of the rights of American citizens, interestingly enough growing out of the 30-year pattern that started in the Depression with Social Security. At that point—with Social Security — something happened to our thinking because it suggested that we have a right as citizens to expect to be able to live our latter lives without starving to death. . . . These things start little and then all of a sudden they begin to feel around to see where they can go. But now (Social Security) has failed.

Q. I was particularly fascinated by this idea of a Bill of Rights for the poor. I've never seen that before. Is it new?

A. Well, I guess so. I've never seen it before, either. But being a veteran, I asked myself: Why did the government send me to college or make it available for me to go to college? Well, obviously they had some very strong reasons for it, some of them positive and some of them negative — keeping down the troublemakers and so on—but the amazing thing was that it produced a generation of men and women in our society who were given the advantage of acquiring an education. In fact, that's how I got my Ph.D. Well, we have people who would respond to adequate opportunity now.

Q. What form would it take? It's a great idea, but what form would it take?

A. I would assume that it would take almost the same form as the original G.I. Bill.

Q. You mean college and so on? College for everyone?

A. That's right. With the government providing the tuition and sustenance, the support, as long as they are adequately performing in their training program. Now it may not be a conventional college.

"Some of the men who had been rioting in 1967 were leading the non-rioters in 1968."

It may be a school like this. But that wouldn't be necessary.

Q. How valid are sociological analyses like the one you've just finished?

A. The validity? What I'm hearing you say is that a human being cannot be cut to pieces, segmented and studied as something that is not part of a total process. He's part of the whole system of humanity and society and when we touch a piece of it we must always wonder, at least ask ourselves, what are we doing to the rest of it? If we pull a segment out of the situation, out of context, somebody, it seems to me, has the ethical responsibility of putting it back in to see what the impact really will be. So when we talk about a program like EOA coming to Atlanta and touching these areas, the impact on Atlanta is not just on whether there are more dollars in a family income or even on whether there are changes in attitudes, but the impact is a total impact and it can be unusually, serendipitously powerful at times, not by intention but simply by luck sometimes.

Riots, for instance. Why hasn't Atlanta had riots? We had two in 1966, and they were not nice; we had one in 1967 over at Dixie Hills and we documented that one. The non-violent talkers realized that they had some influence and by organizing under EOA's banner in 1968 they set up networks and systems to talk down violence. They even put fliers out. Some of the men who had been rioting in 1967 were leading the non-rioters in 1968.

Q. Under which program was that?

A. This was a Neighborhood Service Center under John Calhoun.

Q. And who is John Calhoun?

A. He is this ageless black, a fantastic man on the EOA staff who was responsible for the community organization part of EOA's work. He set out to organize block committees so that you would get this maximum feasible participation, this citizen involvement and representation in the bureaucratic system. And they did.

Q. What should the poverty program have done more of here than it did?

A. More co-ops. It's one of the strongest of economic systems. Where these developed—500 or so people joining together — you didn't see individuals struggling as individuals. This is a return to the principle of the rights of people. And in our society the collective expression has the power unless it's a very wealthy man who can sit up at the top and determine things—and I'm not sure that they can always do this. What's happened (in the co-op idea) is a return to the principle of the right to govern residing in those who are governed. And this has happened in almost every level of our society. . . . It's an exciting principle. It's a devastating principle at times, too. It says to me that the idea of the power residing in people is very strong in our society.

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4-70

Signing for a Buck and a Quarter

Pres. Dale Casseday of New Castle, Del., Local 8-732, seated, second from left, puts his signature on a three-year renewal agreement negotiated between the local and Avisun Corp. The contract provides for wage increases and improvements in fringe benefits valued at $1.25 per hour. Looking on as Casseday signs the pact are, seated from left, Plant Mgr. R. M. Zilenski; Intl. Rep. Mitchell Barnik and H. E. Hays, manager of industrial relations. Standing, left to right, are Avisun staff man G. L. Hauer, Local Rec. Sec. Joseph A. McVey, Committeemen Frank Bonsall and Bernard Comegys, Local Vice Pres. Ronald Conley and Avisun staff man V. L. Vicario. (See story at right.)

$1.25 Hourly Won In Avisun Contract

A wage and benefits package valued at $1.25 per hour over the next three years was won by New Castle, Del., Local 8-732 following a strike against Avisun Corp., a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana. The agreement covers 145 workers.

Direct pay raises total 80 cents per hour, with 30 cents agreed upon for the first year, and 25 cents to be paid at the beginning of each of the remaining two years. Classification adjustments range from 5 cents to 15 cents per hour. Shift premiums will be 15 cents hourly for the afternoon shift and 25 cents per hour for nights.

Substantial improvements were made in the pension plan with a reduction in the employe's contribution from the rate of 2.7 percent on the first $6,600 of earnings and 4 percent on the excess, to .7 percent on the first $6,600 and 1 percent on the excess.

Based on departmental seniority, in the first year an employe will receive a 10-cent hourly increment to his job rate at the end of two years in the department, and an additional 5 cents per hour for a total of 15 cents after five years. In the second year the increment will be increased to 20 cents after two years and 30 cents after five years in the department.

In-plant accidental death benefit was increased from $10,000 to $15,000. The company will make up the difference between workman's compensation benefits and full pay for six weeks, and for 20 weeks will pay the difference up to two-thirds pay. Weekly indemnity was increased from $60 to $90 per week, and a major medical plan was instituted at a cost of $2.11 to each employe.

A provision of the vacation clause was kept in the new agreement that vacation pay will be 2 percent of the previous year's gross earnings. In the third year, employes will have three weeks vacation after six years' service and four weeks after 11 years on the job.

Union negotiators were led by Intl. Rep. Mitchell Barnik. On the local committee were Pres. Dale F. Casseday, Vice Pres. Ronald Conley, Rec. Sec. Joseph A. McVey, Frank Bonsall and Bernard Comegys.

Copy for PA

If You're Kidding Us, Senator, Then Why Aren't You Smiling?

The right-wing elements of this country will go to any lengths to try to accomplish their objectives. Regardless of how smoothly they word their pleas, the result will spell noth-

more money in 1970 than we did in 1968. Let's see, there are about 20 million organized workers in the U.S. That $60 million the Senator claims the unions spent average out at $3

(EDITOR: You're damned right the AFL-CIO is going to fight this all the way, in spite of that "fine legal firm." But tell us, Senator, do you really think our resources are a match

deductible — and your company or foundation can make a tax-deductible contribution as well..."

(EDITOR: Did you ever try to claim your COPE contribu-

Money for the Poor Goes to Golf Links

The Farmers Home Administration, a government agency

Pres. Dale Casseday of New Castle, Del., Local 8-732, seated, second from left, puts his signature on a three-year renewal agreement negotiated between the local and Avisun Corp. The contract provides for wage increases and improvements in fringe benefits valued at $1.25 per hour. Looking on as Casseday signs the pact are, seated from left, Plant Mgr. R. M. Zilenski; Intl. Rep. Mitchell Barnik and H. E. Hays, manager of industrial relations. Standing, left to right, are Avisun staff man G. L. Hauer, Local Rec. Sec. Joseph A. McVey, Committeemen Frank Bonsall and Bernard Comegys, Local Vice Pres. Ronald Conley and Avisun staff man V. L. Vicario. (See story at right.)

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copy for PA

If You're Kidding Us, Senator, Then Why Aren't You Smiling?

The right-wing elements of this country will go to any lengths to try to accomplish their objectives. Regardless of how smoothly they word their pleas, the result will spell nothing but hardship for the wage earner and his family. And sometimes those right-wingers are not so smooth.

A recent letter from U.S. Sen. Edward J. Gurney of Florida to a man in Pennsylvania kind of proves the point. If you're wondering why a senator from Florida should be writing a man from Pennsylvania, read on, along with parenthetical comments from your UNION NEWS editor.

"Though we've never met," Gurney's letter states, "I'm told you're deeply concerned about this country. That's why I'm sending you this emergency letter on behalf of the National Right to Work Legal Defense and Education Foundation . . ."

(EDITOR: Well, we're deeply concerned about this country, all right. We're concerned about rising unemployment, spiraling inflation, the possibility of a worsening recession, the risk of a widespread war in Southeast Asia, and the obvious reactionary trend developing in the U.S.)

Gurney: "In 1968, it is estimated union officials spent over $60 million of union money on the Humphrey for President campaign. Unless something is done now, they will do even more this year in the Congressional elections and the Presidential election in 1972 . . ."

(EDITOR: That's a laugh. The entire Humphrey treasury was less than one-third of that amount, and was several million dollars less than Richard Nixon spent in his campaign. We'll admit, though, we're trying to raise more money in 1970 than we did in 1968. Let's see, there are about 20 million organized workers in the U.S. That $60 million the Senator claims the unions spent average out at $3 from each union member in the country. If we could get just $1 from each member, OCAW Sec.-Treas. B. J. Schafer, our COPE chairman, would turn cartwheels clear to 16th and Broadway, bad back and all.)

•

Gurney: "Four weeks ago, the Foundation's lawyers began a national test case to challenge the constitutionality of the unions spending compulsory dues for politics. They filed suit on behalf of 40 Detroit teachers who have refused to buckle under to AFL-CIO demands that they pay money to the union or lose their jobs . . ."

(EDITOR: Now we're getting down to the meat of it. The Senator conveniently overlooks the fact that COPE contributions from union members are strictly voluntary. Those Detroit teachers sound like a bunch of free-riders who expect the union to represent them in negotiations but are not willing to pay union dues. The old "something-for nothing" trick.)

Gurney: "So it is imperative that the attorneys build such an airtight case that the court will give an unequivocal ruling to guarantee the individual worker's rights . . ."

(EDITOR: How can a case as full of holes as this one be airtight? However, by the time this gets to the U.S. Supreme Court, who knows how many anti-labor justices Nixon will have appointed to the Court?

Gurney: The Foundation is extremely fortunate to have one of the finest legal firms in the country handling the case. However, the AFL-CIO is going to fight this every step of the way. They have almost unlimited resources and a large staff of lawyers. That's why your help is so badly needed . . ."

(EDITOR: You're damned right the AFL-CIO is going to fight this all the way, in spite of that "fine legal firm." But tell us, Senator, do you really think our resources are a match for the resources of the National Assn. of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Medical Assn. and the John Birch Society? Come on now. Smile — you've got to be kidding!)

Gurney: "I don't know how much you can do to help. But the Foundation needs to raise a bare minimum of $115,000 in the next 30 days. Your personal contribution is fully tax-deductible — and your company or foundation can make a tax-deductible contribution as well . . ."

(EDITOR: Did you ever try to claim your COPE contribution as a tax deduction? That's another laugh. If you're Joe Blow, wage earner, your political contributions are taxable; if you're Jonathan Q. Doe, company owner, they're deductible.)

Gurney: "Please send your check today."

(EDITOR: Yeah, I'll send a check. To COPE, care of OCAW Sec.-Treas. B. J. Schafer, P.O. Box 2812, Denver, Colo. 80201. Voluntarily.)

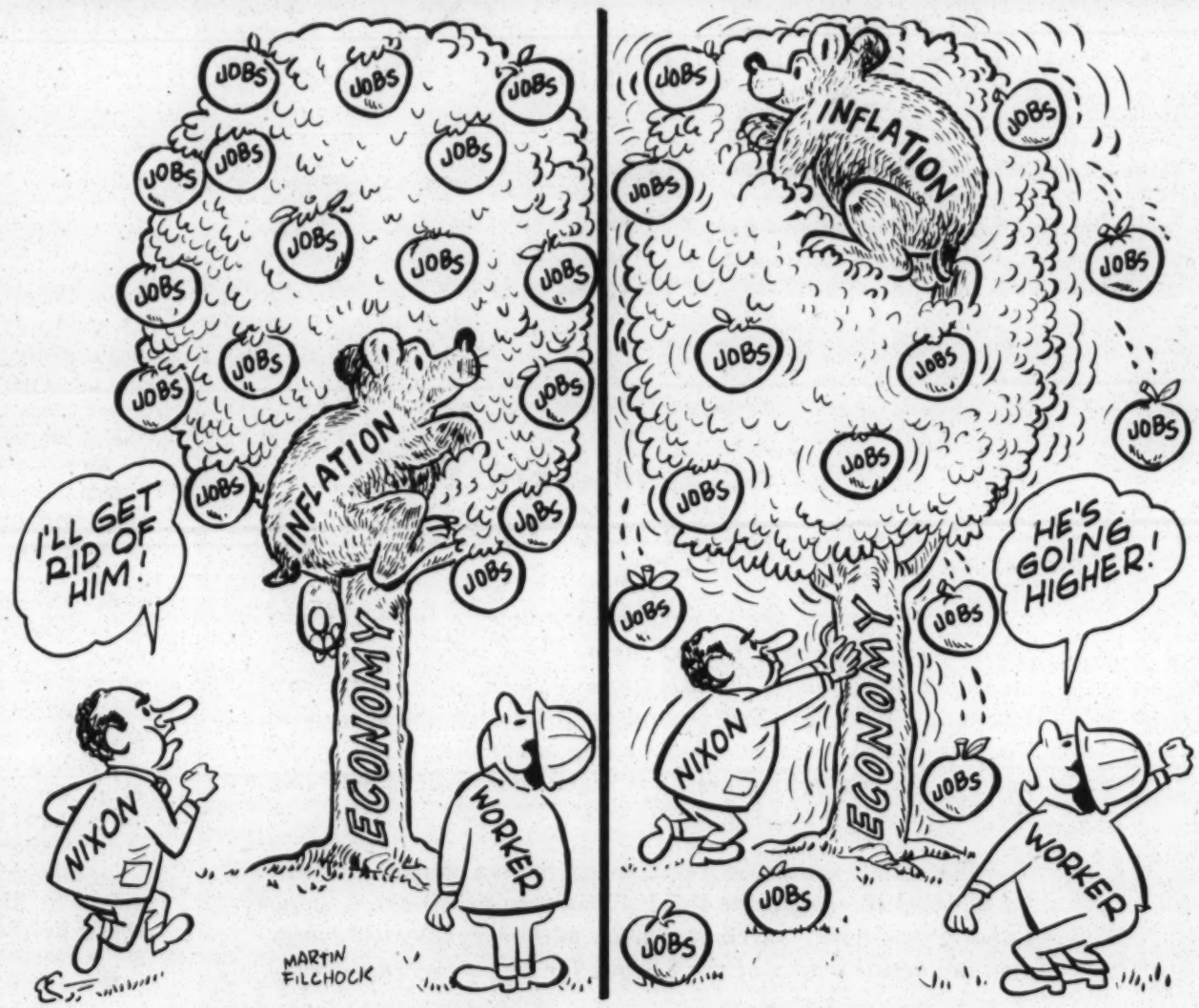
April Is
COPE Month . . .
Give a Buck Today!

Money for the Poor Goes to Golf Links

The Farmers Home Administration, a government agency whose purpose is aiding low income rural people, has approved a $265,000 loan guarantee for a golf course in the district of U.S. Rep. Jamie Whitten (D.-Miss.), whose subcommittee controls the agency's budget.

The loan guarantee is for the Natchez Trace Golf Club, Inc. in Lee County, Miss., where about 40 percent of the families live below the poverty income level.

IT'S NOT FUNNY - - - OR IS IT?



SHAKING A TREE DOESN'T ALWAYS GET THE BEST RESULTS

Antipoverty Clash

Activism by Workers Aiding the Poor Spurs A Growing Controversy

Dallas Community Organizer Draws Fire as 'Agitator'; Tighter Restraints Seen

Alienating the Middle Class

7-3-70

By PAUL A. BERNISH
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DALLAS—Mrs. Ruth Jefferson is a stocky, 32-year-old Negro divorcee, a $5,460-a-year community organizer in the Dallas antipoverty agency and a cause celebre.

To her co-workers, she is an angel of a woman who supports six children and has a talent for helping the poor. To many others, including the Dallas newspapers and such political figures as Dallas County Judge Lew Sterrett, she is an "agitator" and a "troublemaker."

Mrs. Jefferson is the focus of an acrimonious feud that is ripping apart the antipoverty program in Dallas. The bitterness is so great that "if there were a countywide referendum tomorrow we would be closed," says Bennett Miller, acting director of Dallas City-County Community Action, this city's antipoverty agency.

Pessimism Is Shared

Mr. Miller's pessimism is shared by an increasing number of the officials who staff the more than 1,000 community antipoverty agencies around the country. Many are convinced that their future has been clouded on the national level by the Nixon Administration's apparent lack of enthusiasm for the antipoverty drive. And now the "war on poverty" is waging a battle for survival on a new front—the local level.

The poverty war's staff members themselves are a major target of criticism—and often deservedly so. A number of agencies have undergone major shake-ups after it was learned they were being run by inept administrators or suffering from financial mismanagement.

But staff members also are under fire for the expanding efforts by many to become a "voice" of the poor in community affairs. This has led to increasingly harsh indictments of the entire antipoverty program by critics, many of them public officials, who charge that the program is stirring up antagonisms among the poor and fomenting racial discord.

"It is the nature of this program to attract militants and revolutionaries," contends Judge Sterrett, who has tried, among other things, to choke off funds to the Dallas antipoverty project.

Many poverty warriors see such opposition as an intensification of white, mostly middle-class animosity toward the poverty program. As they see it, the outcome will be new community restraints on their activities and, in many cases, the abolition of entire community-action organizations.

Fear of Silent Majority

"It looks like the silent majority is trying to silence one of the only voices poor people have in this country," asserts an antipoverty official in New York City. And a sampling of members of the National Association for Community Development, a private organization of antipoverty workers that met recently in Memphis, turned up alarm over what members said were new moves by local and state officials around the country to "put the heat on" community antipoverty groups and to "keep their power and keep us powerless."

The war on poverty has been the subject of criticism of one sort or another ever since it was launched in late 1964 with the establishment of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). The OEO's aim was to circumvent the existing welfare system and concentrate on a variety of projects designed to "help the poor help themselves."

Poor people have been urged to get involved in the direction and administration of the programs, which are run chiefly by local "community action" agencies that were supported by the OEO and, initially at least, had a large measure of independence from local political structures.

Among the services offered are the well-publicized Head Start program for preschool children, remedial reading projects and special classes for public school dropouts, as well as job training for both youths and adults.

Local Option

In recent years amendments to the Congressional act that set up the OEO have given municipal and county governments the option of placing community action agencies under local political control. Few local governments moved immediately, however, to take advantage of their option.

But now, with a new mood of activism evident among antipoverty staff members, political leaders in an increasing number of communities seem inclined to exert more control over the operations of their local agencies.

In Minneapolis, for instance, public reaction to a take-over by "militants" of a community center run by the antipoverty agency led to a sweeping reassessment of the program by both city and agency officials. Ultimately, the militants were pressured to resign. Observers say the controversy also played a role in the election last fall of Mayor Charles Stenvig, a former city detective who charged in his campaign that "anarchists" had infested the antipoverty office.

More recently, a commission set up by the city of Tulsa to study its poverty program strongly recommended that the agency be reorganized and that its top officials be fired. The study group concluded that the agency's finances were poorly administered. But Billy Leathers, a Tulsa antipoverty official and one of the targets of the criticism, insists the study was "just a guise" for the city to exercise more control over the program.

In Dallas there have been allegations of sloppy administration of the antipoverty program since its start here in 1965. But the spark that set off the present feud was the hiring eight months ago of Mrs. Jefferson by Dallas City-County Community Action, known as DCA.

Many Dallas residents apparently view

Please Turn to Page 11, Column 6

Antipoverty Clash: Activism by Workers Spurs a Controversy

7-3-70

Continued From First Page

Mrs. Jefferson as a precursor of revolution. Critics have made much of a suspended three-day jail sentence for contempt that she drew for her part in a welfare mothers' sit-in here in 1968. The Dallas newspapers also carried accounts of a past arrest of Mrs. Jefferson in California on a shoplifting charge.

Mrs. Jefferson herself is distrustful of reporters, and she has never publicly answered her detractors. But DCA insiders say they are puzzled by the uproar. They insist that her employment as a community organizer was a routine matter. They add that she is "well qualified" for the job, and they scoff at charges she is an "agitator."

Something to Fight For

Some "target area" recipients of DCA services say the furor raised by Mrs. Jefferson's employment has given them a cause to rally around. "We finally had something to fight for, because we knew if she were kicked out of the DCA, then we'd never have any voice in this city," says Stanley Gaines, a young black postal worker who heads a target area organizing group.

Such an attitude alarms the DCA's former board chairman, Charles O. Galvin, an attorney who has headed Southern Methodist University Law School here since 1963. He fears that antagonism between whites and blacks in Dallas may increase as a result of the controversy over Mrs. Jefferson. "If it does, I'm afraid the middle-of-the-roaders—the people who could contribute to making the DCA an accepted agency for combating poverty here—will lose any power they now have," he says.

While the uproar hasn't led to the closing of the DCA (an often-repeated threat), it has brought, among other things, closer surveillance of the DCA's $3.8 million budget.

"Financial Irregularities"

Last January the agency's auditors revealed that they couldn't approve the DCA's fiscal 1969 books because of "financial irregularities." Later investigation revealed that about $1,200 had been misappropriated by an agency employe, who was immediately fired.

The auditors' refusal to approve the books came while the Dallas Times Herald was running a six-part series of articles, mostly critical, about the antipoverty agency. Shortly thereafter, the two top officials of DCA resigned; one said he hoped his resignation would eliminate some of the criticism of the agency.

Many observers agree that the DCA's most serious weakness is its chaotic and often unresponsive organization. Many who follow DCA developments believe that the agency's board of directors (currently made up of 33 members, equally divided among representatives of the poor, the community and the city and county governments) actually has hindered the DCA's effectiveness.

As one example, some insiders say a DCA newsletter editorial criticizing bus service in poverty areas was squelched because Dallas transit official E. O. Cartwright was an agency board member.

Withheld Funds

DCA officials deny the charge, but it points up how closely the agency's future can be tied to the continued goodwill of powerful establishment officials here. This dependence was demonstrated in April, when Judge Sterrett, perhaps the agency's most outspoken opponent, persuaded Texas Gov. Preston Smith to withhold a portion of the agency's funds to speed up selection of new board members.

During the week the funds were held up, the DCA nearly went bankrupt, but other city officials—including Dallas Mayor Erik Jonsson, a bitter political enemy of Judge Sterrett—used their influence to release the money.

What's more, selection of the new board, completed last month following recommendations by a city government-sponsored committee, is seen by many as a move to further bind the DCA to the Dallas power structure. Judge Sterrett and others believe the new board is committed to operating the DCA on a more businesslike, less controversial level. "As long as we can get more local control over the DCA, then we may be able to make a go of it," says the judge.

Meanwhile, morale has plummeted among DCA staffers. Volunteer helpers are less spirited, too. Mrs. Emma Carter recalls that formerly she could rely on near-perfect attendance of the 30 members of her volunteer group, which helps out a branch office of the war-on-poverty agency here. But now, says the elderly Negro grandmother, members of her group "are finding any excuse they can to avoid showing up."

10-8-70

EMORY

Poverty - Legal Defense

Rumsfeld Denies Any Plans To Shift OEO Legal Aid

10/8/70

By John P. MacKenzie
Washington Post Staff Writer

Director Donald Rumsfeld denied yesterday that his Office of Economic Opportunity has decided to decentralize the popular legal services program and "emasculate" it by putting it under the care of 10 regional officers.

Rumsfeld told the Senate Poverty Subcommittee he is actively consdering the regionalization idea but has been "amazed" by reports that he had reached a decision.

He was followed by witnesses for the American Bar Association, the National Bar Association and the National Legal Aid and Defender Association. They said the decision had been made and it would wreck the five-year-old program of federal aid to localities trying to help the poor obtain adequate legal counsel.

Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) accused Rumsfeld of taking the subcommittee on a "semantic waltz." He said the proposed shift would put politically sensitive non-lawyer regional directors in charge of legal aid, endangering the independence of local lawyers who have won smashing legal victories on behalf of poor people.

"I do not want to do it in," said Rumsfeld of the program. He said he must decide what transfers of authority would best help the poor.

After yesterday's opening hearing, an OEO memorandum circulated on Capitol Hill that was expected to fuel the debate over whether the agency had reached a final decision on decentralization. The memorandum, dated Aug. 12 and written by Deputy Director Wesley L. Hjornevik to Legal Services chief Terry F. Lenzner, said OEO's two top officers "intended to regionalize" and there should be "no misunderstanding" about it.

A bar spokesman, Dean E. Clinton Bamberger of Catholic University, told the subcommittee that letting regional directors handle budgets would be all the transfer needed to kill the program.

Bamberger, OEO legal services chief in 1965 and 1966, said that only with massive help from the organized bar was he able to overcome a Chicago regional director's ruling that no funds would go to that city's program unless there was a promise not to sue the city.

Witnesses said they were unsure about contrasting proposals circulating in Washington for making the program independent.

One idea is to spin off legal service to some sort of corporate status in the course of dismantling most of the rest of OEO. The lawyers said legal service might become even more vulnerable to conservative attack if left to fend for itself in congressional funding fights.

Public Defenders Bill Passed, Sent to Nixon

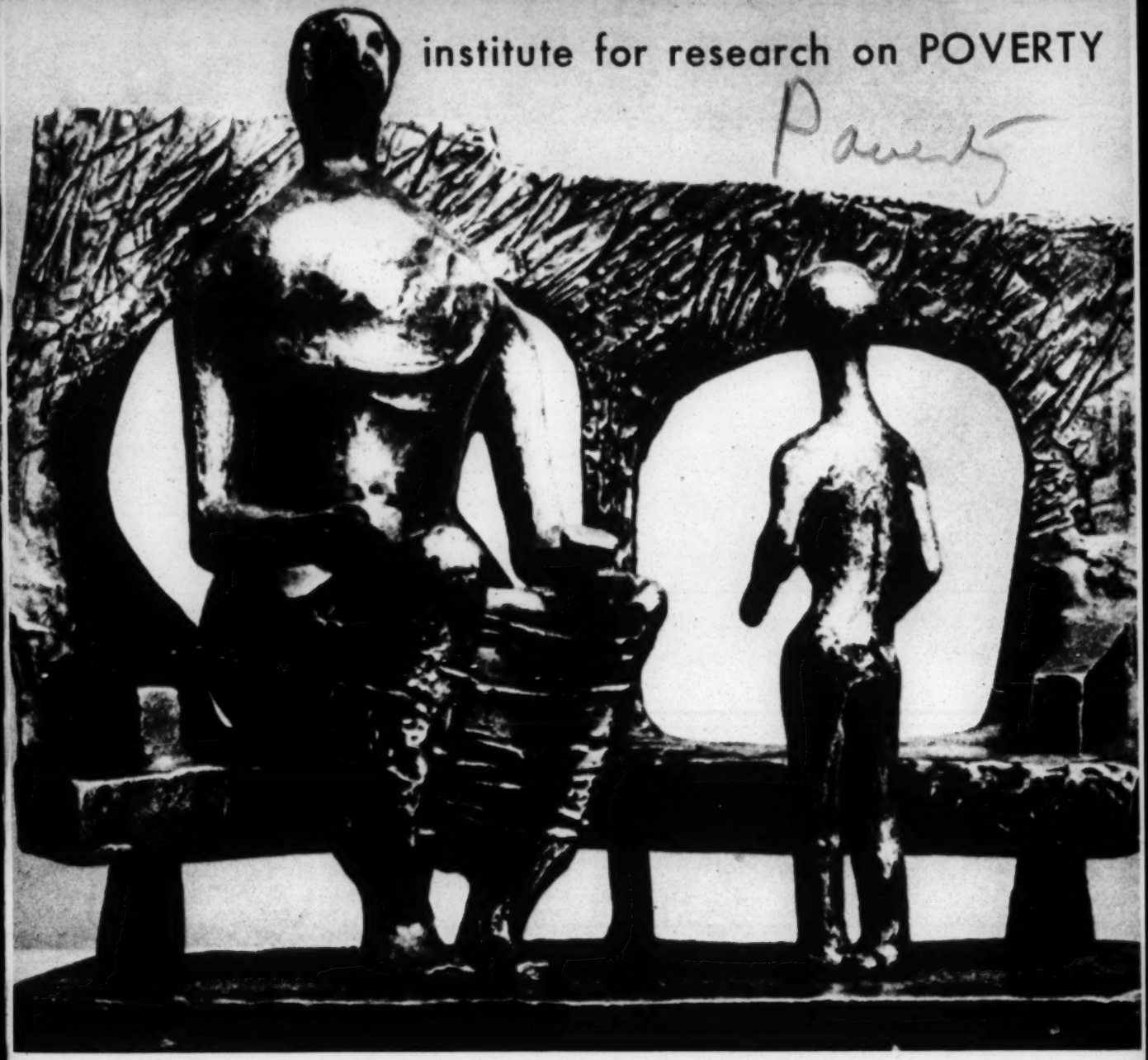
United Press International

The Senate approved and sent to the White House yesterday legislation creating a system of public defenders to represent persons financially unable to hire lawyers in criminal cases.

The bill would create two type of public defenders — regular salaried employees of the federal government and attorneys for a nonprofit counsel administered by an authorized organization.

The measure provides that the public defender systems could be instituted in any judicial district where at least 200 appointments of lawyers for indigents are made annually.

institute for research on POVERTY



ENDS AND MEANS IN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY

Robert J. Lampman

reprint 3

26.3

October 14, 1969

Mr. Jay Worrall
Box 6
Keswick, Virginia 22947

Dear Mr. Worrall:

Jim Wood has asked several of us to read your draft proposal which you sent to him on October 11th. Those of us who have read it are very impressed with it and with the potential of such arprogram.

There are, however, several specifics which we might suggest. In at least two instances, pages 3 and 5, you imply that your program has as its intent direct legislative results, including valuable appropriations. Foundations, very likely, are now quite sensitive to funding programs that have political overtones. While I agree completely with the thrust of your proposal that the involvement of people is a necessary educational process which inevitably will lead to their being more concerned about public services, I think you should consider re-writing this to avoid any implication that, per se, your proposal has an immediate and direct purpose of being political.

It is also implied in your proposal that you would be the coordinator. If so, this should be made clear. Unlike the present proposal, there should be separately a resume of your credentials. I don't think you should indicate the proposal was written by you if we are correct in our assumption that you will direct the program.

This may be a purely personal reaction, but your D-day and D+ schedule strikes me as being over-planned and even, forgive me, militaristic. I think you might consider, instead, merely indicating what you would hope to achieve administratively during the first 150 days. You might also consider merging your two budgets, since, obviously, the first has no meaning if the structure created cannot thereafter be implemented. I would suggest you simply have one budget, indicating the first stage and thereafter your required funds by year. Incidentally, your phrase "fringe benefits" might drop the word "fringe."

Those of us who have read and considered this proposal think it a sound one and one that deserves funding. We would be more than happy to work with you and its sponsors in any way possible in implementing the program and thereafter expanding it to other southern states, should it prove successful.

Please feel free to call on us for any further assistance we may be able to give.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Box 6
Keswick, Va 22947
10-11-69

Mr Jim Wood
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta

Dear Mr Wood,

In line with our telephone conversation of yesterday. will you please let me have your comments and suggestions re the attached proposal? Also, if you find the proposal valid and promising, a letter from you to that effect will be helpful for attracting foundation funds.

As you will notice, the concept is to use the state of Virginia as a demonstration area for the other Southern states. The Virginia Council on Human Relations will sponsor the project in Virginia, and the Virginia Council of Churches may be a co-sponsor. It may be that your Council can be associated with this effort when the time comes to develop it across the South.

Thank you in advance for your help.

Cordially,

Jay Worrall

DRAFT September 1, 1969

A PROPOSAL FOR EASING THE PLIGHT OF SOUTHERN PRISONERS

Because of public apathy, the prison systems of the Southern States have changed little in the past 100 years. The rate of recidivism, of hopeless, broken men and women who are released from jail only to be locked back in again, is increasing. The toll in wasted lives is beyond calculation. Something must be done.

We propose a sharply focussed and moderately priced solution to this problem, based on the realization that the trouble with our Southern prisons springs from lack of public knowledge as to what is going on inside prison walls. There is a chasm between the enlightened insights of the nation's penologists and actual prison and jail conditions. By using a technique which may be called "community development", we believe that the gap between ideal and actual can be narrowed.

FACTS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

We are concerned here with prison conditions in the following eleven states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

No one knows much about the national or regional incidence of crimes and incarcerations with any definiteness or statistical accuracy. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which conducted studies in 1966 and 1967, was dismayed to find that each state's statistics are prepared by widely different standards and are not comparable. No continuing Federal statistics on city and county jail commitments have been prepared since 1933. The following figures concerning Southern prison systems have been compiled with many interpretations and extensions. They represent informed estimates.

There are about 1,340 places of penal confinement in the South today, not counting Federal institutions, approximately as follows:

75 state-operated penitentiaries, prisons and similar institutions for adult felons

1,105 city and county operated jails and jail farms for "misdemeanants", both adult and juvenile.

90 convict road camps or public work camps (the only such convict camps left in the nation, according to the U.S. Bureau of Prisons' National Prisoner Statistics). They are located in Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Virginia.

70 centers and schools for juvenile offenders.

Incredible as it may seem, about 1,265,000 persons now are committed every year to these Southern prisons and jails, for periods ranging from one night to a lifetime:

20,000 commitments of adults to state institutions
45,000 juveniles to state institutions
1,200,000 adults and juveniles to city and county jails.

These persons, representing three to five percent of the South's population, and their unfortunate dependents, are at the very center core of the "hard core" poor of the area. As things stand now, the stigma of a jail record usually carries with it the additional penalty of debarment from any decent job, for life.

In any given year, persons are confined in the South approximately as follows:

1,155,000 men and 110,000 women
1,160,000 adult and 105,000 juveniles (under 19 years)
772,000 white and 493,000 black prisoners

The number of prisoners confined to state prisons for adult felons has declined a little in this decade; but the numbers of prisoners in city and county jails, and of juvenile commitments, has risen steadily year by year. There were 16,810 juvenile court cases in Virginia during fiscal year 1956; and 38,384 such cases during fiscal year 1967.

The rate of recidivism is rising too. In 1960, the percentage

of adult felons committed to the South's state-operated penitentiaries for a second time or more times was 7.9 percent. By 1967, the figure had risen to 11.8 percent. These figures do not include all the "repeaters" who first had served in county, juvenile or Federal institutions before being committed to State penitentiaries. The figures do indicate that the Southern prisons and jails are failing to correct, to rehabilitate or to reclaim.

Our national leaders recognize the failure of the prisons. Richard M. Nixon, when he was campaigning for election in 1968 said:

"Our prison system is a failure. The American prison system needs to undergo a major overhaul...to be changed from a primary cause of the crime problem in this country into a partial cure. We need new ideas."

The most neglected of the American states' pprison systems are the systems of the Southern states. Prisoner aid associations are operated by concerned citizens in nearly half of the states outside the South; but the only such association of any size in the South is the small and struggling Alston Wilkes Society, chartered in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1962. The result of such regional public disinterest is reflected in a graffit scratched on the wall of a cell in the Maryland House of Corrections, known to prisoners as "The Cut"—"Those southern joints ain't got nothing on this god-forsaken Cut", it reads.

Some top administrators of Southern state governments—like Otis Brown, who became Virginia's Director of Welfare and Institutions in 1967, and Lee Bounds, North Carolina State Corrections Commissioner—are earnestly trying to introduce enlightened correctional practices; but their efforts are being nullified by luke warm support from the state legislatures. Mr. Brown asked Virginia's 1968 General Assembly for $ to improve and expand the State's out-moded prison system but was granted only $. As one result of this partial funding, Mr. Brown was able to reduce the work week of his prison guards from more than 60 hours a week to 48 hours; but he was unable to increase the guards' pay scale (beginning pay is ($ a year), and he was unable to institute a training program for

guards.

The Virginia State Penitentiary on Spring Street in Richmond is 169 years old. It now houses about 1,300 prisoners. According to W. K. Cunningham, jr., State Director of Corrections, as of 1968, there was no program in this Penitentiary for teaching illiterates to read and write. Barbering was the only vocational course taught there. In the prison shops, orientation is toward production and profits rather than training men for future jobs. Many convicts spend their whole terms on an assembly line job like threading a needle in the tailor shop, or running a stamping machine in the auto license plate shop.

As a matter of fact, the digest of Corrections and Related Laws of Virginia, published by the State Department of Welfare and Institutions in 1960 and up-dated in 1966, does not make it a responsibility of the Department's Director to try to reform, rehabilitate or reclaim the prisoners under his care. This 97-page penal code abounds in references to chain gangs, mandatory separation of the races, and punishments of various kinds. But as far as rehabilitation goes, the code states only that the Director will arrange for games, lectures, exercise and "other forms of amusement" during the prisoners' "leisure hours"; and that he will make such arrangements as are necessary "to enable classes to be held" at the State penitentiary, the State farm, and State and county camps.

Deficient as the conditions in the Southern State-operated prisons are, they do not approach the conditions which exist in the South's 1,100-odd city and county-operated jails, which now take in more than 1,000,000 men and women, boys and girls annually. Programs to rehabilitate prisoners in the city and county jails are practically not in existence. Further, about 48 percent of prisoners leaving the State prisons receive some help and support from State-paid probation and parole officers; but prisoners leaving the city and county jails have no place to turn for help. "Snake" Jones, about 30 years old, of Charlottesville, Virginia, recently explained his plight this way: "I have been in the City Jail 22 times. They save a cell for me down there. When I'm out, no one will give me a 'straight' job, so all I can do in order to eat is 'hustle'. Then I get busted and go back to the Jail."

In mid-July 1968, about 850 inmates of the Virginia State Penitentiary refused to perform further labor without certain improvements in prison conditions. On July 19th, most of the 1,300 prisoners were confined to their cells; and nine months later according to Rev. Curtis Harris who visited the Penitentiary in March 1969, some of the strikers were still confined to their cells and released once a week for bathing.

During September 1968, the Rev. George F. Ricketts, director of the Prison Chaplain Service of the Virginia Council of Churches, made a statement concerning the work stoppage at the Penitentiary. "For as many years as anybody can remember, no one has shown much interest in the prisons of Virginia", Chaplain Ricketts said. "Perhaps", he added hopefully, "the churches can help create, foster and maintain the vital link between the offender, the keeper and 'the righteous' (the public)".

FACTS POINTING TOWARD A SOLUTION

Until 1960, the four public mental hospitals operated by the State of Virginia were poorly staffed and pathetically inadequate. In that year, the State's General Assembly provided funds to employ Volunteer Services Coordinators at each hospital. These coordinators, when employed, went to work and persuaded a variety of church groups, service clubs and womens clubs to help out in the mental hospitals.

The volunteer groups effectively augmented the work of the hospitals' paid staffs, providing recreational, friendly visiting and arts and crafts activities for patients, services that previously were non-existent. More important, the volunteers, who represent an influential segment of Virginia's public, became personally aware of the problems of Virginia's 70,000 mental patients. They helped to form a network of Mental Health Associations across the state; and they communicated the terrible problems then to be found inside mental hospital walls, to the State's legislators. As a result the General Assembly, which had appropriated a paltry $6 million annually for operation of the mental hospital system in 1948, increased the appropriation to $26 million in 1964 and $32 million in 1966.

The State of Virginia still ranks very low, far below the average of the 50 states, in mental health expenditures per patient; but now

Virginia's Director of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals is confident that his future appropriation requests will be placed high on the General Assembly's priority list.

*** *** *** ****

The 1968 work stoppage at the Virginia State Penitentiary created a temporary stir of public interest. The Virginia Council on Human Relations inquired into the situation and generated a good deal of newspaper publicity; and the American Civil Liberties Union took legal action on behalf of certain prisoners which resulted in a court-ordered investigation of conditions at the Penitentiary conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This sequence of events led to some administrative improvements within Virginia's prison system. The Presbyterian Synod of Virginia established an ad hoc Committee on Justice and Mercy, and the All Virginia Friends (Quaker) Conference has had two weekend conferences on prison conditions since the strike.

This stir of interest was largely transient, but it does indicate that the Southern public will take a lasting interest, and can create a permanent improvement in the plight of Southern prisoners, when a way is devised for the public to be made continually and personally aware of what goes on behind Southern prison walls.

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The South has cosmopolitan centers of population where there are now sizable groups of citizens who care about working for their disadvantaged neighbors. In Charlottesville, Virginia, home of the University of Virginia, a Community Action Organization was established under auspices of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity during July, 1966. During the first seven months of the Community Action Organization's operations, more than 200 private citizens gave more than 6,800 man-hours as unpaid volunteers on anti-poverty projects, and this impressive indication of concern has continued. Volunteers have interviewed poor families; helped in Head Start classrooms; remodelled three buildings as community centers; tutored

grade-school children and taught pre-school children; patched up 1,400 deprived children, and the like.

Not all places in the South, particularly rural places, have concerned groups of peoppe, who will volunteer to help the under-dog; but many of the Southern cities and smaller college and university towns do have influential groups who can be so motivated.

CONCEPT OF OPERATION

From the facts presented above, we get a perspective on an existing, massively negative and unacceptable situation. Over a million Southerners are being delivered every year to public, tax-supported institutions which the public at large knows little or nothing about. As a result of this ignorance (in Chaplain Ricketts' words), "For as many years as anyone can remember, no one has taken much interest in the prisons..."; and (in President Nixon's words) "Our prison system is a failure. (It) needs to undergo a major overhaul...to be changed from a primary cause of the crime problem in this country into a partial cure."

On the positive side, we see that there are a number of Southern communities where groups of people live who—once they are involved—can be counted on to work for relief of the plight of Southern prisoners. The recent transformation of mental hospitals in Virginia suggests that an exciting and dramatic change can be brought about in the South's prisons.

The first step in this change will be to install workers, who might be titled "Community Service Officers", one in each of a few carefully chosen and fairly close together prisons or jails in one Southern state. The job of each Community Service Officer will be to involve and organize volunteers from the prison in meeting the almost unlimited unmet rehabilitation needs of the typical prison or jail. For example, volunteers can:

Teach in-prison adult classes in reading, writing and arithmetic; typing and shorthand, arts and crafts, current events, grooming.

Assist prisoners to prepare plans (social and economic) for

for their lives after prison.

Help and advise the families of serving prisoners. Mediate in family disputes and estrangements.

Provide movies, lectures, group discussions, and similar constructive entertainment.

Furnish post-release aid, to help with re-adjustment to community living. Visiting and counselling sessions, psychotherapeutic sessions.

Obtain aid for prisoners with alcoholic and narcotics problems.

Arrange for chaplain and library services.

Operate a job opportunity program, or an employment-preparation-and-then-employment service for prisoners, both serving and released.

Provide emergency financial assistance for newly-released prisoners (a night's lodging, bus fare, etc.)

Make friendly visits to isolated and friendless inmates (most important of all in many cases).

The Community Service Officer (CSO) will seek to involve as many individual volunteers, volunteer service agencies, church groups and service clubs as possible in these direct services to prisoners. The direct services in themselves are important and the CSO must organize them for maximum effectiveness. But the CSO's primary mission is to see to it that as many responsible people as possible will acquire a first hand working knowledge of prison conditions and prisoner needs, of what resources a prison must have really and truly to motivate offenders and prepare them to be self-sufficient citizens after they leave prison.

When the CSO carries out his mission completely, it is expected that the citizens he involves in the prison or jail will establish a local

prisoner aid association or some similar citizen group. Such a group will provide a rallying point for the influential constituency that any public institution must have in order to function effectively. Today in the state capitols and county court houses where laws are enacted and appropriations are granted, corrections executives too often must raise their voices alone. They desperately need active and open public support from tax-payers who can not reasonably be suspected of any selfish interest.

There is an obvious pit-fall into which the CSO might fall in carrying out his duties. A prison warden is charged with controlling and disciplining his prisoners; and the CSO, whose duty is to help the warden to carry out the job of rehabilitating the prisoners, must not interfere in the warden's custodial responsibilities. For this reason, our plan is to instruct the CSO to schedule his activities completely in accordance with existing prison routine, and to achieve a cordial working relationship with the custodial staff. The warden, on his part, must be prepared to be flexible to the point where he will alter long-standing prison arrangements, in order to take advantage of the opportunity to treat his prisoners as well as to keep them.

By the time the project ends, the CSO must have demonstrated the value of his function so thoroughly that his position will be continued. on a paid basis, paid either by local government, by the local United Givers Fund or a similar local source.

We propose, then, to kindle public interest in the business of reclaiming and rehabilitating prisoners, at a few, say four, strategic communities in one Southern state. In addition to the four Community Service Officers who will do the job in their respective communities, we will need one more project employee, who may be titled "Project Coordinator". His responsibilities will be to act as a resource person for the CSO's; to assemble facts and figures about the results of the individual communities' prisoner aid efforts; and to publicize and promote the need for prisoner aid efforts in the State's other key communities (and perhaps in key communities of adjacent states). By project's end, the Coordinator must have established a viable, first class prisoner aid organization at the state level.

When the effectiveness of citizen particapation in the plight of prisoners is clearly demonstrated in one Southern state, it can be foreseen that local support, to include local seed-funding, can be mobilized in the sister states of the area.

ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

We propose a staff of six people to carry out this project:

1 Coordinator
1 Secretary-Bookkeeper
4 Community Service Officers

The project's Coordinator will be responsible to the (name of sponsoring organization)*'s Board of Directors through our Executive Director, (name). The Secretary-Bookkeeper and the Community Service Officers will be responsible to the Coordinator.

Project funds will be received and administered through our Executive Director. Paychecks and travel expenses will be paid direct to project employees by the office of our Executive Director. Other project expenses will be paid from a revolving fund bank account to be administered by the project's Coordinator. The revolving fund is to be replenished monthly by our Executive Director against a monthly statement of project expenses, with supporting invoices attached, from the Coordinator. The Coordinator and Secretary-Bookkeeper will be bonded under our Organization's blanket position bond. Records of financial transactions relating to the project will be audited annually by our auditors, (name and address).

This proposal was originated and prepared by Jay W. Worrall of Charlottesville, Virginia, formerly an Army lieutenant-colonel and now a convinced Quaker. He studied penology while in the service and was the officer in charge of two Army penal stockades. After the Army, he served for 2½ years as staff director of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Community Action Organization, was outstandingly successful in involving volunteers from his community in a variety of anti-poverty projects. He is a graduate of

* The Virginia Council on Human Relations will sponsor this project, and the Virginia Council of Churches may be a co-sponsor.

Haverford (pa.) College in political science, is a member of that college's Corporation, a board member of the Friends Committee on National Legislation and of other organizations devoted to social change. He developed this proposal while receiving a Ford Foundation stipend, as a fellow in the Southern Community Leadership program operated by Penn Community Services, Frogmore, South Carolina.

Jay Worrall is acquainted with key legislators and concerned citizens across Virginia, and we propose the state of Virginia as the beginning location of this project. It is a typical Southern state, with an unusually large number of local leaders and citizens who have a demonstrated concern for social improvement.

The four Community Service Officers will be chosen from residents of the four "demonstration" communities, when those communities are decided upon.

The communities will be chosen on the basis of having prisons or jails with substantial unmet rehabilitation needs; a substantial number of citizens who have demonstrated concern for social improvement; and a governing body and prison administration who indicate a desire to cooperate in this project.

The CSOs will be chosen on the basis of ability to gain community confidence; to involve citizen volunteers in the purpose of the project; and to organize effective and viable prisoner aid programs.

FACILITIES

We propose to obtain desk space for the four Community Service Officers from the city and county governments they will be serving. We will need to rent only a one-room office for the Coordinator and Secretary-Bookkeeper, and will furnish it only with two desks, typewriter, mimeo machine, a few chairs, a file cabinet and an office supply cabinet.

TIME FRAME

A period of 150 days will be required to prepare for project

operations. Preparations will be completed in approximately the following sequence and according to the following target dates:

D - Day	Coordinator opens office and begins work
D + 7	Hire Secretary Bookkeeper
D + 10	Buy office furniture and supplies
D + 14	Release preliminary publicity
D + 60	Choose four demonstration communities; and make agreements with governing bodies concerned
D + 75	Hire four Community Service Officers
D + 120	Plan prisoner aid programs most appropriate to each community and its prison or jail.
D + 135	Coordinator completes Project Policy Manual
D + 150	Launch prisoner aid programs

After D Day + 150, a period of three years will then be needed to firmly establish in Virginia the principle of public participation and interest in reclaiming Virginia's prisoners.

LINKAGE WITH EXISTING AGENCIES

Every community that supports a jail also has some organized groups of people that can help that jail's prisoners to find the way to a decent and self-sustaining life after leaving the jail. The CSO must enlist many or all of these local organizations, to include—

the local office of the State Employment Commission
Sheltered Workshop
Vocational Rehabilitation Office
Child and Family Service
Mental Health Association
Alcoholics Anonymous
Council on Human Relations
Service Clubs
League of Women Voters
Womens Clubs
Socially-oriented churches (whose members may be counted on to take seriously Jesus' teaching that when "the least of these my brothers" is

in prison and when you "come to him", then "you do it unto Me".

The CSO must also make every effort to enlist the advice and support of ex-prisoners in carrying out his program and in establishing a local prisoner aid association. We believe that ex-prisoners have insights about the real, true needs of inmates that no one else can provide.

The Coordinator on his part must create the active interest of State-level organizations, corresponding to the local groups listed above. He will also interest local groups in key communities of the State other than the four demonstration communities, in starting locally-funded prisoner aid projects.

BUDGET

During the 150 day development period this project will cost $19,643. It will cost $71,687 for each of the three succeeding years. See detailed budget at TABs A and B.

Enclosures:

Tab A Budget for program development period
B Budget for one year of operation
C Letters of endorsement

Jay W. Worrall
Box 6
Keswick, Virginia, 22947
telephone 293-1074

PLIGHT OF SOUTHERN PRISONERS PROJECT

BUDGET FOR 150-DAY DEVELOPMENT PERIOD

Personnel		
Salaries		
1 Coordinator - 5 months @ $900	$4,500	
1 Secy Bookkeeper - 4 3/4 mos @ $500	2,375	
4 Com Svc Os - 2½ mos @ $800	8,000	
? Fringe benefits		
Social Security @ 4.4% (employer's)	655	
Workmens Comp Insurance @ .095%	141	
Hospital Insurance @ 2.2%	327	$15,998
Consultants and Contract Services		800
Travel		
1 Coordinator 1,200 mi/mo x 10ø x 5 mos	600	
4 Com Svc Os 500 mi/mo x 10ø x 2½ mos	125	
Per Diem 10 nights x $16	160	
		885
Office Space 5 mo x $50		250
Office Supplies $9 mo per employee 20 man-mos		180
Office Equipment		900
Telephone 1 instrument x 5 + 4 inst x 2½ mos		630
TOTAL		$19,643

TAB A

PLIGHT OF SOUTHERN PRISONERS PROJECT

BUDGET FOR ONE YEAR OF OPERATIONS

Personnel		
Salaries		
1 Coordinator @ $900 mo	$10,800	
1 Secy Bkkeeper @ $500	6,000	
4 Com Svc Os @ $800	38,400	
Fringe Benefits		
Soc Sec. @ 4.4% (employer's share	2,429	
Workmens Comp Ins @ .095%	524	
Hospital Insurance @ 2.2%	1,214	$59,367
Consultants and Contract Services		2,200
Travel		
1 Coordinator 1,200 mi/mo x 10ø	1,440	
4 Com Svc Os 500 mi/mo x 10ø	2,400	
Per Diem 12 nights x $16	192	4,032
Office Space $50 mo		600
Office Supplies $9 mo x 6 employees		648
Telephone 5 instruments $17 per mo		2,040
Seed money for direct services to prisoners		3,200
TOTAL		$71,687

TAB B

BRIEF SUMMARY

OF

STATE CHILD LABOR LAWS

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Standards
Division of State Services
Washington, D. C.

Fact Sheet No. 3-A January 1964

BRIEF SUMMARY OF STATE CHILD LABOR LAWS

Every State, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico have child labor laws regulating the conditions under which boys and girls may be employed. These laws usually include a minimum age for general employment, a higher minimum age for employment in certain hazardous work, a requirement that the employer obtain an employment certificate for the minor, a limitation on daily and weekly hours of work, and regulation of nightwork. Enforcement of these laws is usually placed in the State labor department.

Few of the laws cover all occupations; there are still "fringe" areas where there is little protection for the young worker. For instance, most States exempt domestic service from coverage under the child labor law, and children employed in agriculture have but little coverage. Children who sell or distribute newspapers or magazines are subject to special street-trades provisions in about half of the States. Under these provisions, the minimum age is lower and the hours and conditions of work are less regulated than for general employment.

A few State laws provide authority for general relaxation of the child labor laws under certain conditions. In Colorado, Florida, and Michigan any provision of the law may be waived if it bars the employment of minors when such employment is in the best interest of the minor. Three other States--Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York--permit any provision to be relaxed during times of national emergency; in Massachusetts and New York this applies only to provisions affecting minors 16 and over.

Minimum age

The minimum age at which children may be legally employed is probably the most important provision of a State child labor law.

At the present time, 20 States 1/ set a minimum of 16 for work in manufacturing establishments at any time.

Eighteen States 2/ set a 16-year minimum during school hours in all occupations or in all but agriculture and domestic service. In three other States--Alabama, Florida, and Tennessee--and in Puerto Rico

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1/ Alabama, Alaska, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

2/ Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Montana, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

a general minimum age of 16 is set for employment during school hours, but children under 16 who are legally excused from school attendance may also go to work. Four other States, Alaska, Connecticut, Maine, and Massachusetts, set a 16-year minimum for work in specified establishments or industries, while Hawaii sets 16 in any gainful occupation when the child is "legally required to attend school." In the remaining States a 14- or 15-year minimum age applies for work during school hours in most gainful occupations.

For work outside school hours, the basic minimum age is usually 14, except in factory employment in the 20 States with a 16-year minimum for that type of work.

Employment certificates

All but five States--Alaska, Idaho, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas--require employment certificates for children under 16 before they enter employment. Twenty-four States 3/, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico require employment or age certificates for minors under 18, as well. Two others, Alabama and Nevada, require certificates for minors under 17.

An employment certificate system is basic to effective administration of child labor laws, and serves as a protection for both the minor and the employer. The child is protected from working at a job for which he is too young or physically unfit; the employer is protected against unwitting violation of the law.

Employment certificates are granted only after the minor has submitted documentary proof of his age and a statement from the employer describing the work the child will do and the hours he will work, and, in over half of the States, a statement from a physician showing that the child is physically fit to do the intended work. Sometimes a school record showing the last grade completed is also required.

In almost all the States where employment or age certificates are required for minors under specified ages, the States also provide for the issuance, upon request, of age certificates to minors above these ages.

3/ California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Hours of work

For minors under 16: Sixteen States 4/ and Puerto Rico set a maximum 40-hour week for most occupations, while Washington sets a 40-hour week when school is not in session. Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Utah limit the week to 44 hours. Most of the remaining States set a maximum 48-hour week. The daily limitation in almost all of the States is 8 hours.

For minors of 16 and 17: A limitation on the hours of work for minors under 18 is included in the laws of about half the States. Alaska, Kentucky, New Jersey, Puerto Rico, Tennessee, and Virginia set a maximum of 40 hours a week; Louisiana, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Utah set 44 hours; and 15 States 5/ and the District of Columbia, limit the week to 48 hours. In addition, a maximum 48-hour week is set in Arizona, Illinois, Indiana, and Nevada for girls only. Where there is regulation, the daily limitation is often 8 hours, but in several States it is 9 or 10 hours.

For in-school youth: Where minors under 16 attend school and work outside school hours, 21 States 6/ and Puerto Rico limit the daily hours such minors may work by setting a maximum of 3 or 4 hours for the working time of the minor or by specifying that the maximum 8- or 9-hour day shall include the time spent in school as well as at work. Six of the States--California, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Utah--extend this protection to minors of 16 and 17, and New York to minors 16 years of age. In Puerto Rico the limitation applies to all minors attending school.

4/ Alabama, Alaska, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

5/ California, Colorado, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin.

6/ Alabama, Alaska, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Utah, and Washington.

Nightwork

For minors under 16: Almost every State extends protection to young workers by prohibiting their employment during certain hours of the night. Fourteen States7/ and Puerto Rico prohibit work for minors under 16 after 6 p.m.; 18 States8/ and the District of Columbia start the prohibition at 7 p.m.; 15 others9/ begin it at 8, 9, 9:30, or 10 p.m. Eleven States that prohibit work after 6, 7, or 8 p.m. make some provision under which children under 16 may work to a later hour, usually to 9 or 10 p.m.--

Delaware allows children to work until 9 p.m. on Fridays, Saturdays, and during school vacations in public places, including stores.

New Hampshire sets 9 p.m. for work during school vacations.

Five of the 11 permit work until a later hour if there is no school the following day: Wisconsin until 9 p.m., Florida, Missouri, and Virginia until 10 p.m.; and Ohio until 10 p.m. for boys only.

Tennessee sets 10 p.m. for minors under 16 lawfully excused from school attendance.

Two make exceptions on special permits: Oregon until 10 p.m.; in Washington, the hour is not specified.

Hawaii specifically permits the administrative authority to change nightwork provisions.

In addition, Wyoming, which prohibits work after 10 p.m. for minors enrolled in school, permits work until midnight on nights before nonschool days.

7/ Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky (for minors under 15; 8 p.m. for children 15), Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah (for minors under 15), and Virginia.

8/ Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, and Washington.

9/ Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Maine, Michigan, Nebraska, South Carolina, Texas (for minors under 15), West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming (12 midnight instead of 10 p.m. for minors not enrolled in school).

Nightwork (continued)

For minors of 16 and 17: Fewer States regulate nightwork for minors of 16 and 17 than for those under 16. Where regulated, work is usually prohibited after 10 p.m. This is true for both boys and girls in 10 States 10/ and Puerto Rico. Six States 11/ and the District of Columbia prohibit work after 10, 11, or 12 p.m. for boys, at the same time setting an earlier hour, 7 to 10 p.m., for girls. Kansas prohibits work after 9 p.m. and Rhode Island after 11 p.m. for both boys and girls. Six others, Arizona, Indiana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Wyoming, regulate nightwork for girls, but not for boys.

Hazardous occupations

Over half of the laws prohibit employment of minors under 18 in one or more occupations considered particularly hazardous for such minors. Most of the others limit this protection to minors under 16. Such occupations usually include cleaning machinery in motion, working in or about mines or quarries, on certain power-driven machines, on scaffolding, and in connection with poisonous dyes or gases.

In addition to the provisions that prohibit the employment of minors in specific hazardous occupations, 23 States 12/, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have given their administrative agency (usually the State department of Labor) authority to prohibit the employment of children under 18 in additional occupations; 9 other States 13/ have this authority for children under 16 only.

10/ Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland (if minor is attending school), Massachusetts, Michigan (prohibited after 11 p.m. if minor is not attending school), New Jersey, and Tennessee.

11/ Louisiana, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

12/ Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

13/ Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Nevada, Rhode Island, and Wyoming.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ON

CHILD LABOR LAWS

Fact Sheet No. 3-B

OCTOBER 1964

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Bureau of Labor Standards

Washington, D. C.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON CHILD LABOR LAWS

What is the purpose of child labor laws?

Child labor laws are designed to protect children from being employed:

- at unsuitable ages;
- at tasks beyond their strength or judgment;
- at jobs detrimental to their health or welfare;
- for excessive hours;
- too late at night;
- when they should be in school.

They are not designed to prevent children from getting employment.

Do such laws prevent minors from getting jobs?

To achieve their purpose, child labor laws advisedly place some limitations on employment of school-age youth, but they by no means bar all employment. A great many boys and girls can and do work within the framework of these laws. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than 5 million boys and girls 14 through 17 years of age worked some time in 1962. Thus, approximately two out of every five youngsters did get full- or part-time jobs that year.

The fact remains that many boys and girls who want jobs do not get them. The causes lie primarily not in the laws, but in a continuing decline in opportunities for untrained youth in the traditional unskilled entry jobs. Furthermore, employers tend to prefer the youth who has finished high school, who is somewhat older, and who presumably is better qualified to do the work or be trained on the job. Youth under 18 must compete today for entry jobs with the growing number of high school graduates.

How are young workers protected against undesirable jobs?

They are protected:

- by State laws. Every State has such a law, although they vary considerably in their provisions.
- by the child labor provision of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which applies to boys and girls who work in connection with interstate or foreign commerce.[1/]

Where the State and Federal standards differ, the higher standard prevails.

1/ In addition, the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, which applies in cases of certain Federal contracts, sets a minimum age of 18 for girls and 16 for boys. The Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, provides for benefits payable under certain conditions to growers of sugarbeets and sugarcane. One condition is a minimum age of 14, and a maximum 8-hour day for children 14-16.

Are 14- and 15-year-olds permitted to be employed during school hours?

About 40 percent of the State child labor laws prohibit the employment of children of these ages during school hours. Under the remaining State child labor laws, children of 14 and 15 may work during school hours, but in some of these States they may not leave school under 16 because of the school attendance law. The provisions of the child labor law and the school attendance law must be considered together.

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, minors 14 and 15 years of age covered by the act may not be employed during school hours.

What do the school attendance laws usually require?

All except three States[2/] have a compulsory school attendance law. All of the laws have a basic requirement of attendance to 16 or over. Under a number of the laws children under 16 may not leave school unless they have completed high school, while under the others children under 16 may be exempted from attendance for various reasons, such as to enter employment, for which the child must usually be 14, or have completed the 8th grade, or both; or because they cannot profit from further schooling.

How important is school for the teenager?

Going to school is the primary job for boys and girls, especially those under 16, and their employment outside school hours should not interfere with their school progress.

Formerly, there were many types of unskilled work that provided good beginning jobs for youngsters just out of school. Now that such jobs are becoming scarcer, for both adults and young persons, it is more important than ever that everyone have at least a high school education.

2/ However, one of these has a school attendance law which requires local adoption. Every county, city, or town, if a separate school district, is given the option to adopt the school law and the power to suspend its operation.

May children under 16 be employed outside school hours and during summer vacations?	Yes. Under the State laws as well as the Fair Labor Standards Act, boys and girls of 14 and 15 may be legally employed in various jobs. Children under 14 may also be employed to some extent outside school hours and during summer vacations, in such jobs as domestic service and casual employment in private homes, in agriculture, in delivering newspapers or periodicals. But no child under 14 may work in employment covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.
In what kind of jobs may minors of 16 and 17 be employed?	In practically every type of work except those listed under the State laws and those determined by the Secretary of Labor under the Fair Labor Standards Act to be particularly hazardous for minors under 18. Actually, the occupations so prohibited constitute only about 5 percent of all jobs.
What are the usual daily and weekly hours that minors may work?	Six States set a maximum 8-hour day and 40-hour week for minors under 18; 11 more set this maximum for those under 16 only. Most of the others set a maximum 8-hour day and 48-hour week for children under 16, while about a third of the States set this maximum for those of 16 and 17, as well. Over a third of the States set special limits on the working hours of a child under 16 who is enrolled in school. This limit is usually 3 or 4 hours work on a schoolday, or a combined 8-hour maximum for time spent in school and at work. Six States extend this protection to minors of 16 and 17. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, minors of 14 and 15 may not work more than 8 hours a day or 40 hours a week. On schooldays their employment outside school hours is limited to 3 hours a day and 18 a week. There are no hours limitations in this act for minors 16 years of age and over.

How late at night may youngsters work?

About two-thirds of the States do not permit employment of children under 16 after 6 p.m. or 7 p.m., although some of these permit work until 9 or 10 p.m. on nights before nonschool days. For youth of 16 and 17, about half of the States set a limitation of 10 p.m. for both boys and girls, or for girls only.

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, 14- and 15-year-old minors may not work after 7 p.m. There are no hours limitations for minors 16 years of age or over.

Why should nightwork be restricted for boys and girls?

Nightwork is especially hard on a young worker. It cuts down time for essential sleep and rest. It often requires readjustment of the child's social pattern. It may cut off the young worker's close relationship with his family--and just at the time he may need it most.

The trip home late at night may itself expose the youngster to danger. The teenager employed during late night hours who seeks recreation after leaving his job may drift into undesirable situations.

If the young person is still in school, as most of the 14- and 15-year-olds are, late night hours usually affect his school progress. He is likely to be too sleepy to do his homework at night and too tired to be alert in school the next day. He may become discouraged and drop out of school and swell the group of inadequately prepared youngsters who find it difficult to secure and to keep jobs.

Are the facts relating to child labor laws generally misunderstood?

There is widespread misinformation as to what the laws prohibit, what they permit, and why. Often an employer does not know the facts of the law. As a result, many young workers are denied job opportunities that are legally open to them. More emphasis should be placed on the positive rather than the negative. This presents a direct challenge to labor law administrators, employers, unions, the public in general, parents, schools, and the young persons themselves.

Prot. Lab. Legis
Min. Wage

BRIEF SUMMARY
OF
STATE MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

Some Child Labor Laws

Fact Sheet No. 4-1
May 1966

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Standards
Washington, D. C. 20210

Protestant ... Child Labor

Child Labor 1968

A blazing sun beat down mercilessly upon the scantily-dressed child. Partially hidden by a late-summer cotton crop, she worked rapidly, mechanically, without pause, dripping sweat as she picked the cotton and placed it in a burlap bag. Her hands were calloused and signs of infection were visible. There was no time to pause, for the piece-work system dictated her and her parents' survival. She had a fixed stare, and the toil of a 12-hour workday showed itself in the black rings which circled her prematurely aged eyes. Her skin was parched and tough. She was six years old!

Unfortunately, that child working in a field today is a living reality that cannot be ignored. Some of the vegetables being fed to American children — the best-dressed, best-fed and best-housed in the world — were probably plucked from the field by hands that should have been holding a doll or a schoolbook instead of filling a field sack.

Child labor hasn't been erased from the face of America. It has merely moved from southern textile mills and coal mines where it existed at the beginning of the twentieth century, to the harvesting fields which spread across the richest land in the world today. The cries of industrialists of the early 1900's, that "children need industry, and industry needs children," have again been adopted by unscrupulous corporate farm managers and individual farmers of the U.S.

The prevailing attitude held by many employers was expressed by a farmer who owned a cranberry bog in New Jersey. Testifying at a hearing on child labor legislation, the farmer said, "If man-made laws about when children must attend school are in conflict with God-made laws about when crops shall ripen, then the law of God must be obeyed."

The year 1938 saw the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. This law contained wage as well as child labor standards for industries which produced goods for interstate commerce.

No mill or mine or cannery which shipped its goods across state lines was permitted to compete with schools for children under 16 years of age; 14- and 15-year-olds were permitted to work in suitable jobs for only limited periods outside school hours; and minors under 18 years were protected against employment in work which endangered their health and safety.

However, agricultural employment outside school hours and during summer vacations was left completely unchecked, as were local industries not engaged in interstate commerce, where many children were then employed.

More than twenty years have passed since the Supreme Court upheld the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1941. Millions of children today take for granted the benefits of a good education, warm clothes and adequate shelter, which a few short decades before were almost impossible to visualize.

Many Children Unprotected By Laws

But the laws which protect the mass of children today have forgotten several hundred thousand American youngsters. For these children, child labor is a bitter reality, a reality stalking the American conscience. They are children housed in hovels and clad in cast-offs. They are underfed, undereducated and overworked. They call no place home, are shunned by society today and condemned to poverty tomorrow.

Who are these children?

They are the migrant children across the country, the Spanish speaking *ninos* from the valleys of Texas, the tow-headed children as young as six and seven years who travel with their families from state to state, "following the crops."

Other children hold jobs from choice; these kids work from stark necessity.

Several years ago, a church worker approached a migrant mother and asked her to enroll her four-year-old in a day-care center. The mother pointed to the child working alongside her, and replied bitterly: "Of course not. Why do you think I brought her along? She's working for her snow suit next winter."

A. E. Farrell, a journalist who specializes in the area of migrant labor, recently visited a migrant camp in North Carolina. He saw "dozens of kids as young as seven picking potatoes under a blistering sun. They were performing hard, adult labor as they stripped potatoes from the plants."

"The children had picked beans all morning," he wrote. "They moved into the potato field late in the afternoon, with the temperatures still in the high eighties. They were glad to leave the bean field. I asked 11-year-old Willie Cloud why.

'Beans Is the Hardest'

" 'Beans is the hardest," he told me. 'They's so many on the vine you have to pull off, it takes you too long to fill a hamper.' Willie said he had picked 16 hampersfull that day—a quarter of a ton."

Farrell went on to describe the children arriving at the potato field in a "dusty, ancient bus," dashing to a waiting truck where they picked up empty sacks and wooden baskets; then running out to the rows where a digging machine had already begun uprooting the plants.

The children, with their parents, "picked in silence, with intense concentration. They stooped, crawled and stretched, taking no time for rest. . . . As each 30-to-35 pound basket was filled, the child would lift it and empty it into a field sack, two baskets to a sack. Each sack, filled, would net the child's parents seven pennies—about one mill per pound."

Outside of school hours, farmers may legally employ children of any age, and may work them for as many hours and under whatever conditions they choose, subject to relatively weak regulations in some states.

All too often, when local farmers need additional help, cooperative school boards call a "crop vacation." With the school legally closed, there is no education to interfere with the growers' labor supply, and the Federal regulation barring employment during school hours is conveniently sidestepped.

Farmers are constantly defending child labor on the grounds that it is good to work. One grower expressed his views this way: "Nine- and ten-year-olds working—that's the best thing that ever happened. It's honorable to work. I started working when I was nine. That's what made this country strong. Work never hurt nobody."

Physicians, however, disagree sharply with this viewpoint that hard labor is harmless, in terms of putting youngsters to work. According to a report issued by the Columbia University School of Public Health, "children in industry, whether indoors or out, show in exaggerated form damage to growth." Many doctors agree, citing not only physical disabilities, but tremendous emotional handicaps as well.

Public awareness of the plight of the migrant child is again on the rise. The AFL-CIO, the National Child Labor Committee, and the National Council of Churches are constantly pressing for Federal and local legislation to eliminate child labor. The Migrant Health and the Economic Opportunity Acts are beginning to bring about some changes by providing seasonal day care and health facilities in a few local areas. The present campaign being conducted by the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Committee is aimed at providing decent wages and working conditions for migrants so that abuses to their children can be erased once and for all.

But as the horrors of child labor are being aired in the press and government reports, the helpless migrant child is growing up illiterate, unskilled, and, in an increasingly automated society, probably unemployable. The human cost in destroyed hopes and wasted lives cannot be measured, while the social cost, the American people's ultimate burden, can only be vaguely imagined.

RWDSU – Recap

ATLANTA CONSTITUION 5/28/71

State Employment Laws Rigid for Teen-agers

Potential teen-age job hunters: Beware. Federal and state laws, although unclearly burdened with numerous exceptions, not only tell what age you must be to get a job, but also limit what you can do and when you can do it.

The Georgia Child Labor Law of 1946 applies to anyone who employs a minor under 18-years-old. Therefore, employers, not their teen employees or parents, are held responsible for infractions, which are mainly due to misunderstand of ignorance of the laws, according to a Georgia Department of Labor official.

Basically, the minimum age of employment is 14 years for non-hazardous work. That is, you must be 16-years-old to be employed in such "hazardous" occupations as construction, manufacturing, excavation, mines, railroad, commercial boats, "picture show machines," steam boilers, bowling alleys, elevators and "establishments in which beer, wine, or any spiritous or alcoholic or malt beverages are sold," among others.

Note, one exception: minors are allowed to work in peach packing houses during summer months.

Agriculture employment proves another major exception with the minimum age requirement. Under 14-year-olds are allowed in domestic service in private homes, employment by parent, retail or wholesale stores, newspaper delivery and agriculture . . . if they're male.

The Georgia law excepts and discriminates against female minors, who must be 14-years-old to be "gainfully employed in any type of work."

Hours for under 16-year-olds are also specified. Unless they're newspaper deliveries, they are not allowed to work between the hours of 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. Newspaper boys have one extra hour—they can work in residential areas between 5 a.m. and 9 p.m.

Under 16-year-olds can also forget overtime pay as that extra sources of income. "Minor" students are allowed to work only four hours on school days and eight hours on Saturday, holidays and summer vacations. And, not more than 40 hours per week.

Confused? Perhaps the best safeguard against violating the law are employment certificates, which all minors must obtain as prerequisites for jobs.

For the certificate, you'll need a statement from your employer, referred to as Form 1, which outlines the job and hours; a physician's health certificate, Form 2; and a certified copy of your birth certificate.

Forms 1 and 2 can be located at the county or city school superintendent's office, which issues employment certificates.

PTA Plans Tea For Teacher

Miss Martha McLaughlin, who is retiring after teaching 46 years at the R. L. Hope Elementary School, will be honored by the Parent-Teachers' Association and her class at a dessert tea from 3:30 to 4:30 p.m. Wednesday, June 2, at the school. Friends and former students are invited.

Labor News 6-27-69

Protect children's legs — Child Labor

Recent Child Labor Violations Hark Back To 19th Century

WASHINGTON — A 14-year-old nurse's aide worked up to 12.5 hours a day in a nursing home.

Busboys 13 to 15 years old toiled in a restaurant as much as 58.5 hours a week.

A lumber company employed boys as young as 9 years old to do cleanup work in a mill.

A 15-year-old girl worked from 10 p.m. to 7 a.m. as an assembler in a dry cleaning plant.

These are not selections from labor history in the 19th Century. They are documented abuses as recent as a year ago from a study by the Wage & Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the Labor Department. They are violations of child labor regulations under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The study reported that in 77,000 investigations during fiscal 1968 a total of 14,117 minors were found to be illegally employed. This however, marked an improvement from a year earlier when 60,000 investigations uncovered 18,536 abuses.

Some of the violations come under the 1966 amendments to the FLSA which extended coverage of the law and included types of industries and hospitals.

These same amendments provide the Secretary of Labor with authority to declare certain occupations hazardous to minors under 16.

But violations in agriculture dropped to 1,555 in fiscal 1968 from 4,201 the year before, the Labor Department notes in the pamphlet "Working Children — a Report on Child Labor—1967 and 1968."

Violations of the child labor provisions under FLSA fall into three major categories:

- Minors under 16 working in occupations for which a 16 or 18-year minimum wage has been established; working in excess of the hours permitted for children of that age, or working at times not permitted.
- Minors 16 and 17 working in nonagricultural occupations declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor, for which an 18-year minimum age is declared.
- Minors under 16 working in agriculture during school hours or in hazardous agricultural jobs for which a 16-year minimum age applies.

The report observes: The child labor standards provided in the Fair Labor Standards Act and state child labor laws do not prohibit the employment of 14- and 15-year-olds, but are an attempt to safeguard children—too young to speak for themselves—from being employed in occupations detrimental to their health and well-being and which interfere with their opportunities to obtain an education.

The study found that 7,719 youngsters were employed in violation of the 17 hazardous occupation orders in effect in nonagricultural jobs in fiscal 1968. There were 10,547 violations in the same areas a year earlier.

These include regulations prohibiting children under 16 from being truck drivers, freight elevator operators, roofers' helpers and from operating power saws or meat grinders.

CHILD LABOR STILL EXPLOITED ...33 Years After U.S. 'Outlawed' It

By SALLIE MARX

The U.S. is known the world over as a child-centered society. We give our children the things we never had, the best we can afford. They represent our hope for the future.

Yet despite our emphasis on the child, despite the many organizations that work for better conditions for children, despite the high value we set on childhood and youth, the child labor scene in agriculture is very similar to the industrial sweatshops of 1938: only today the sweatshops are under the blue sky.

Child labor was supposed to be abolished in 1938 with the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. This law however excluded agriculture. Today it is estimated that a fourth of all farm workers are under 16 years of age. These are of course estimates; we simply do not have a precise accounting of how many children work in the fields.

Agricultural labor is excluded from most federal legislation, and since children in agriculture are practically exempt from child labor laws, their working conditions are for the most part subject only to the discretion and judgment of the farm owners. Why? Both federal and state laws are vague and inadequate.

The 1966 amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act has a special section for agriculture but:

There is no minimum age at which a child can work if school is not in session in the district where the child is working. If school is in session he must be 16 to be legally employed.

There is no legal maximum on the number of hours a child may work in agriculture.

There is no minimum wage if piece rates are used and the child is compensated at the same rate as adults working under this system.

The above-outlined provisions cover the entire range of legal controls at the federal level. Although the law bans "oppressive" child labor practices, it never precisely defines the word oppressive: conditions such as a boy of 10 working 8 or more hours in 100-degree heat for $1.04 per hour don't come under the definition of oppressive.

Children Not Covered by State Laws

State laws by and large offer as much—really as little—protection for the child as do federal laws. For example, in the state of Washington, agriculture is exempt from the Women's and Minors' Act. In Oregon minors in non-hazardous occupations, (that is those not involving the operation of machinery) are excluded from protection.

Other state laws are similar. Even though all laws are vague and offer minimum protection, the U.S. Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division reported in 1969 that 487 farms had been found in violation of the federal law, that is they employed children under 16. Most of the children were under 13 years of age.

Few Americans are aware that agriculture is the third most hazardous industry in the United States. We still have a romantic idea of farm work as being a healthy outdoor activity not unlike swimming or team sports. After all, children who work in agriculture are not exposed to polluted water and air, nor the excesses of city noise, nor the hazards of urban traffic in play areas. But the fact is that they are exposed to other poor conditions that leave deep scars on them for the rest of their lives.

The American Friends Service Committee, in cooperation with the National Comittee on the Education of Migrant Children, has put together a compelling report that details agricultural conditions in several major areas in the U.S. What follows is a short description from their report of the life of these children, the conditions under which they work and comments from actual interviews with the families themselves.

OREGON—25,000 migrant laborers swell the labor force to 37,000 during the season in the Willamette Valley. It is a very productive area, and a wide assortment of berries (loganberries, boysenberries, strawberries), fruits and beans are grown. Families are an important labor source because the crops are harvested by hand and the children can help in the work. Field work is an accepted part of the life for young people in the area. Teachers often act as crew leaders for the summer. To the middle class child, this summer money means extras such as clothes, car or luxury items, but the migrant child puts his earnings into the common pot to help sustain the family. His income is no supplement; it is a vital source of the family's existence.

How does it affect the migrant children? Here is a sample case history. Margarita is 21 and her family comes from Montana. She is an intelligent girl who quit school in the fourth grade to help her family pick crops. Even though she missed classes regularly, she managed to keep up with her school work and liked it very much. She held a job at one time using her math and English, and her employer was so satisfied with her job performance that he prevailed upon her to stay. Because Margarita felt she had an obligation to travel with her family, she reluctantly quit her job to work with them in the fields. Margarita does not like the life but passively accepts her lot.

The welfare system seems designed to force poor parents to make their young children work. In Marion County welfare is reduced during the harvest season by the amount earned by family members over 16, but income earned by the smaller children is not counted. The more money the children under 16 earn, the more income the family can keep. Child labor pays under the present welfare system.

MAINE—21,000 workers are still needed to harvest the potato crop in Aroostook, the famed potato county in Maine. Farmers have always relied heavily on local children to help during the peak season. It is in fact a proud tradition and has been part of the way of life for over 100 years. Mechanization has reduced the need for migrant labor, but there is still a strong demand for child labor.

Here is a description of the daily routine on one farm: Mr. B. wakes the household at 5; everyone is out in the fields by 6 and works until 5 p.m. The work day is ten hours plus an hour for lunch. To earn an above-subsistence living, the farm worker must pick steadily for the entire work day.

The unmechanized farmer is dependent on child labor during the harvest. If the harvest recess (many schools close during the harvest) were done away with and children were no longer available, many of these farmers would go out of business. Here is one farmer's answer to the question "Why can't you get adult migrant labor instead?"

"I got no place to put them, I'd have to build 'em a better house than I got myself. The government is strict about that."

What he does is get local children instead.

CALIFORNIA — Temperatures in the Santa Rosa area, where the study was conducted, ranged from 80 to 105 during the month of July. Depending on weather and the harvest demands, the farm day varies from a few hours to ten or more hours at the peak of the season for highly perishable crops. Almost 20% of the children sampled worked more than 8 hours a day, which is in direct violation of California law.

The better jobs are paid on an hourly rather than piece-rate basis. Most families however work by the piece and are open to many forms of exploitation. The deferred bonus is one such practice. A portion of the wages is withheld to be paid as a bonus at the end of the season; however, if the worker quits before then, he forfeits the bonus. This is necessary, says the farmer, to insure that low-yield fields will be picked regardless of how poor the piece-rate becomes. If most piece-rate workers earned a decent stable wage, they would not leave during low yield periods. As it is, they average a below-minimum wage of $1.04 an hour (the minimum is $1.30).

Written statements about wages and deductions are not, in many cases, provided. Also, many children work without social security cards and their income is listed under other names. This practice serves a number of purposes: it masks the use of under-12 child labor which is against the law; it reduces the cost to employers who pay no benefits taxes; and it incidentally results in inaccurately high wage statistics—that is average wages appear higher if two incomes are joined under one name.

In theory, California laws should protect the farmworker. The addition of new laws, aside from raising the minimum wage, is not the primary problem. The main stumbling block against improvement of the farmworker's lot in California is the inadequate enforcement of laws already on the books. Agencies are understaffed and their procedures time-consuming and burdensome. If complaints do not go totally unanswered, then they take an unconscionably long time to be acted on. Enforcement agencies must be strengthened, their budgets increased and their powers activated.

Massive Government Effort Needed

A massive government effort is necessary before any headway can be made in reducing disease and accidents. Not only is agriculture dangerous, but it also has the highest occupational disease rate of any industry. In terms of the physical effects on children, Dr. Charles Hendee, Professor of Clinical Diseases of Children, Columbia University, reports: "Agricultural labor such as the thinning, pulling and topping of beets, picking of strawberries and cotton, and so forth, requires constant bending and stooping and frequent lifting. This excessive muscular activity expends the child's energy which should be used in the natural process of growth. Consequently, children who engage in such arduous labor become undernourished and undersized. . . ."

What does it add up to? Child labor in agriculture is in no way limited to one region. An indispensable economic support for his family, the under-16-year-old laborer is employed in virtually every segment of agriculture and in every part of the country. The average child born into a farm-laboring family has little choice in his future. At an early age he becomes part of a vicious economic circle that seemingly cannot be broken. His parents are unable to earn a living wage and therefore need the income from his labor. He, in turn, joins the endless pool of child labor, the effect of which is to depress the wage rate of working adults.

The average child who labors in the fields will be less healthy physically, get a poorer education, earn less money in his adult years, and die at an earlier age than the non-working child. The accident of birth decides his fate. The opportunities open to other American children are denied him. It is a tragic waste of human potential.

As a first step toward change, all farm labor should be brought under the same legislation as the industrial workers. This would mean a higher minimum wage, better working conditions and stricter safeguards for children. But that is not enough. The federal minimum wage of $1.60 an hour is still not a living wage, especially for a family with several children.

Basically, there are two choices. One is what we have now: the continued waste of young people like Margarita who must help their families in the fields even if it means the destruction of their own future; the other is to provide support payments for children or a Guaranteed Annual Wage, so that it will be possible for families to live decently without using their 7- and 8-year-old children as a means of support.

Mills Proposes 20% Benefit Rise In Social Security

Plan Is Expected to Enhance Candidacy for President, Notably in Florida Primary

2/24/72

Tax to Be Little Changed

W-S-J

WASHINGTON—Presidential candidate Wilbur Mills is setting out to do what the other candidates can only talk about doing: raise Social Security benefits 20%.

And he says he plans to do it with only slightly higher Social Security taxes.

For years it's been a stock proposal of presidential candidates to raise the cash payments to the 27 million American on Social Security. Just as regularly, Mr. Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has thwarted such big increases because of a determination to keep the Social Security trust fund "actuarially sound."

But this year the Arkansas Democrat is a presidential candidate himself. Yesterday, while not mentioning his candidacy, Rep. Mills announced he was introducing a bill to provide the 20% increase effective June 1 and said he hoped the Senate Finance Committee would attach it to a pending measure the House passed several months ago.

A knowledgeable congressional source said he understood that one reason for the Mills proposal was to "jump the gun" on the Nixon administration. He said Rep. Mills had learned President Nixon has been contemplating making a similar proposal to Congress after his return from China.

The Ways and Means chairman's sudden desire to boost Social Security benefits sharply should increase his political appeal especially in the presidential primary in Florida, the home of many Social Security beneficiaries.

Sen. Russell Long, (D., La.), Finance Committee chairman, said the Mills proposal "certainly will be considered" by the committee. But even if the Finance Committee decides against going along with Rep. Mills on the pending bill, his influence on Social Security legislation is so great that he probably could get a 20% increase enacted later by initiating it in the Ways and Means Committee.

The bill before the Senate Finance Committee provides, in addition to a controversial overhaul of the nation's welfare system, for a 5% increase in Social Security benefits and a major raise in Social Security taxes. That benefit increase would take effect next June.

The Mills proposal would raise the average Social Security benefit for a retired worker to $162 a month from $133. For elderly couples, the average benefit would go to $269 a month from $222.

Rep. Mills said the financing of his proposal was based on recommendations to Congress of the Social Security Advisory Council. That group of outside experts, which is required by law to report periodically on the status of the Social Security system, has suggested that benefits be financed on a "pay-as-you-go" basis, meaning that the trust fund should keep on hand only enough money to pay each year's benefits. The council also has suggested that future years' tax projections be based on an assemption that wage levels will rise rather than stay level.

A complete rundown on the financing of the Mills proposal wasn't available yesterday. In general, the plan apparently would increase this year's Social Security tax rate, paid by both an employer and an employe, to 5.8% of the wage base from the current 5.2%. But under the Social Security-welfare bill pending in the Finance Committee, the rate already is due to rise to 5.4%. The current wage base of $9,000 would go to $10,200 this year under both the Mills plan and the Finance Committee bill.

The Mills plan would hold tax rates attributable to the retirement-benefits portion of Social Security level through 1976, whereas the pending bill would raise these rates in that period. (Of the 5.8% tax rate projected in the Mills plan for this year, 4.6 percentage points are aimed at financing retirement benefits and the remainder goes for Medicare provisions.) But the Mills proposal would raise the wage base to $12,000 beginning next year, and would provide "automatic adjustments" in future years as wage levels rose.

Mills' Plan for 20% Social Security Rise Perplexes Administration, Congressmen

2/29/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Nixon administration and some lawmakers seem temporarily up a tree about Wilbur Mills' surprise plan for a 20% Social Security benefit boost.

An increase of that size would pose "great problems," Director George P. Shultz of the Office of Management and Budget testified, asserting that President Nixon's position as stated in his Jan. 24 Budget Message is that there should be a 5% increase.

After unsuccessfully pressing Mr. Shultz and Treasury Secretary John B. Connally for a clear answer to whether Mr. Nixon would veto a 20% increase, Chairman Russell Long (D., La.) of the Senate Finance Committee said, "I can see enough liberality in your administration" to suspect that Mr. Nixon might yet embrace a 20% boost as part of his reelection platform.

"A Flying Squirrel"

Sen. Long complained that uncertainty over the administration stand has him in the posion of "a flying squirrel" that might "jump for a tree" by opposing a big boost and then find the tree to be a "mirage."

If Mr. Nixon is going to favor such a boost, the Senator added, "I'd rather be at the head of the parade than at the rear end." Instead of letting a 20% boost become a Republican campaign goal, and delay the boon for widows and the aged until next year, Sen. Long said, he'd prefer to push the bill through this session.

"Maybe you're talking about the wrong flying squirrel," Mr. Connally protested, stressing that it wasn't Mr. Nixon but a Democratic presidential hopeful, Chairman Mills (D., Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee, who has proposed a 20% boost. While declaring that "none of us know anything about" rumors that Mr. Nixon might favor either a 10% or a 20% benefit boost, Mr. Connally said that "the only information we have is in the budget." Mr. Mills made his proposal after the President had begun his China visit.

A $6 Billion Search

The problems a 20% boost would pose, Mr. Shultz said, include a $6 billion addition to the $246.3 billion of budget outlays and $25.5 billion deficit slated for the fiscal year starting July 1. This would "violate the principle" that there should be a rigid ceiling on outlays, he said, and require either a "difficult" search for $6 billion of spending cuts or a congressional decision to raise taxes accordingly.

Also, Mr. Shultz reasoned, the Mills plan "by about four years from now" would leave the Social Security Trust Fund without enough assets to cover even 75% of a year's anticipated payments. According to a recent advisory commission report, he observed, the trust fund should keep between 75% and 125% of a year's money on hand. If only the 5% boost is enacted, Mr. Shultz said, Social Security benefits will have been raised about one-third in only 2½ years' time.

The answers of the administration witnesses appear to "leave the President leeway" to back a bigger boost, Sen. Long observed, and Mr. Shultz said the Mills plan is being "very carefully" studied. His personal view, however, Mr. Shultz said under persistent questioning, is that it would be "unwise" of Congress to go beyond the President's recommendation, and that a 5% boost would be "very wise."

Debt-Ceiling Boost

With the Social Security question and the usual confused grousing about various budget concepts dominating the hearing, only a few minutes of the nearly four-hour session were devoted to the ostensible topic of the Nixon administration's request for a debt-ceiling increase. "As a matter of urgency," Mr. Connally asked the Senate to enact the House-passed $20 billion increase to a temporary $450 billion limit through June 30.

This would be "a satisfactory resolution of the current need," Mr. Connally said, although it clearly would involve the Congress enacting further relief prior to mid-year. The administration originally had asked for a $50 billion increase. The federal debt, which was $427.2 billion as of last Wednesday, is estimated by the Treasury to reach $450 billion on June 15 and $472.8 billion by year-end.

Again attacking "loophole-closing" tax reforms as unwarranted, Mr. Connally expressed hope that there won't be any such entangling amendments because the Treasury will need debt-ceiling relief "in a few weeks."

As an alternative, Sen. Wallace Bennett (R., Utah) suggested, Congress might simply "repeal the debt ceiling." As a discipline on the budget, it's "an illusion" and a "charade," he complained, with this to be the 55th time the ceiling has been raised since its was first applied in 1917 to free the Treasury from the need of seeking advance permission for each borrowing. All the ceiling provides, he said, is an opportunity "to get the Treasury Secretary up here and beat him over the head" for "anything the administration has done."

In January, the Treasury reported separately, the budget deficit amounted to $1.87 billion, substantially deeper than the $1.34 billion of red ink in January 1971. In the first seven months of the fiscal year that began last July 1, the report showed, the deficit has accumulated to $20.25 billion, compared with $17.99 billion in the year-earlier period.

Prot legis

Week of May 8, 1972

OSHA, ONE YEAR OLD, LOOKS FOR INCREASING ROLE FOR STATES

WASHINGTON -- The Labor Department will emphasize increased State involvement in job safety and health during the coming year.

"This is a key year for the continued development and initial operation of State programs," George C. Guenther, Assistant Secretary for Occupational Safety and Health, stated.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration, which Guenther heads, sets and enforces job and health standards that cover 60 million employees in 5 million workplaces. It began its second year of operation April 29.

"During the coming year," Guenther said, "OSHA will be involved in the critical transition from State planning to State operations -- achieving the intent of Congress to have the States assume full responsibility for development and enforcement of occupational safety and health standards."

He pointed out that Fiscal Year 1973, which begins July 1, will be the final year that States can receive 90 percent Federal grants to plan their programs as authorized by the Williams-Steiger Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970.

OSHA has requested $5 million to continue State development plans during Fiscal Year 1973. In the current fiscal year, $6.8 million of 90-10 grant money, has already been obligated to 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. An additional $1.69 million will be obligated by OSHA's 10 Regional Administrators before June 30.

Guenther believes 20 to 25 State plans will be in operation by June 30, 1973, and the agency is requesting $22.1 million to fund them. OSHA's 1973 budget request of $67,500,000 -- an increase of $31,043,000 over the 1972 appropriation of $36,457,000 -- $22.1 million is for State planning and operational grants. States will match the Federal grants on a dollar-for-dollar basis.

This grant money was authorized by Congress to allow the States to assume full responsibility for their own job safety and health program that are "at least as effective" as the Federal. The Federal Government will retain concurrent enforcement jurisdiction with the States for at least three years after initial approval of State plans.

(MORE)

Guenther said the major thrust of OSHA during the first year has been two-fold: promotional -- informing and motivating employers and employees about their rights and responsibilities under the Act, and developing the agency's capability to perform effectively.

"Not since passage of the Social Security Act has there been another law that affects employer and employee as does the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970," Guenther said. During the first six months of Fiscal Year 1972, the agency responded to 150,000 written communications, one quarter of a million incoming telephone calls, and 40,000 visits to OSHA field offices. OSHA officials also appeared before 5,000 separate business, union, government and other interested groups to explain the Act's requirements.

Guenther noted these achievements for OSHA during its first year:

Administrative organization: Established a staff structured with two-thirds of its personnel in a decentralized field organization consisting of 10 Regional and 51 Area and District Offices in major metropolitan areas across the country.

Compliance staff: Recruited, trained and assigned nearly 400 compliance officers and industrial hygienists. Developed priorities for inspections of fatalities and catastrophes, employee complaints, and special programs aimed at targer industries and health hazards. Over 20,000 inspections were conducted in the first nine months of the current fiscal year.

State programs: Permitted States to continue operation of their own State safety and health programs while aiding them with grant money to develop programs that are at least as effective as the Federal program.

Training: Instructed nearly 27,000 persons in job safety and health; estimated that each person trained returns to the worksite and instructs an additional 100 persons.

Standards: Issued a large number of safety and health standards and continued to adopt new ones.

Federal agencies: Set into operation a 15-member Federal Safety Advisory Council and assisted Federal agencies to increase the effectiveness of their own safety and health programs.

(MORE)

Recordkeeping: Developed, in cooperation with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a nationwide recordkeeping and reporting system designed to provide comprehensive data on occupational injuries and illnesses. Some 35 to 40 States are expected to participate in a statistical survey this calendar year.

Research: Developed a close relationship with the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and commenced action to produce criteria for new standards, especially in the area of occupational health.

# # #

SUGGESTED LANGUAGE FOR A

STATE BILL ESTABLISHING A FIXED MINIMUM WAGE

Prepared in Response to a
Resolution of the
International Association of Governmental Labor Officials
in Convention, Portland, Oregon
August 1961

By the
Bureau of Labor Standards
and the
Women's Bureau
of the
United States Department of Labor

and a Committee of
State Minimum Wage Administrators

Technical Drafting by the
Solicitor's Office
of the
United States Department of Labor

August 1963

August 1963

Suggested Language for a

STATE MINIMUM WAGE BILL ESTABLISHING
A FIXED MINIMUM WAGE

A bill to provide for minimum wage and overtime standards.

SHORT TITLE

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the _____.

STATEMENT OF POLICY

Section 2. It is declared to be the policy of this Act (1) to establish minimum wage and overtime compensation standards for workers at levels consistent with their health, efficiency, and general well-being; (2) to safeguard existing minimum wage and overtime compensation standards which are adequate to maintain the health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers against the unfair competition of wage and hour standards which do not provide such adequate standards of living; and (3) to sustain purchasing power and increase employment opportunities.

DEFINITIONS

Section 3. As used in this Act:

(a) "_____"* means _____;
(insert title of official who will administer this act);

* Insert title of official who will administer the act, as "Commissioner" or "Director."

(b) "Wage" means compensation due to an employee by reason of his employment, payable in legal tender of the United States or check on banks convertible into cash on demand at full face value, subject to such allowances as may be permitted by regulations of the _____* under section 7;

(c) "Employ" includes to suffer or permit to work;

(d) "Employer" includes any individual, partnership, association, corporation, business trust, or any person or group of persons acting directly or indirectly in the interest of an employer in relation to an employee;

(e) "Employee" includes any individual employed by an employer but shall not include:

(1) any individual employed in agriculture;

(2) any individual employed in domestic service in or about a private home;

(3) any individual employed in a bona fide executive, administrative, or professional capacity (as such terms are defined and delimited by regulations of the _____*;

(4) any individual employed by the United States, or by the State or any political subdivision thereof; or

(5) any individual who renders service gratuitously for a nonprofit organization as such terms are defined by regulations of the _____*;

(f) "Occupation" means any occupation, service, trade, business, industry, or branch or group of industries or employment or class of employment in which employees are gainfully employed;

(g) "Gratuities" mean voluntary monetary contributions received by an employee from a guest, patron, or customer for services rendered.

PAYMENT OF MINIMUM WAGES

Section 4**. (a) Except as may otherwise be provided pursuant to this Act, every employer shall pay to each of his employees wages at a rate of not less than _____ an hour.

(b) Every employer of an employee engaged in any occupation in which gratuities have customarily and usually constituted and been recognized as part of the remuneration for hiring purposes may be entitled to an allowance for gratuities as part of the hourly wage rate provided in section 4(a) in an amount not to exceed _____ cents per hour, provided the employee received gratuities in the amount claimed. The _____* shall require each employer desiring approval of an allowance for gratuities to provide substantial evidence that the amount claimed was received by the employee, and no part thereof was returned to the employer.

**Alternative Section 4(a).

(a) Except as may otherwise be provided pursuant to this Act, every employer shall pay to each of his employees wages at a rate of not less than _____ an hour during the first year from the effective date of this Act, and not less than _____ an hour thereafter.

OVERTIME

Section 5***. No employer shall employ any of his employees for a workweek longer than forty hours, unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of forty hours in a workweek at a rate of not less than one and one-half times the hourly wage rate at which he is employed.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE_____*;
INVESTIGATIONS OF CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

Section 6. The _____* or his authorized representative shall have authority to:

(a) enter and inspect the place of business or employment of any employer of employees in any occupation in the State, for the purpose of examining and inspecting any or all books, registers, payrolls, and other records of any such employer that in any way relate to or have a bearing upon the question of wages, hours, and other conditions of employment of any such employees; copy any or all of such books, registers, payrolls, and other records as he or his authorized

***Alternative Section 5. No employer shall employ any of his employees for a workweek longer than:

(a) forty-four hours during the first year from the effective date of this Act,

(b) forty-two hours during the second year from such date,

(c) forty hours after the expiration of the second year from such date,

unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the hourly wage rate at which he is employed.

representative may deem necessary or appropriate; and question such employees for the purpose of ascertaining whether the provisions of this Act and the orders and regulations issued thereunder have been and are being complied with; and

(b) require from such employer full and correct statements in writing, including sworn statements, with respect to wages, hours, names, addresses, and such other information pertaining to his employees and their employment as the _____* or his authorized representative may deem necessary or appropriate.

ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

Section 7. (a) The _____* shall make and revise administrative regulations, including definitions of terms, as he shall deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act, to prevent the circumvention or evasion thereof, and to safeguard the minimum wage and overtime rates established by the Act.

(b) The _____* is authorized to appoint an advisory committee composed of an equal number of not more than three representatives each of employers and employees and of not more than three disinterested persons representing the public, which he may consult concerning the making and revising of administrative regulations. The _____* may pay the members of the advisory committee as compensation for their services a reasonable per diem, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, for each day on which

they attend a meeting of the committee or for each day they spend in the work of the committee, and may in addition reimburse them for necessary traveling expenses.

(c) Regulations issued by the _____* under this Act may include, but are not limited to, regulations defining and governing outside salesmen; bonuses; part time rates; special pay for special or extra work; allowances as part of the wage rates applicable under this Act for board, lodging, and gratuities; other facilities or services furnished by employers and used by employees; and other special items usual in a particular employer-employee relationship.

(d) In order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, avoid undue hardship, and safeguard the minimum wage rates under this Act, the _____* may also issue regulations providing for the employment of handicapped workers at wages lower than the wage rates applicable under this Act, under permits and for such periods of time as specified therein; and providing for the employment of learners and apprentices at wages lower than the wage rates applicable under this Act, under permits and subject to such limitations on number, proportion, length of learning period, occupations, and other conditions as the _____* may prescribe.

(e) Regulations shall be adopted by the _____* only after a public hearing is held after due publication of notice, at which any interested person may be heard and of which a record shall

be made. Regulations shall be published by the _____* and shall take effect upon publication except as may otherwise be provide therein.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

Section 8. (a) Any person who may be aggrieved by any administrative regulation issued under this Act may obtain a review thereof in the _____ court by filing in such court within _____ days after the date of publication of such regulation a written petition praying that the regulation be modified or set aside. A copy of such petition shall be served upon the _____*. The finding of facts, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive upon the court. The court shall determine whether the regulation is in accordance with law.

If the court determines that such regulation is not in accordance with law, it shall remand the case to the _____* with directions to modify or revoke such regulation. If application is made to the court for leave to adduce additional evidence by any aggrieved party, such party shall show to the satisfaction of the court that such additional evidence is material, and that there were reasonable grounds for the failure to adduce such evidence before the _____*. If the court finds that such evidence is material and that reasonable grounds exist for the failure of the aggrieved party to adduce such evidence in prior proceedings, the court may remand the case to the _____* with directions

that such additional evidence be taken by the _____*. The _____* may modify his findings and conclusions, in whole or in part, by reason of such additional evidence.

(b) Hearings in the _____ court on all appeals taken under the provisions of this Act shall be privileged and take precedence over all matters, except matters of the same character. The jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judgment and decree shall be final except that the same shall be subject to review by the _____ court. (Insert name of appellate court.)

(c) The commencement of proceedings under subsection (a) shall not, unless specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of an administrative regulation issued under the provisions of this Act. The court shall not grant any stay of an administrative regulation unless the person complaining of such regulation shall file in the court an undertaking with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the court for the payment to the employees affected by the regulation, in the event such regulation is affirmed, of the amount by which the compensation such employees are entitled to receive under the regulation exceeds the compensation they actually receive while such stay is in effect.

KEEPING OF RECORDS

Section 9. Every employer subject to any provision of this Act or of any regulation issued hereunder shall make and keep, for a period of not less than _____ years in or about the premises wherein

any employee is employed, a record of the name, address and occupation of each of his employees, the rate of pay, and the amount paid each pay period to each such employee, the hours worked each day and each workweek by such employee, and such other information as the _____* shall prescribe by regulation as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act or of the regulations thereunder. Such records shall be open for inspection or transcription by the _____* or his authorized representatives at any reasonable time. Every such employer shall furnish to the _____* or to his authorized representative on demand a sworn statement of such records and information upon forms prescribed or approved by the _____*.

POSTING OF LAW AND REGULATIONS

Section 10. Every employer subject to any provision of this Act or of any regulations issued hereunder shall keep a summary thereof, approved by the _____*, and copies of any applicable regulations issued hereunder, or a summary of such regulations, posted in a conspicuous and accessible place in or about the premises wherein any person subject thereto is employed. Employers shall be furnished by the _____* copies of such summaries and regulations without charge.

PENALTIES

Section 11. (a) Any employer who hinders or delays the _____* or his authorized representative in the performance of his duties in the enforcement of this Act, or refuses to admit the _____* or his authorized representative to any place of employment, or fails to make, keep, and preserve any records as required hereunder, or falsifies any such record, or refuses to make any such record accessible, or refuses to furnish a sworn statement of such record or any other information required for the proper enforcement of this Act, or fails to post a summary of this Act or a copy of any applicable regulation as required by or under the authority of this Act, or pays or agrees to pay wages at a rate less than the rate applicable under or pursuant to this Act, or otherwise violates any provision of this Act or of any regulation issued hereunder, shall be deemed in violation of this Act and shall, upon conviction therefor, be fined not less than _____ dollars nor more than _____ dollars.

(b) Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has made any complaint to his employer, to the _____*, or to his authorized representative that he has not been paid wages in accordance with this Act or regulation issued hereunder or because such employee has caused to be instituted or is about to cause to be instituted any proceeding under or related to this Act, or because such employee

has testified or is about to testify in any such proceeding, shall be deemed in violation of this Act and shall, upon conviction therefor, be fined not less than _____ dollars nor more than _____ dollars.

EMPLOYEES' REMEDIES

Section 12. (a) Any employer who pays any employee less than wages and overtime compensation to which such employee is entitled under or by virtue of this Act shall be liable to such employee affected for the full amount of such wages and overtime compensation, less any amount actually paid to such employee by the employer, for an additional equal amount as liquidated damages, and for costs and such reasonable attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court. Any agreement between such employee and the employer to work for less than the applicable wage rate shall be no defense to such action. Such action may be maintained in any court of competent jurisdiction by any one or more employees for and in behalf of himself or themselves.

(b) At the written request of any employee paid less than the amount to which he is entitled under the provisions of this Act, the _____* may take an assignment of such wage claim in trust for the assigning employee and may bring any legal action necessary to collect such claim, and the employer shall be required to pay the costs and such reasonable attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court. The _____* in case of suit shall have power to join various claimants against the same employer in one action.

RELATIONS TO OTHER LAWS

Section 13. Any standards relating to minimum wages, maximum hours, overtime compensation, or other working conditions in effect under any other law of this State on the effective date of this Act, which are more favorable to employees than those applicable hereunder shall not be deemed to be amended, rescinded, or otherwise affected by this Act but shall continue in full force and effect until they are specificially superseded by standards more favorable to such employees by operation of or in accordance with this Act or regulations issued hereunder.

RIGHT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Section 14. Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to interfere with, impede, or in any way diminish the right of employees to bargain collectively with their employers through representatives of their own choosing in order to establish wages or other conditions of work in excess of the applicable minimum under the provisions of this Act.

SEPARABILITY

Section 15. If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstances, is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application thereof to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

EFFECTIVE DATE

Section 16. This Act shall become effective _____ days after its enactment.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Standards
November 1962

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM TO ACCOMPANY
SUGGESTED LANGUAGE FOR A STATE WAGE PAYMENT AND WAGE COLLECTION LAW

The accompanying suggested language for a State Wage Payment and Wage Collection Law is a revision of the language drafted by the U. S. Department of Labor in November 1948. The revision, which is designed to make the legislation more effective in light of current standards and procedures, was prepared by the Bureau of Labor Standards in consultation with the following State representatives who met in Washington, D. C., on June 26, 1962, with representatives of the Bureau of Labor Standards, the Solicitor's Office, the Women's Bureau, and the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the U. S. Department of Labor:

Mr. Sigmund Arywitz, Chief
Division of Labor Law Enforcement
Department of Industrial Relations
San Francisco, California

Mr. Jesse Baldwin, Chief
Minimum Wage Division
Labor Department
Hartford, Connecticut

Miss Carrie Lou Allgood, Executive Secretary
Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Mary Sproelle, Supervisor
Wage Claim Unit
Department of Labor
Indianapolis, Indiana

Mr. William J. Clark, Director
Wage and Hour Bureau
Department of Labor and Industry
Trenton, New Jersey

Mr. William Lew, Supervisor
Wage Claim Unit
Division of Labor Standards
Department of Labor
New York, New York

The standards for the draft bill were developed with due regard to the present provisions of State legislation on the subject. Forty-seven States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico have laws in effect dealing with the payment of wages. The laws vary

from State to State, both as to type of protection provided and as to coverage of employees. The most comprehensive laws include requirements for regular paydays, payment in lawful money, prompt payment if a worker is discharged or resigns, and authority for the State department of labor to take assignments of wage claims.

The attached draft bill is offered as a guide to States wishing to consider legislation to improve and strengthen existing laws on the subject, or to enact new legislation in this important field. The Bureau of Labor Standards has issued a bulletin (No. 203), as well as a Fact Sheet (No. 4-B), dealing with wage payment and wage collection laws. These publications are available to interested parties, upon request. The Bureau's services are available to the States to provide such assistance and advice as may be requested in proposing adjustments of the draft bill to meet the needs of any State or in preparing appropriate amendments to existing laws.

A brief explanation of the major provisions of the suggested legislation follows:

SECTION 1. Definitions. Subsection (a)(1) covers all private employers whether they are corporations, partnerships, associations, individuals, or the legal representative of deceased individuals, and includes receivers, trustees, or successors of any of the same, employing any person. If, in any State, it appears desirable to have the act apply to the State, to its political subdivisions, or to quasi-public corporations, special provision must be made.

Unlike other types of legislation which are difficult to enforce as regards employers of domestic and farm labor, on account of the inspection problem, there is no difficulty in making this type of law applicable to domestic and farm labor, for the law is not enforced by inspection, but rather on complaint. There is just as much reason to protect the agricultural anddomestic worker against nonpayment of wages as there is to protect any other worker. The State labor department officials who now try to make collection for such workers report frequent abuses and requests for assistance.

Subsection (b) assesses liability for unpaid wages upon the officers of a corporation and any agents having the management of such corporation who knowingly permit the corporation to fail to pay the wages. This is considered, in at least one jurisdiction, a reasonable safeguard against irresponsible corporations who become insolvent, leaving many helpless wage earners with unpaid claims. For instance, in certain family-held corporations where corporate officials may themselves have received large salaries as part of the business expenses of the corporation, the purposes of the act would be effectuated if wage earners could look to the officers and managers of corporations for recovery of their wages due and unpaid.

SECTION 2. Semimonthly payday. The basic provision in a wage-payment law is the requirement that wages be paid by employers at regular intervals. Unless paydays come at reasonably frequent intervals, their value to the employees is diminished because many employees will have drawn their money in advance, sometimes at a discount, and when paydays come there are no cash settlements to be made. Some employers pay weekly, others every two weeks, and some monthly. Thirty-four jurisdictions require that payment be made every two weeks or semimonthly. Nine jurisdictions require weekly payment. To the average worker it is important also that his wages be paid either in cash or by check easily convertible to cash. At one time it was the practice of some employers to pay workers in scrip or tokens which were usually good only at company stores and in paying rentals on company housing, or which could be redeemed in cash only at a substantial discount. Today, however, the laws in 32 jurisdictions require wages to be paid in lawful money or by check.

The long "holdover" period allowed by some of the laws further weakens provisions as to frequency of payment. The term "holdover" represents the time lapse between the end of the pay period and the payday. Computing a payroll, of course, may take some time where large numbers of workers are employed or where wages must be figured on a piece-rate basis. The suggested language, in subsection (b), provides for a 7-day "holdover" period, which is intended to eliminate the undesirable practice of withholding wages for unreasonably long periods of time, while at the same time permitting employers some latitude in arranging their paydays and in making up their payrolls.

Subsection (c) authorizes the Commissioner, upon application from an employer for good and sufficient reasons, to permit the establishment of regular paydays less frequently than semimonthly provided the worker shall be paid in full at least once each calendar month on a regularly established schedule.

SECTION 3. Employees who are separated from the payroll before payday. When the employer discharges an employee, good practice is to pay the wages owed forthwith, thus freeing the employee to look for another job, without the necessity for returning to his former workplace at a time which may be inconvenient to his new employer or to himself. When the employee takes the initiative, it is reasonable to allow the employer a somewhat longer interval in which to procure the money to pay off the worker, but at the same time it is grossly unfair to leave the latter without any assurance that he will be paid. Unless the wage-payment law requires payment within a reasonable time, the worker is greatly handicapped in collecting his claim. The draft bill provides for payment not later than the next regular payday, either through regular pay channels or by mail if requested by the employee, if the employee quits or resigns without notice; if the employee has given at least one pay period's notice of intention to quit, the employer shall pay his wages at time of quitting.

Employers sometimes seek to prevent continuation of strikes by withholding strikers' wages, in whole or in part. The provision declaring that the wages of striking employees must be paid in full on the next regular payday is aimed at such undesirable practices. Employees who are laid off for any reason must also be paid their wages not later than the next regular payday.

If an employer fails to pay wages as required, subsection (d) provides that he shall be liable for liquidated damages ranging from 10 percent of the amount due up to a sum equal to the unpaid wages.

SECTION 4. Unconditional payment of wages conceded to be due. The requirement that wages conceded to be due must be paid without delay has been found to facilitate greatly the work of Commissioners by reducing the amounts to be collected. Moreover, if, as in some laws, there are upper limits on the size of claims that the Commissioner may accept for collection through civil suit, this clause operates to bring within the permissible range a number of claims that would be too large if the employer were permitted to withhold the entire amount owed until the exact amount and validity of the claim had been established.

It should be noted under subsection (b) that the acceptance by an employee of a payment under subsection (a) does not constitute a release as to the balance of his wage claim and any release obtained by an employer as a condition to payment is null and void.

SECTION 5. Prime contractor's responsibility for wage payments. The purpose of this section is to hold those who subcontract out their work--whether or not they are actual employers--responsible for seeing that the subcontractor meets his payroll obligations.

SECTION 6. Deceased employees. In instances where wages are due and owing deceased employees, a number of States have followed the practice of providing for the payment of wages without requiring legal proceedings. This section authorizes employers to pay up to $300 of wages due deceased employees to the parties named without requiring letters testamentary or of administration.

SECTION 7. Withholding of wages. Many States make specific provision in their laws concerning the type of deductions from wages which can lawfully be made by employers. This section sets forth the types of deductions which are permissible.

SECTION 8. Notification, posting, and records. To facilitate the settlement of any disputes arising over the amount of wage claims, the law should make adequate provision for notification, posting, and recordkeeping. Such provisions as those suggested will assist the department of labor in its efforts to accustom employers to meeting their payroll obligations regularly, thus avoiding one of the most

difficult problems in wage claim collection--namely, the accumulation of large arrears of wages owed. Posting of an abstract of the act will notify the employees of their rights, and instruct them how to obtain assistance by promptly reporting delinquent employers.

SECTION 9. Provisions of law may not be waived by agreement. To permit employers and employees to waive the provisions of the law with respect to pay by mutual agreement would enable the employer, on account of his superior bargaining power, to nullify the provisions of the act, by making employment conditional upon terms at variance with the act--for instance, stipulating without prior authorization from the Commissioner that employees shall be paid monthly instead of semimonthly.

The practices which the act seeks to make general are already followed by the vast majority of employers. The relatively few employers who wish to withhold wages for longer periods than this bill would permit, or who delay payment after the employment is terminated, are responsible for the abuses against which this bill is directed.

SECTION 10. Enforcement. Like other labor laws which rest upon the police power of the State, the law dealing with times and methods of wage payment should be enforced by the department of labor. The present tendency is to centralize the enforcement of wage-payment laws in the labor department, and to authorize the Labor Commissioner to use these laws to make collection for employees. Those States in which the largest sums are collected annually for workers on wage claims are States in which the labor department has been given the broadest authority.

The records should be available for inspection by the wage-claim adjuster either at the plant, or at the department of labor, depending upon the nature of the case. If the Labor Commissioner and his deputies do not already possess a general right of entry, power to inspect books, and power to subpoena witnesses and payroll records, in connection with the duty to enforce all labor laws, these powers should be specifically conferred for the purpose of enforcing this law, as is set forth in section 10. This will enable the Commissioner to hold hearings on wage-claim cases to which both parties can be brought by summons, in an effort to arrive at the facts preliminary to court action.

SECTION 11. Penalties. The proposed act provides for fines or imprisonment, or both, for any violation of the act. The minimum and maximum lengths of time of imprisonment and amounts of fines which may be imposed are left to determination by the States.

SECTION 12 Employees' remedies. Criminal penalties as provided in section 11 of the draft do not necessarily bring about settlement of all claims. The employee, of course, retains his right to bring an action in contract to collect wages to which he is entitled. The wage earner, however, usually has not the financial resources necessary to hire a lawyer and advance court costs. Thus, section 12 proposes that the wage earners assign their claims to the Labor Commissioner for collection without limitation as to amount. The Labor Commissioner will enter suit on behalf of the complainant for the collection of the amounts due. If there are several complaints against one employer, the Commissioner should be authorized to join the claims in a single action, thus saving a great deal of duplication of effort for courts, employers, and plaintiffs. The aggrieved wage earner can then search for work elsewhere, secure in the knowledge that his claim is in competent hands, and that whatever legal steps are necessary will be taken for him. Twenty-one jurisdictions have given their labor department statutory authority to use legal procedures to assist workers who have wages due them.

SECTION 13. Rules and regulations. The Commissioner is empowered under this section to formulate and issue the necessary rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the act. Specifically, regulations should be issued with respect to the subject of deductions under section 7 (2), and the matter of records and reports as provided in section 8 (6).

SECTION 14. Separability. If any section of the act is held unconstitutional, this section is intended to limit the effect of such a decision to the section declared invalid.

ADDITIONAL STATUTORY PROVISIONS OF INTEREST TO STATES

Reciprocal agreements with other States. In California, Nevada, and Oregon, reciprocal agreements are permitted to be entered into by the Commissioners providing for the assignment of wage claims from one State to another. This is considered to be an expeditious procedure to reach fly-by-night employers who leave the State to evade the payment of wage claims. Appropriate statutory wording to effectuate this procedure will be sent to any State by the Bureau of Labor Standards, upon request.

Weekly pay periods. A number of States, particularly in the New England area, provide for the weekly payment of wages instead of using the semimonthly period. In the event States with semimonthly pay periods wish to amend their laws to provide for more frequent pay periods, appropriate statutory wording will be sent to them by the Bureau of Labor Standards, upon request.

NOTE: In case this bill is passed by a State which already has certain wage-payment legislation, it is advisable to add a clause repealing specific conflicting provisions. Moreover, it is necessary to adapt the terminology of certain sections, especially those concerned with costs and procedure, to that used in the codes and civil practice acts of the particular jurisdiction.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Standards
November 1962

SUGGESTED LANGUAGE FOR A STATE WAGE PAYMENT AND WAGE COLLECTION LAW

Section 1. Definitions. (a) Whenever used in this Act:

(1) The term "employer" includes any individual, partnership, association, joint stock company, trust, corporation, the administrator or executor of the estate of a deceased individual, or the receiver, trustee, or successor of any of the same, employing any person.

(2) The term "employee" includes any person suffered or permitted to work by an employer.

(3) The term "wages" means compensation for labor or services rendered by an employee, whether the amount is determined on a time, task, piece, commission, or other basis of calculation.

(4) The term "Commissioner" means (here insert title of the head of the State agency administering labor laws).

(b) For the purposes of this Act the officers of a corporation and any agents having the management of such corporation who knowingly permit the corporation to violate the provisions of sections 2 and 3 of this Act shall be deemed to be the employers of the employees of the corporation.

Section 2. Semimonthly payday. (a) Every employer shall pay all wages due to his employees at least twice during each calendar month, on regular paydays designated in advance by the employer, in lawful money of the United States or with checks on banks convenient

to the place of employment where suitable arrangements are made for the cashing of such checks by employees for the full amount of the wages due.

(b) The end of the pay period for which payment is made on a regular payday shall be not more than seven days before such regular payday, provided that if the regular payday falls on a nonwork day payment shall be made on the preceding workday.

(c) The Commissioner may, upon application showing good and sufficient reasons, permit an employer to establish regular paydays less frequently than semimonthly provided that the worker shall be paid in full at least once each calendar month on a regularly established schedule.

Section 3. Employees who are separated from the payroll before paydays. (a) Whenever an employer discharges an employee, the employer shall pay the employee's wages in full at the time of discharge.

(b) Whenever an employee quits or resigns, the employer shall pay the employee's wages no later than the next regular payday, as provided under section 2 of this Act, either through the regular pay channels or by mail if requested by the employee, except that if the employee gives at least one pay period's notice of intention to quit the employer shall pay all wages earned by the employee at the time of quitting.

(c) When work of any employee is suspended as a result of a labor dispute, or when an employee for any reason whatsoever is laid off, the employer shall pay in full to such employee not later than

the next regular payday, as designated under section 2 of this Act, either through the regular pay channels or by mail if requested by the employee, wages earned at the time of suspension or layoff.

(d) If an employer fails to pay an employee wages as required under subsections (a), (b), or (c) of this section, such employer shall be additionally liable to the employee for liquidated damages in the amount of 10 percent of the unpaid wages for each day except Sunday and legal holidays upon which such failure continues after the day upon which payment is required or in an amount equal to the unpaid wages, whichever is smaller; except that, for the purpose of such liquidated damages, such failure shall not be deemed to continue after the date of the filing of a petition in bankruptcy with respect to the employer if he is adjudicated bankrupt upon such petition.

Section 4. Unconditional payment of wages conceded to be due. (a) In case of a dispute over the amount of wages, the employer shall pay, without condition and within the time set by this Act, all wages, or parts thereof, conceded by him to be due, leaving to the employee all remedies he might otherwise be entitled to, including those provided under this Act, as to any balance claimed.

(b) The acceptance by an employee of a payment under this section shall not constitute a release as to the balance of his claim and any release required by an employer as a condition to payment shall be in violation of this Act and shall be null and void.

Section 5. Prime contractor's responsibility for wage payments. Whenever any person shall contract with another for the performance

of any work which the contracting person has undertaken to perform, he shall become civilly liable to employees engaged in the performance of work under such contract for the payment of wages, exclusive of liquidated damages, as required by sections 2, 3, and 4 of this Act whenever and to the extent that the employer of such employees fails to pay such wages, and the employer of such employees shall be liable to such person for any wages paid by him under this section.

Section 6. Deceased employees. (a) In the event of the death of an employee wages due him by an employer not in excess of $300 may upon proper demand be paid, in the absence of actual notice of the pendency of probate proceedings, without requiring letters testamentary or of administration in the following order of preference to decedent's:

(1) surviving spouse,

(2) children 18 years of age and over in equal shares,

(3) father and mother or survivor,

(4) sisters and brothers,

or to the person who pays the funeral expenses.

(b) Payments under subsection (a) shall be a release and discharge of the employer to the amount of such payment.

Section 7. Withholding of wages. No employer may withhold or divert any portion of an employee's wages unless:

(1) the employer is required or empowered to do so by State or Federal law, or

(2) the employer has a written authorization by the employee for deductions for a lawful purpose accruing to the benefit of the employee as provided in regulations issued by the Commissioner, or

(3) the deductions are pursuant to any rule or regulation, for medical, surgical, or hospital care or service, without financial benefit to the employer and openly, clearly, and in due course recorded in the employer's books.

Section 8. Notification, posting, and records. Every employer shall:

(1) notify his employees in writing, at the time of hiring of the rate of pay, and of the day, hour, and place of payment.

(2) notify his employees in writing or through a posted notice maintained in a place accessible to his employees of any changes in the arrangements specified above prior to the time of such changes,

(3) make available to his employees in writing or through a posted notice maintained in a place accessible to his employees employment practices and policies with regard to vacation pay, sick leave, and comparable matters

(4) furnish each employee with an itemized statement of deductions made from his wages under section 7 for each pay period such deductions are made,

(5) keep posted in a place accessible to his employees an abstract of this Act furnished by the Commissioner, and

(6) make such records of the persons employed by him, including wage and hour records, preserve such records for such periods of time, and make such reports therefrom to the Commissioner, as the Commissioner shall prescribe by regulation as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act.

Section 9. Provisions of law may not be waived by agreement. Except as provided in section 12, no provision of this Act may in any way be contravened or set aside by private agreement.

Section 10. Enforcement. (a) The Commissioner shall enforce and administer the provisions of this Act and the Commissioner or his authorized representatives are empowered to hold hearings and otherwise to investigate charges of violations of this Act and to institute actions for penalties hereunder.

(b) The Commissioner or his authorized representatives are empowered to enter and inspect such places, question such employees, and investigate such facts, conditions, or matters as they may deem appropriate, to determine whether any person has violated any provision of this Act or any rule or regulation issued hereunder or which may aid in the enforcement of the provisions of this Act.

(c) The Commissioner or his authorized representatives shall have power to administer oaths and examine witnesses under oath, issue subpoenas, compel the attendance of witnesses, and the production of papers, books, accounts, records, payrolls, documents, and testimony, and to take depositions and affidavits in any proceeding before said Commissioner.

(d) In case of failure of any person to comply with any subpoena lawfully issued, or on the refusal of any witness to testify to any matter regarding which he may be lawfully interrogated, it shall be the duty of the _____ court, on application by the Commissioner, to compel obedience by attachment proceedings for contempt, as in the case of disobedience of the requirements of a subpoena issued from such court or a refusal to testify therein.

Section 11. Penalties. Any employer who wilfully violates any provision of sections 2 or 3 of this Act or who fails to comply with any other requirements of this Act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than _____ nor more than _____, for each separate offense, or by imprisonment of not less than _____ or more than _____, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Section 12. Employees' remedies. (a) Action by an employee to recover unpaid wages and/or liquidated damages may be maintained in any court of competent jurisdiction by any one or more employees for and in behalf of himself or themselves, or such employee or employees may designate an agent or representative to maintain such action.

(b) Whenever the Commissioner determines that wages have not been paid, and that such unpaid wages constitute an enforceable claim, the Commissioner shall upon the request of the employee take an assignment in trust for such wages and/or any claim for liquidated damages, without being bound by any of the technical rules respecting the validity of any such assignments and may bring any legal action necessary to collect such claim. With the consent of the assigning employee at the time of the assignment the Commissioner shall have the power to settle and adjust any such claim to the same extent as might the assigning employee.

(c) The court in any action brought under this subsection shall, in addition to any judgment awarded to the plaintiff or plaintiffs,

allow costs of the action, including costs or fees of any nature, and reasonable attorney's fees, to be paid by the defendant. Such attorney's fees in the case of actions brought under this subsection by the Commissioner shall be remitted by the Commissioner to the Treasurer of the State. The Commissioner shall not be required to pay the filing fee or other costs or fees of any nature or to file bond or other security of any nature in connection with such action or with proceedings supplementary thereto, or as a condition precedent to the availability to the Commissioner of any process in aid of such action or proceedings. The Commissioner shall have power to join various claimants in one preferred claim or lien, and in case of suit to join them in one cause of action.

Section 13. Rules and regulations. The Commissioner is authorized to issue such rules and regulations as he determines necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

Section 14. Separability of provisions. If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of the Act, and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Standards
Women's Bureau
August 1963

MEMORANDUM TO ACCOMPANY SUGGESTED LANGUAGE FOR A STATE BILL ESTABLISHING A FIXED MINIMUM WAGE

The accompanying suggested language for a State bill to establish a fixed minimum wage was prepared in response to a resolution adopted by the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials at its annual convention at Portland, Oregon, in 1961.

The Association requested the U. S. Department of Labor to work with representatives of the Association and representatives of the appropriate bureaus of the Department of Labor to review the draft language which had been prepared in 1957 and to incorporate any changes deemed desirable in the light of current experience. This is the third time that minimum wage bills have been drafted in response to resolutions of the Association, beginning with a 1951 resolution. Prior to that, for a number of years, such draft language had been developed and made available by the Department of Labor through the Bureau of Labor Standards and the Women's Bureau, in response to requests from State labor officials, officers and members of national voluntary organizations, and others.

The Committee set up by the Department in response to the 1961 resolution consisted of the following State labor law administrators:

Mrs. Florence G. Clifton
Chief, Division of Industrial Welfare
California Department of Industrial Relations

Miss Carrie Lou Allgood
Executive Secretary
Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board
District of Columbia

Mr. George Ostrow, Director
Division of Labor Standards
New York Department of Labor

Mr. Frank Crane
Commissioner
North Carolina Department of Labor

Mrs. Margaret Ackroyd, Chief
Division of Women and Children
Rhode Island Department of Labor

Mr. Jesse Baldwin, Director
Minimum Wage Division
Connecticut Labor Department

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Committee met in Washington in June 1963 with representatives of the Bureau of Labor Standards, the Women's Bureau, the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, and the Office of the Solicitor of the Department. The standards incorporated in the attached draft bill were developed on the basis of the discussions at the meeting.

The development of suggested language for a State minimum wage bill took into account the fact that the establishment of minimum wages by law lies within the jurisdiction, in differing degrees, of both Federal and State Governments. The Federal Government has exercised its power in setting rates and overtime standards in the area of interstate commerce since 1938, when the Fair Labor Standards Act, commonly called the Wage and Hour Law, was passed. This law, applicable to employees regardless of age or sex, extends protection to approximately 27-1/2 million persons. However, there remain millions of workers outside the scope of the act whose only protection lies in State minimum wage laws.

As in 1957, two draft bills were prepared. One provides for a fixed minimum wage with wage board procedure. The other one, the attached draft bill, provides only for a fixed minimum wage rate.

THE DRAFT BILL

Title

A title is included in the draft bill for the convenience of the States. Each State should check the adequacy of this title against its individual requirements for the titles of bills.

Statement of Policy

A statement of policy, included in the draft, incorporates the considerations leading to the adoption of minimum wage legislation and the purposes it is designed to achieve.

Coverage

As customary in every Department bill since 1938, the draft bill applies to both men and women. Among the exemptions from coverage are employees engaged in agriculture and domestic service. The desirability of minimum wage legislation for these workers is well recognized. However, the Committee felt that States which had not yet been able to pass minimum wage legislation might feel it would be strategic to begin with more limited coverage. If there is public support in any State for inclusion of agricultural and domestic workers, these exemptions should be omitted. This is also true of the exemption of executives and administrative and professional employees, to be defined by regulation of the administrator.

The draft also excludes from coverage individuals who render services gratuitously for a nonprofit organization, to be defined by regulations of the administrator. Such exemption would apply, for example, to persons rendering such services for charitable, religious, or educational organizations.

The draft does not exclude persons covered by the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. The worker, therefore, will have the advantage of any higher rates established under a State law, since the Federal act provides that nothing contained therein shall excuse noncompliance with any State law establishing wage or hour standards higher than those established in the Federal law. In recent years, several States which had exemptions for persons covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act found it necessary to repeal or substantially amend these exemptions in order to provide equal protection under the higher State standards.

Wages

The draft provides for a statutory minimum wage rate, as provided by the Federal law and by more than half of the State minimum wage laws. No amount has been recommended for the minimum wage rate; the amount to be proposed should be inserted. When filling in the effective date of the act, which is at the end of the draft, an allowance of time may be provided for employers to adjust to the minimum wage rate and for the administrator to issue necessary regulations.

Another means of providing time for employers to adjust to the desired minimum is through a step-up wage provision. Such a provision is supplied in a footnote in the draft. A step-up clause provides for short-term increases in the minimum rate without further legislative reconsideration. A number of States have recently adopted this method to reach the required minimum in two or more steps, similar to provisions under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

As drafted, the bill entitles an employer to an allowance for tips as part of the hourly wage rate due an employee engaged in an occupation in which gratuities have customarily been recognized as part of the remuneration for hiring purposes, provided substantial evidence is given that the amount claimed by the employer was actually received by the employee. The maximum amount of the allowance for gratuities as determined by the State should be inserted in the draft. In adopting the provision concerning tips or gratuities, the Committee was aware of the fact that there is no uniform solution to the problems involved in the handling of tips for minimum wage purposes and that individual States have various provisions regarding them.

The draft includes a provision for overtime pay applicable to all employees covered by the act; it requires payment of time and one-half the employee's regular rate for work in excess of 40 hours a week. An alternative method of attaining the 40-hour standard in three steps is supplied in a footnote: Overtime pay after 44 hours the first year, after 42 hours the second year, and after 40 hours the third year.

Administrative Regulations

Provision is made in the draft for the administrator to issue appropriate regulations to prevent circumvention or evasion of the act and to safeguard the minimum wage and overtime provisions. Such regulations may include, for example, those defining and governing outside salesmen, part time rates, and allowances as part of the minimum wage rate for board and lodging furnished by employer and used by employee.

The regulations may also provide for the employment of handicapped workers and learners and apprentices at wages lower than the minimum wage established by the act, under permit and subject to conditions set in the regulations.

All regulations are to be adopted only after public hearing. The commissioner is authorized to appoint a tripartite advisory committee to assist in preparing regulations.

Administrative Procedures

The bill contains no provision for setting up an administrative division to enforce the act. The Committee felt that it should be left to the individual States to provide a method of administration that would not interfere with the established practice in the State. Consideration might be given to providing the official responsible for administration with authority to establish an administrative division to administer the statute if such authority does not already exist.

The draft contains record-keeping provisions necessary for the effective administration of this type of legislation. It also requires employers to post abstracts of the law and copies of the regulations. Several States have included in their wage orders a requirement that the employer furnish the employee each pay period with an itemized statement of wages and deductions, and at least one State has a specific requirement in the minimum wage law. Although such a provision is not included in the draft language, it could be incorporated by adding the following paragraph to the section on record-keeping:

> Every employer shall furnish to each employee at the time of payment of wages an itemized statement of gross wages, hours, wage rates, and all deductions for the pay period.

To facilitate the collection of unpaid wages due under the act, the administrator has authority to take assignment of such wages due and to collect them on behalf of the employee. In addition, the bill provides that the employee may bring an independent suit for unpaid wages due under the act and an additional equal amount as liquidated damages, plus costs and such reasonable attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court.

Penalties are provided for violation of the act or regulations, failure to keep records, interfering with inspectors in the course of their duties, or discrimination against an employee who gives information or brings action concerning nonpayment of wages in accordance with the act.

Adjustment of the Draft to Meet Specific Conditions

The suggested language should be carefully examined to assure that it conforms to legal requirements and procedure in each State. States which have enacted administrative procedure laws should determine the application of these laws to the hearing requirements in the draft bill.

An enacting clause should be inserted, and certain insertions are required in the blanks throughout the draft. These insertions include the title of the administrative officer or agency, the amount of the hourly minimum wage rate, the number of years the employer is required to keep records, the name of the State, names of appropriate courts, the amounts of fines which may be imposed for criminal violations, and the effective date.

Labor laws in the State must be carefully examined to ascertain the possible effect of this measure upon existing labor standards, and, where necessary, specific language should be incorporated to safeguard existing laws to prevent repeal by implication. On the other hand, specific repeal should be made of existing laws outmoded by the proposed bill.

The attached draft is offered as a guide to States wishing to consider minimum wage legislation or amendment of existing laws. It is recognized that a variety of approaches may be taken to certain aspects of minimum wage legislation, including such subjects as coverage, administrative regulations, and gratuities. This is demonstrated by existing State minimum wage laws, and a body of information reflecting State experience on such matters is available.

Upon request, the United States Department of Labor, through the Bureau of Labor Standards and the Women's Bureau, will advise and assist in adjusting the proposed draft to meet the needs of a particular State or in preparing amendments to existing laws.

Min Wage

The Wage-Hour Law —A Lift Out of Poverty

Minimum wage laws were enacted to enable workers to live at least at a minimum standard of decency. Congress declared it to be the policy of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 "to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate . . . labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency and general well-being of workers."

Congress determined that minimum wage legislation was necessary in order to accomplish the following purposes:

1. The reduction of poverty resulting from substandard wages;
2. The elimination of the unfair wage competition of unscrupulous employers;
3. The maintenance of the buying power necessary to sustain employment;
4. The establishment of a floor under wages to prevent a downward wage spiral during depressed times;
5. The placing of a ceiling on working hours to provide job opportunities to the unemployed;
6. The curtailment of child labor.

The Fair Labor Standards Act was a product of the depression of the 1930s. Its adoption followed a downward spiral of wages and mass unemployment. In 1938, the wage and hour provisions applied mainly to workers in manufacturing, mining, transportation and communications. Coverage under the law was not extended to the full range of federal power to regulate commerce. Many categories of workers were excluded. Amendment of the Act in 1949 expanded some of these exclusions from coverage. It was not until 1961 that the Act's coverage was extended to 2 million retail employes and to a million and a half workers such as bus drivers, seamen and others.

In 1938, Congress established a minimum wage of 25 cents an hour, which moved by steps to 30 cents and 40 cents in order to gradually raise the lowest-paid workers towards a decent economic level. Since then, Congress saw the need to raise the minimum wage to reflect changes in the standard of living.

In 1949, Congress increased the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour and, in 1955, a federal minimum wage of $1 an hour was adopted. In 1961, the minimum was increased to $1.15 an hour and Congress provided for a step-up increase to $1.25, the present statutory minimum wage.

The standard workweek under the Fair Labor Standards Act is 40 hours. The original Act placed the standard at 44 hours, to be reduced gradually to 40 hours. Since original passage of the Act, this standard has not been improved.

For hours worked in excess of 40, the law established an overtime premium of one and one-half times the regular rate of pay. Again, this standard has remained unchanged since the passage of the Act.

In 1963, amendments were added to the Fair Labor Standards Act providing for equal pay for equal work, regardless of the sex of the worker performing the job.

Mass poverty, one of the most serious domestic problems of the 1930s, has been greatly reduced with the help of federal minimum wage and hour protection. On January 8, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson called the nation to a renewed war against poverty, pointing out that in the 1960s, one-fifth of all American families had incomes too small to meet their basic needs. To be meaningful, this new war on poverty also must include an attack on low wages and long hours through improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The fall in worker purchasing power, which led to lower demand for goods and services and reduced employment opportunities, was of great concern during the depression of the 1930s. Passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act was aimed at maintaining worker purchasing power and curbing the vicious downward spiral of wage cuts which bred unemployment.

In the 25 years since passage of the Act, it has proved to be an important stabilizing factor in main-

ECONOMIC TRENDS & *Outlook*

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WASHINGTON REPORT

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Vol. VI, No. 9 — February 28, 1966

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW, AFL-CIO

WAGES BARELY RISE as U. S. profits zoom upward. There are no guidelines for corporate profits.

Wages Down, Profits Up

Those record-smashing 1965 profits of U.S. corporations have turned out to be even more dazzling than predicted.

Without waiting for the official Government figures, writers of the business publications have made their soundings. Last year's golden egg was really special.

The experts find that 1965's record profits after taxes—$44.5 billions—mark the biggest jump ever racked up from one year to another.

Business Week estimated the rise at 19.6 per cent. A *Wall Street Journal* survey based on profits of 604 major companies showed about a 16 per cent increase over 1964.

The *New York Times* called it "the steepest year-to-year increase ever attained."

Government reports show that total compensation paid to all employees increased 7.3 per cent last year, about a third the rise in profits. This includes management salaries and the wages of 2,000,000 young workers who found jobs during the year. Industrial wages rose only 3.7 per cent.

The writers attributed the big gain to better production methods and last year's second-stage cut in corporate income taxes.

Meanwhile, back in the shop, labor's efforts to turn a larger slice of these profits into wage increases for employees have been hampered by the Administration's guideposts (see page 12). Nathaniel Goldfinger, AFL-CIO research director, told reporters:

"Profits have been soaring—they have been going through the roof. There are no guidelines on profits.

"From 1961 to 1965, for example, profits after taxes increased about 64 per cent. This rise is more than twice as fast as wage and salary payments."

The *Wall Street Journal* compared fourth quarter 1965 profits with the like quarter of 1964 for various industries. Here are a few:

11 Aerospace manufacturers—up 39.1 per cent.
10 Airlines—up 52.6 per cent.
29 Electrical equipment-electronics firms—up 22.2 per cent.
27 Tools and machinery companies—up 32.3 per cent.
30 Railroads—up 37.1 per cent.

General Motors became the world's first corporation to earn more than $2 billion in a year.

From 1966 COPE Calendar of Events

MARCH

THE PRIMARY ELECTION—Start now to obtain key workers in selected wards and precincts in preparation for the Primary and General Election. . . . These neighborhood and block workers will be the key to success on Election Day.

1. Contact your Congressmen and arrange for some of them to meet with your Committee during the Easter recess—include his local representative from his District office.
2. Cooperate with the proper union body in developing and sending each candidate a questionnaire on issues and legislative proposals to help determine their political attitudes on social and economic matters.
3. Keep your membership informed on crucial issues.
4. Get from national COPE or the UAW Citizenship-legislative Department the 1966 Fact Sheets on legislative issues.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No. 83
March 21, 1966

TO: Cooperating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Minimum Wage
Bigger Budgets for Equal Employment and Desegregation

THE HOUSE GETS TO WORK ON MINIMUM WAGE

This session of Congress has begun to move, at last, on a minimum wage bill. After three months of deliberation, members of a House Education and Labor Subcommittee headed by Rep. John Dent (D., Pa.) have agreed on a bill that would raise the minimum wage prescribed by the Fair Labor Standards Act and extend its coverage. Still ahead of the new measure is consideration by the full House Labor Committee within the next few days and then action by the House. The purpose of this MEMO is to describe a few principal features of the new bill and to alert you to an excellent opportunity to work for it--the upcoming Easter recess early next month.

Increase and Extension

The new bill gets a new number--H.R.13712. It is a scaled down version of the bill (H.R.10518) that was approved by the House Labor Committee last year and then set aside in the rush of business at the end of the session.

It isn't as good as last year's bill. But it offers some improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act and it is probably the best bill that can be obtained from the House. It may be possible to strengthen it in the Senate, particularly if it can be passed by the House without further weakening.

Here are some of the main provisions of H.R.13712:

- more -

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH FOUNDATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION — UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN CLUB FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH — DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

Increases

* For the 29½ million workers already covered by the Act, the minimum wage would be raised from $1.25 to $1.40 an hour in February 1967 and to $1.60 an hour in February 1968.

* Newly covered workers, with the exception of farm labor, would start at $1 an hour in February 1967. They would receive annual increments of 15 cents an hour and wouldn't get the full $1.60 until February 1971.

* Farm workers would also get the $1 an hour minimum in February 1967. But the automatic 15 cent raises would stop for them in February 1969 when they reached $1.30 an hour.

Extent of Coverage

* One of the most significant proposals in the new bill--and one sure to be subject to attack--is the inclusion of farm workers in the Fair Labor Standards Act for the first time. About 500,000 would receive its benefits.

Restaurant workers would also be covered for the first time and coverage would be extended to new groups in the retail trade, hotels and motels, laundries, transit systems, logging and cotton ginning. Eventually about 6,578,000 new workers would be brought under the protection of the Act.

What Happens to H.R.13712 Now?

Action by the full House Labor Committee will probably be completed within the next few days. We hope to be able to send you a detailed description of the new bill shortly after that. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.), chairman of the Committee, will then set in motion the 21-day rule procedure, the precautionary parliamentary move that will make it possible to bypass the House Rules Committee whose chairman, Howard Smith (D., Va.), almost by reflex blocks action on such social improvements as a higher minimum wage. Because of the intervention of the Easter recess it is unlikely that the House will take up the bill before the last week in April.

Easter Recess - Opportunity for Action

The Easter recess should not be viewed as an interruption in Conference activities. It merely shifts the arena in which to work for passage of the minimum wage bill. Sometime during two weeks in April, from the 4th through the 17th, most House members will be back in their districts. That's the time to see them and tell them H.R.13712 is a rock-bottom minimum wage bill. The legislation has been pared and trimmed enough. Any further cuts are inexcusable.

- more -

We urge our organizations to ask their members now to consider sending Easter delegations in those Congressional districts in which they have membership strength. All Congressmen ought to be visited. Your members need not know all the details of the bill. It is enough for them to make two points with Representatives:

* Vote for H.R.1372 without any changes (for you may be sure that from now on all amendments will be weakening ones).

* Stay on the House floor all the time the bill is being considered (during the 1961 minimum wage fight a crucial improving amendment was lost by a single vote because five Northern Democrats, who would have voted for it, were in the House restaurant drinking beer!).

It is well to remember that opponents of the bill will be using the Easter recess to work against it. We need a show of support comparable to the national effort in behalf of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Anything less than that may result in crippled legislation.

Ammunition:

* A New Statement By Civil Rights Leaders

Because it reaffirms their view of improvements in minimum wage as a civil rights issue, we attach to this MEMO a copy of the statement that seven leaders in the movement issued during a recent meeting here in Washington. Delegations should show it to their Congressmen when they meet with them.

* "Only Half the Picture"

Copies of the Leadership Conference's new pamphlet, "Only Half the Picture" which discusses the civil rights implications of the minimum wage battle and answers some of the arguments raised by the opposition are still available. They may be ordered in quantity from the Washington office for $10 a hundred, $90 a thousand.

NEEDED: MONEY FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Two agencies with key responsibilities under the new civil rights laws--the Equal Opportunity Commission and the Office of Education--need the backing of our organizations as they try to wrest from Congress adequate budgets with which to carry on their work in the new fiscal year.

A Modest Budget for EEOC

The Budget Bureau has recommended for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, an appropriation of $5.8 million for the fiscal year 1967, starting July 1. When one considers that New York State's Fair Employment Commission had a budget of $1,700,000 in fiscal 1965, it is evident that

$5.8 million is an exceedingly modest amount with which to try to handle an anticipated 8,000 complaints of job discrimination from 50 states. Letters urging more than that--at least $6.2 million EEOC itself was seeking--but surely no less, should be sent to Rep. John Rooney (D., N.Y.) chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee that will pass on EEOC's budget. Copies should be sent to House Speaker John McCormack (D., Mass.) and House Majority Leader Carl Albert (D., Okla.).

Education Grants

The Office of Education has always had insufficient funds for carrying out its duties under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, the section that empowers it to make grants to school districts attempting to cope with problems arising from desegregation. The Office has received requests for grants totaling more than $12 million. Yet it only had $5 million in fiscal 1966 with which to fund training institutes for school personnel and grants to school boards.

The Office is seeking a supplementary appropriation of $3,250,000 for programs in 1966. Even if it gets the full amount it expects to end the fiscal year with a backlog of more than $6 million in grant applications.

For fiscal 1967, the Office seeks $11,115,000 for Title IV programs an amount, again, short of the need.

Your organization can help support these requests by sending a letter to Mr. Rooney urging his subcommittee to vote for the full supplementary appropriation and the fiscal 1967 budget. Copies of this letter, too, should be sent to Mr. McCormack and Mr. Albert.

MISSOURI COMMISSION OFFERS DOCUMENT ON THE FIRING OF NEGRO TEACHERS

The text of public hearings inquiring into the discriminatory firing of five Negro teachers may be obtained from the Missouri Commission on Human Rights. These are among the first hearings in the nation on this vital issue. The Commission has printed a limited number of copies of the transcript (with exhibits it runs to almost 600 pages). Interested organizations and libraries may purchase these copies at a nominal charge of between $25 and $40. Address requests to the Commission, P.O. Box 1129, Jefferson City, Missouri.

* * * * * *

Help make this a memorable Easter! Organize a minimum wage delegation to see your Congressman!

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

Washington-----During a meeting here in Washington on March 18, seven national civil rights leaders joined in a statement urging Congress to work for an adequate increase in the Federal minimum wage and for a broad extension of coverage.

Those who endorsed the statement were: Miss Dorothy Height, National Council of Negro Women; Dr. Martin Luther King, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Floyd McKissick, Congress of Racial Equality; A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Whitney Young, Jr., National Urban League.

The full text of the statement follows:

"Agreement this week, by members of a House Education and Labor Subcommittee on improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act, is a significant step toward bettering the economic lot of millions of Americans.

"We know of no more crucial civil rights issue facing Congress today than the need to increase the federal minimum wage and extend its coverage. That gain will help make many other civil rights gains meaningful.

"We therefore urge members of the full House Committee and, after them, all members of Congress, to work for an adequate increase. Just as important is a broad extension of coverage. We believe it is imperative that farm laborers, among the most abused and neglected of all American workers, be included at least among those who benefit from the Fair Labor Standards Act. We want coverage extended to include those millions in retail trades, laundries, hospitals and nursing homes, restaurants, hotels, small logging operations and cotton gins who still work for starvation wages.

"While we are mindful of the shocking fact that less than one-half of all non-white workers are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, we do not speak for Negro workers only. A living wage should be the right of <u>all</u> working Americans and this is what we wish to urge upon our Congressmen and Senators as they now prepare to deal with this legislation."

* * * * * *

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

September 21, 1966

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

HOW THE SENATE VOTED ON CIVIL RIGHTS CLOTURE AND MINIMUM WAGE

Minimum Wage

Rollcall Vote in Senate On Minimum Wage Bill

The Senate on Sept. 14 approved the conference report on minimum wage improvements, thus clearing the bill for the President's signature.

The AFL-CIO strongly supported the bill and urged all Senators to vote to approve the conference report. The vote for approval was 55-38.

FOR APPROVAL

Democrats 45

Anderson (N.M.)	Hart (Mich)	Morse (Oreg.)
Bass (Tenn.)	Hartke (Ind.)	Moss (Utah)
Bayh (Ind.)	Inouye (Hawaii)	Muskie (Maine)
Bible (Nev.)	Jackson (Wash.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Brewster (Md.)	Kennedy (Mass.)	Neuberger (Oreg.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Kennedy (N.Y.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Long (Mo.)	Pell (R.I.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Mansfield (Mont.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Church (Idaho)	McCarthy (Minn.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Clark (Pa.)	McGovern (S.D.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Dodd (Conn.)	McIntyre (N.H.)	Symington (Mo.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Metcalf (Mont.)	Tydings (Md.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Mondale (Minn.)	Williams (N.J.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Monroney (Okla.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Harris (Okla.)	Montoya (N.M.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans 10

Boggs (Del.)	Fong (Hawaii)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N.J.)	Griffin (Mich.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Javits (N.Y.)	Scott (Pa.)
		Smith (Maine)

AGAINST APPROVAL

Republicans 23

Aiken (Vt.)	Fannin (Ariz.)	Pearson (Kans.)
Allott (Colo.)	Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Prouty (Vt.)
Bennett (Utah)	Hruska (Neb.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Carlson (Kans.)	Jordan (Idaho)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Miller (Iowa)	Tower (Tex.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Morton (Ky.)	Williams (Del.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Mundt (S.D.)	Young (N.D.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Murphy (Calif.)	

Democrats 15

Byrd (Va.)	Hill (Ala.)	Robertson (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Holland (Fla.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Ellender (La.)	Jordan (N.C.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Lausche (Ohio)	Stennis (Miss.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	McClellan (Ark.)	Talmadge (Ga.)

Paired For: McGee (D-Wyo.), Magnuson (D-Wash.)
Paired Against: Russell (D-Ga.), Russell (D-S.C.)
Announced For: Bartlett (D-Alaska), Long (D-La.)
Absent and Not Announced: Hayden (D-Ariz.)

First Cloture Vote

Sept. 14

How Senate Voted On Applying Cloture

Associated Press

Following is the vote by which supporters failed yesterday to muster the two-thirds majority required to apply the cloture rule to limit debate on the Civil Rights Bill.

FOR CLOTURE: 54

Democrats for: 42

Anderson (N.M.)	McGovern (S.D.)
Bass (Tenn.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Brewster (Md.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Burdick (S.D.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Church (Idaho)	Montoya (N.M.)
Clark (Pa.)	Morse (Ore.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Moss (Utah)
Douglas (Ill.)	Muskie (Maine)
Gore (Tenn.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Harris (Okla.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pell (R.I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Tydings (Md.)
Long (Mo.)	Williams (N.J.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans for: 12

Aiken (Vt.)	Griffin (Mich.)
Allott (Colo.)	Javitts (N.Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N.J.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Maine)

AGAINST CLOTURE :42

Democrats Against: 21

Bible (Nev.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Robertson (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Russell (S.C.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hill (Ala.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Jordan (N.C.)	

Republicans Against: 21

Bennett (Utah)	Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Tower (Tex.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Williams (Del.)
	Young (N.D.)

Second Cloture Vote

Sept. 19

Roll-Call Vote in Senate On Rights Bill Closure

WASHINGTON, Sept. 19 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote by which supporters failed today to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to invoke closure to limit debate and force Senate action on the House-passed civil rights bill.

FOR CLOSURE—52

Democrats—42

Bartlett (Alaska)	McGovern (S. D.)
Bass (Tenn.)	McIntyre (N. H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Brewster (Md.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Monroe (Okla.)
Church (Idaho)	Montoya (N. M.)
Clark (Pa.)	Morse (Ore.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Moss (Utah)
Douglas (Ill.)	Muskie (Me.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Pell (R. I.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Kennedy (N. Y.)	Symington (Mo.)
Long (Mo.)	Tydings (Md.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Williams (N. J.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
McGee (Wyo.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—10

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N. Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N. J.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Scott (Pa.)
Griffin (Mich.)	Smith (Me.)

AGAINST CLOSURE—41

Democrats—21

Bible (Nev.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Byrd (Va.)	Long (La.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	McClellan (Ark)
Cannon (Nev.)	Robertson (Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Russell (S. C.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (Ga.)
Ervin (N. C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hill (Ala.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Jordan (N. C.)	

Republicans—20

Bennett (Utah)	Morton (Ky.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Cotton (N. H.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Thurmond (S. C.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Tower (Tex.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Williams (Del.)
Miller (Iowa)	Young (N. D.)

Not voting, but announced as paired: Harris (D-Okla.) and Magnuson (D-Wash.) for, and Hayden (D-Ariz.) against; Allott (R-Colo.) and Dominick (R-Colo.) for, and Cooper (R-Ky.) against. (Pairs denote Senators' positions when one or more of them are absent. In this case, two had to be paired against one because of the two-thirds

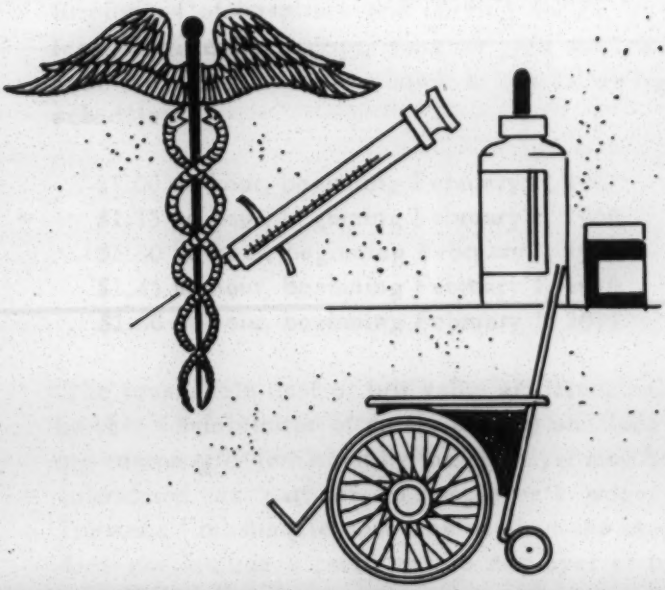
Not voting or paired, but announced as favoring closure: Anderson (D-N. M.).

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

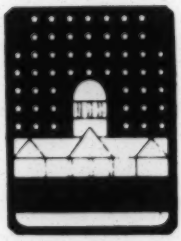
WHPC Publication No. 1165
NOVEMBER 1966

HOSPITALS AND NURSING HOMES

under the
FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
as amended in 1966



FIXED MINIMUM WAGE



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1313 EAST SIXTIETH STREET

CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

WHPC Publication 1159
October 1966
Wash., D.C. 20210

HANDY REFERENCE GUIDE
To The
FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
as amended in 1966

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS

Table 12. Estimated number of nonsupervisory employees subject to the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, by sex and color, as of February 1, 1968 a/

(in thousands)

Sex and color	Total number of nonsupervisory employees	Coverage status: Total number of nonsupervisory employees covered by FLSA		Nonsupervisory employees covered by FLSA prior to 1966 amendments		Nonsupervisory employees covered by the 1966 amendments		Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA
		Number	Percent of total nonsupervisory employees	Number	Percent of total nonsupervisory employees	Number	Percent of total nonsupervisory employees	
Total	51,866	40,097	77	33,052	64	7,045	14	11,769
White	45,297	35,763	79	29,772	66	5,991	13	9,534
Nonwhite	6,569	4,334	66	3,280	50	1,054	16	2,235
Negro	6,130	4,020	66	3,050	50	970	16	2,110
Male	32,924	26,525	81	22,928	70	3,597	11	6,399
White	29,220	23,492	80	20,428	70	3,064	10	5,728
Nonwhite	3,704	3,033	82	2,500	67	533	14	671
Negro	3,431	2,827	82	2,346	68	481	14	604
Female	18,942	13,572	72	10,124	53	3,448	18	5,370
White	16,077	12,271	76	9,344	58	2,927	18	3,806
Nonwhite	2,865	1,301	45	780	27	521	18	1,564
Negro	2,699	1,193	44	704	26	489	18	1,506

a/ Estimates are based on employment data for 1967. All employees are included except executive, administrative and professional employees and academic administrative personnel and teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments include those who will be covered in 1969. All government employees are excluded from this table including the 2,681,000 government employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments.

Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions

Distributed by the Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

STATE WAGE PAYMENT AND WAGE COLLECTION LAW

The suggested Act appearing below is based on a revision of an earlier Act drafted by the United States Department of Labor in November 1948. The revision is designed to make the legislation more effective in light of current standards and procedures.

The standards for the draft bill were developed after examination of the present provisions of state legislation on the subject. Forty-seven states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico have laws in effect dealing with the payment of wages. The laws vary from state to state, both as to type of protection provided and as to coverage of employees. The most comprehensive laws include requirements for regular paydays, payment in lawful money, prompt payment if a worker is discharged or resigns, and authority for the state department of labor to take assignments of wage claims.

The suggested Act is offered as a guide to states wishing to consider legislation to improve and strengthen existing laws on the subject, or to enact new legislation in this important field.

At least three states (California, Nevada and Oregon) have statutes for the negotiation of reciprocal agreements among states under which wage claims may be assigned from state to state. While the Act appearing below contains no such provision, some states may wish to consider its addition as a means of reaching fly-by-night employers who seek to avoid the effect of the statute by leaving the jurisdiction.

Suggested Legislation

[Title should conform to state requirements. The following is a suggestion: "An Act relating to wage payment and collection."]

(Be it enacted, etc.)

Section 1. Definitions.

1 Whenever used in this Act:
2 (a) "Employer" means any individual, partnership, associa-
3 tion, joint stock company, trust, corporation, the administrator

or executor of the estate of a deceased individual, or the receiver, trustee, or successor of any of the same, employing any person.

(b) "Employee" means any person suffered or permitted to work by an employer.

(c) "Wages" means compensation for labor or services rendered by an employee, whether the amount is determined on a time, task, piece, commission, or other basis.

(d) "Commissioner" means [the head of the state agency administering the labor laws].

Section 2. Pay Periods.

(a) Every employer shall pay all wages due to his employees at least twice during each calendar month, on regular paydays designated in advance by the employer, in lawful money of the United States or with checks on banks convenient to the place of employment where suitable arrangements are made for the cashing of such checks by employees for the full amount of the wages due.

(b) The end of the pay period for which payment is made on a regular payday shall be not more than seven days before such regular payday: provided that if the regular payday falls on a nonworkday payment shall be made on the preceding workday.

(c) The Commissioner may, upon application showing good and sufficient reasons, permit an employer to establish regular paydays less frequently than semimonthly: provided that the worker shall be paid in full at least once each calendar month on a regularly established schedule.

Section 3. Employees Separated From Employment Before Paydays.

(a) Whenever an employer discharges an employee, the employer shall pay the employee's earned wages in full at the time of discharge.

(b) Whenever an employee quits or resigns, the employer shall pay the employee's earned wages no later than the next regular payday, as provided under Section 2 of this Act, either through the regular pay channels or by mail if requested by the employee, except that if the employee gives at least one pay period's notice of intention to quit the employer shall pay all wages earned by the employee at the time of quitting.

(c) When work of any employee is suspended as a result of a labor dispute, or when an employee for any reason whatsoever is laid off, the employer shall pay in full to such employee not later than the next regular payday, as designated under Section 2 of this Act, either through the regular pay channels or by mail if requested by the employee, wages earned to the time of suspension or layoff.

(d) If an employer, without reasonable cause, fails to pay an employee wages as required under subsections (a), (b), or (c) of this Section, such employer shall be liable therefor and shall be additionally liable for damages in the fixed amount of 10 per cent of the unpaid wages for each day except Sunday and legal holidays upon which such failure continues after the day upon which payment is required or in an amount equal to the unpaid wages, whichever is smaller. For the purpose of such additional damages the failure shall not be deemed to continue after the date of the filing of a petition in bankruptcy with respect to the employer if he is adjudicated bankrupt upon such petition.

Section 4. Unconditional Payment of Wages Conceded To Be Due.

(a) In case of a dispute over the amount of wages due, the employer shall pay, without condition and no later than the regular payday next following the concession, all wages, or parts thereof, conceded by him to be due, leaving to the employee all remedies he might otherwise be entitled to, including those provided under this Act, as to any balance claimed.

(b) The acceptance by an employee of a payment under this Section shall not constitute a release as to the balance of his claim and any release required by an employer as a condition to payment shall be in violation of this Act and shall be null and void.

[Section 5. Liability of Contractors.

Whenever any person responsible pursuant to a contract for the performance of any work has subcontracted the performance of all or any part of such work, such responsible person shall be civilly liable to employees of the subcontractor for wages due on account of the performance of work covered by the contract, but only if and to the extent that the subcontractor fails to pay such wages. This Section shall not be construed to impose any

liability on any person other than the subcontractor for the added fixed damages provided in Section 3 (d) of this Act. Any payment of wages by reason of liability imposed by this Section shall result in the creation of a right in the payor to recoupment from the subcontractor or any other person jointly or severally liable to the subcontractor therefor.][1]

Section 6. Deceased Employees.

In the absence of actual notice of probate proceedings [or any other judicial proceeding or judgment affecting entitlement to all or any portion of the decedent's estate], the employer may pay, upon proper demand, up to [three hundred] dollars of wages due a deceased employee; provided that any such payment or payments shall be in the following order of preference:[2] spouse, children 18 years of age and over in equal shares, father, mother, sisters and brothers in equal shares, or the person to whom funeral expenses are due.

Section 7. Withholding of Wages.

No employer may withhold or divert any portion of an employee's wages unless:

(a) The employer is required or empowered to do so by State or Federal law, or

(b) The employer has a written authorization by the employee for deductions for a lawful purpose.

Section 8. Notification, Posting, and Records.

Every employer shall:

(a) Notify his employees in writing, at the time of hiring, of the rate of pay and of the day, hour, and place of payment.

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1. This section is a provision not generally contained in present wage payment and collection statutes, but states may wish to consider it.

2. Where the enumeration contained in this subsection does not accord with the priorities in the laws of the state governing the descent and distribution of property for persons dying intestate, it may be appropriate to substitute a priority list conforming to the provisions of the decedents' estate law.

(b) Notify his employees in writing or through a posted notice maintained in a place accessible to his employees of any changes in the arrangements specified in item (a) hereof prior to the time of such changes.

(c) Make available to his employees in writing or through a posted notice maintained in a place accessible to his employees employment practices and policies with regard to vacation pay, sick leave, and any other benefits to which the employee is entitled as a matter of right.

(d) Furnish each employee with an itemized statement of deductions made from his wages under Section 7 for each pay period such deductions are made.

(e) Keep posted in a place accessible to his employees an abstract of this Act furnished by the Commissioner.

(f) Make such records of the persons employed by him, including wage and hour records, preserve such records for such periods of time, and make such reports therefrom to the Commissioner, as the Commissioner shall prescribe by rule or regulation as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act.

Section 9. Waiver.

Except as provided in Section 12, no provision of, or any right created under this Act may in any way be contravened, set aside, or waived.

Section 10. Enforcement.

(a) The Commissioner shall enforce and administer the provisions of this Act and the Commissioner or his authorized representatives are empowered to hold hearings and otherwise to investigate violations or alleged violations of this Act and any rules and regulations in force pursuant thereto.

(b) The Commissioner or his authorized representatives are empowered to enter and inspect such places, question such employees, and investigate such facts, conditions, or matters as they may deem appropriate to determine whether any person has violated any provision of this Act or any rule or regulation issued thereunder or which may aid in the enforcement of the provisions of this Act.

(c) The Commissioner or his authorized representatives shall have the power to administer oaths and examine witnesses under

15 oath or otherwise, issue compulsory process to compel the at-
16 tendance of witnesses, and the production of papers, books, ac-
17 counts, records, payrolls, documents, and testimony, and to
18 take depositions and affidavits in the administration of this Act.
19 (d) In case of failure of any person to comply with any com-
20 pulsory process lawfully issued, it shall be the duty of the _____
21 court, on application by the Commissioner, to compel compli-
22 ance by citation for contempt.

Section 11. Penalties.

1 (a) Any employer who willfully violates any provision of this
2 Act or who fails to comply with any other requirements in force
3 pursuant to this Act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon
4 conviction thereof, shall be subject to a fine of not less than
5 [ ] dollars nor more than [ ] dollars, for each separate of-
6 fense, or by imprisonment for not less than [ ] days or more
7 than [ ] days, or both.
8 (b) In the case of violation of Section 2 or Section 3 of this
9 Act by a corporate employer, either the corporation or any of-
10 ficer thereof or any agent having the management of the corpora-
11 tion who knowingly permits the corporation to engage in such
12 violation shall be deemed the employer.

Section 12. Proceedings for Collection of Wages and Other Damages.[3]

1 (a) Any proceeding by one or more employees to assert any
2 claim arising under or pursuant to this Act may be brought in
3 any court of competent jurisdiction, either as individual, class
4 or representative suits.
5 (b) Whenever the Commissioner determines that one or more
6 employees have claims for unpaid wages he shall, upon the writ-
7 ten request of the employee, take an assignment of the claim or
8 claims in trust for such employee or employees, and may main-
9 tain any proceeding appropriate to enforce the claim or claims,
10 including additional fixed damages pursuant to this Act. With

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3. In any state where the Commissioner is not provided with sufficient legal assistance to administer all phases of this section, it is highly desirable that forms for assignments and any other aids which can be secured should be developed for the Commissioner's use.

11 the written consent of the assignor, the Commissioner may settle
12 or adjust any claim assigned pursuant to this subsection.
13 (c) Any judgment for the plaintiff in a proceeding pursuant to
14 this Act shall include all costs reasonably incurred in connection
15 with the proceeding, including attorneys' fees. If the proceeding
16 is maintained by the Commissioner, no court costs or fees shall
17 be required of him, nor shall he be required to furnish any bond
18 or other security that might otherwise be required in connection
19 with any phase of the proceeding.
20 (d) The amount of any attorneys' fees awarded and paid to the
21 Commissioner shall be paid into the State Treasury [to the ac-
22 count of the Commissioner] [to the account of the Attorney Gen-
23 eral].

Section 13. Rules and Regulations.

1 The Commissioner is authorized to issue, amend and enforce
2 rules and regulations necessary for the purpose of carrying out
3 the provisions of this Act.

Section 14. Effective Date.

1 [Insert effective date.]

EV-C Coll Bargi

Why Strikes? Facts vs Fiction

The United States could not have achieved its vast production growth and widespread well-being without collective bargaining.

In thousands of workplaces across the nation, the process of free collective bargaining establishes wages and working conditions and benefits for millions of wage and salary earners. It is widely accepted as part of the American way of life. The alternatives are to establish these conditions by the dictation either of the employer or of government.

Basic to the success of the system of free collective bargaining is the right to strike—the right of workers collectively to lay down their tools. Yet this right is continually challenged. The challenge takes many forms. No one "solution" is acceptable, even to all those who believe strikes have "gone too far" or have "reached a crisis." Students debate whether compulsory arbitration should be adopted to end strikes once and for all. The Soviet approach—no strikes at all, with complete government control of labor-management relations—is seldom advocated in the United States though some of the "answers" offered would approach this effect in practice.

New problems appear as different groups of white-collar workers—social workers, teachers and newspaper reporters—attract more national attention and criticism for their strike activity. New "crises" are found as critics attribute almost all ills to strikes and strikers—balance of payments difficulties, national defense problems and general economic disaster.

In this country, strikes are a collective bargaining weapon of absolute last resort when workers and their unions find the bargaining table leaves them no choice.

Strikes are the exception, not the rule, of U.S. labor-management relations. Labor peace continues to be the norm. Only about 2 percent of 150,000 U.S. collective bargaining agreements were affected by strikes last year. In 1964, two-tenths of 1 percent of total U.S. worktime was lost by strikers. Two and one-half hours per person available to work in 1964 was the price of strikes in time lost in strike idleness. About 40 times as much time was lost from unemployment and 8 times as much from accident and illness.

As challenges to the right to strike continue, the public, government, management and labor will have to decide its importance and its remedy. What is the value of the right to strike—and, therefore, the actual

ECONOMIC TRENDS *& Outlook*

Prepared by Department of Research
Reprinted from November 1965
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

St. Petersburg Times

EV

BY HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE

Wage Bill Gets Tentative Okay

3-17-66

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A bill to set the National minimum wage at $1.60 an hour won tentative approval yesterday of a House labor subcommittee. It had the support of President Johnson and organized labor.

The compromise between the administration and labor leaders calls for the present $1.25 minimum to go up 35 cents by Feb. 1, 1968, and would bring more than 6.5-million new workers under wage-hour law coverage.

The measure still needs approval of the parent House Education and Labor Committee which is expected to send it to the House floor early next week. Technically, the subcommittee must still hold a formal vote after minor changes are made.

Significantly, two Republicans — Charles E. Goodell, N.Y., and Alphonzo Bell, Calif. — voted for the measure which reportedly cleared the subcommittee by an 8 to 1 margin.

JOHNSON AND AFL-CIO president George Meany worked out the compromise at a White House meeting March 8, according to informed sources. The administration's original proposal was not to reach the $1.60 rate until September 1968, but this drew heavy opposition from organized labor.

The compromise would:

✓ Increase the present $1.25 minimum for 29.6-million production, distribution and retail workers now covered to $1.40 on Feb. 1, 1967, and to $1.60 on Feb. 1, 1968.

✓ Extend the minimum wage, and in most cases the standard 40-hour work week, to 6.5-million uncovered workers, including millions of service industry employes and, for the first time, nearly 500,000 farm workers.

Labor's compromise consisted of abandonment of a demand that the $1.60 level be reached before the end of 1967.

The bill provides coverage to more than 2.5-million workers in service industries such as hospitals, 1.5-million people; restaurants, 425,000; laundry, 505,000 and hotel and motel workers, 275,000.

An additional 1.5-million retail store employes would be covered along with 581,000 construction workers previously exempted. Some 485,000 farm workers would be covered for the first time but persons such as women and students employed seasonally in fruit orchards would not be covered.

THE REMAINDER of the 6.5-million new workers to be covered comes from a long list of smaller industries.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone **234-4722** • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No. 83
March 21, 1966

TO: Cooperating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: Minimum Wage
Bigger Budgets for Equal
Employment and Desegregation

THE HOUSE GETS TO WORK ON MINIMUM WAGE

This session of Congress has begun to move, at last, on a minimum wage bill. After three months of deliberation, members of a House Education and Labor Subcommittee headed by Rep. John Dent (D., Pa.) have agreed on a bill that would raise the minimum wage prescribed by the Fair Labor Standards Act and extend its coverage. Still ahead of the new measure is consideration by the full House Labor Committee within the next few days and then action by the House. The purpose of this MEMO is to describe a few principal features of the new bill and to alert you to an excellent opportunity to work for it--the upcoming Easter recess early next month.

Increase and Extension

The new bill gets a new number--H.R.13712. It is a scaled down version of the bill (H.R.10518) that was approved by the House Labor Committee last year and then set aside in the rush of business at the end of the session.

It isn't as good as last year's bill. But it offers some improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act and it is probably the best bill that can be obtained from the House. It may be possible to strengthen it in the Senate, particularly if it can be passed by the House without further weakening.

Here are some of the main provisions of H.R.13712:

- more -

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH FOUNDATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION — UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN CLUB FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH — DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

Increases

* For the 29½ million workers already covered by the Act, the minimum wage would be raised from $1.25 to $1.40 an hour in February 1967 and to $1.60 an hour in February 1968.

* Newly covered workers, with the exception of farm labor, would start at $1 an hour in February 1967. They would receive annual increments of 15 cents an hour and wouldn't get the full $1.60 until February 1971.

* Farm workers would also get the $1 an hour minimum in February 1967. But the automatic 15 cent raises would stop for them in February 1969 when they reached $1.30 an hour.

Extent of Coverage

* One of the most significant proposals in the new bill--and one sure to be subject to attack--is the inclusion of farm workers in the Fair Labor Standards Act for the first time. About 500,000 would receive its benefits.

Restaurant workers would also be covered for the first time and coverage would be extended to new groups in the retail trade, hotels and motels, laundries, transit systems, logging and cotton ginning. Eventually about 6,578,000 new workers would be brought under the protection of the Act.

What Happens to H.R.13712 Now?

Action by the full House Labor Committee will probably be completed within the next few days. We hope to be able to send you a detailed description of the new bill shortly after that. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.), chairman of the Committee, will then set in motion the 21-day rule procedure, the precautionary parliamentary move that will make it possible to bypass the House Rules Committee whose chairman, Howard Smith (D., Va.), almost by reflex blocks action on such social improvements as a higher minimum wage. Because of the intervention of the Easter recess it is unlikely that the House will take up the bill before the last week in April.

Easter Recess - Opportunity for Action

The Easter recess should not be viewed as an interruption in Conference activities. It merely shifts the arena in which to work for passage of the minimum wage bill. Sometime during two weeks in April, from the 4th through the 17th, most House members will be back in their districts. That's the time to see them and tell them H.R.13712 is a rock-bottom minimum wage bill. The legislation has been pared and trimmed enough. Any further cuts are inexcusable.

- more -

We urge our organizations to ask their members now to consider sending Easter delegations in those Congressional districts in which they have membership strength. All Congressmen ought to be visited. Your members need not know all the details of the bill. It is enough for them to make two points with Representatives:

* Vote for H.R.1372 without any changes (for you may be sure that from now on all amendments will be weakening ones).

* Stay on the House floor all the time the bill is being considered (during the 1961 minimum wage fight a crucial improving amendment was lost by a single vote because five Northern Democrats, who would have voted for it, were in the House restaurant drinking beer!).

It is well to remember that opponents of the bill will be using the Easter recess to work against it. We need a show of support comparable to the national effort in behalf of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Anything less than that may result in crippled legislation.

Ammunition:

* A New Statement By Civil Rights Leaders

Because it reaffirms their view of improvements in minimum wage as a civil rights issue, we attach to this MEMO a copy of the statement that seven leaders in the movement issued during a recent meeting here in Washington. Delegations should show it to their Congressmen when they meet with them.

* "Only Half the Picture"

Copies of the Leadership Conference's new pamphlet, "Only Half the Picture" which discusses the civil rights implications of the minimum wage battle and answers some of the arguments raised by the opposition are still available. They may be ordered in quantity from the Washington office for $10 a hundred, $90 a thousand.

NEEDED: MONEY FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Two agencies with key responsibilities under the new civil rights laws--the Equal Opportunity Commission and the Office of Education--need the backing of our organizations as they try to wrest from Congress adequate budgets with which to carry on their work in the new fiscal year.

A Modest Budget for EEOC

The Budget Bureau has recommended for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, an appropriation of $5.8 million for the fiscal year 1967, starting July 1. When one considers that New York State's Fair Employment Commission had a budget of $1,700,000 in fiscal 1965, it is evident that

$5.8 million is an exceedingly modest amount with which to try to handle an anticipated 8,000 complaints of job discrimination from 50 states. Letters urging more than that--at least $6.2 million EEOC itself was seeking--but surely no less, should be sent to Rep. John Rooney (D., N.Y.) chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee that will pass on EEOC's budget. Copies should be sent to House Speaker John McCormack (D., Mass.) and House Majority Leader Carl Albert (D., Okla.).

Education Grants

The Office of Education has always had insufficient funds for carrying out its duties under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, the section that empowers it to make grants to school districts attempting to cope with problems arising from desegregation. The Office has received requests for grants totaling more than $12 million. Yet it only had $5 million in fiscal 1966 with which to fund training institutes for school personnel and grants to school boards.

The Office is seeking a supplementary appropriation of $3,250,000 for programs in 1966. Even if it gets the full amount it expects to end the fiscal year with a backlog of more than $6 million in grant applications.

For fiscal 1967, the Office seeks $11,115,000 for Title IV programs an amount, again, short of the need.

Your organization can help support these requests by sending a letter to Mr. Rooney urging his subcommittee to vote for the full supplementary appropriation and the fiscal 1967 budget. Copies of this letter, too, should be sent to Mr. McCormack and Mr. Albert.

MISSOURI COMMISSION OFFERS DOCUMENT ON THE FIRING OF NEGRO TEACHERS

The text of public hearings inquiring into the discriminatory firing of five Negro teachers may be obtained from the Missouri Commission on Human Rights. These are among the first hearings in the nation on this vital issue. The Commission has printed a limited number of copies of the transcript (with exhibits it runs to almost 600 pages). Interested organizations and libraries may purchase these copies at a nominal charge of between $25 and $40. Address requests to the Commission, P.O. Box 1129, Jefferson City, Missouri.

* * * * * *

Help make this a memorable Easter! Organize a minimum wage delegation to see your Congressman!

ATTACHMENT NO. 1

Washington-----During a meeting here in Washington on March 18, seven national civil rights leaders joined in a statement urging Congress to work for an adequate increase in the Federal minimum wage and for a broad extension of coverage.

Those who endorsed the statement were: Miss Dorothy Height, National Council of Negro Women; Dr. Martin Luther King, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Floyd McKissick, Congress of Racial Equality; A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Whitney Young, Jr., National Urban League.

The full text of the statement follows:

"Agreement this week, by members of a House Education and Labor Subcommittee on improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act, is a significant step toward bettering the economic lot of millions of Americans.

"We know of no more crucial civil rights issue facing Congress today than the need to increase the federal minimum wage and extend its coverage. That gain will help make many other civil rights gains meaningful.

"We therefore urge members of the full House Committee and, after them, all members of Congress, to work for an adequate increase. Just as important is a broad extension of coverage. We believe it is imperative that farm laborers, among the most abused and neglected of all American workers, be included at least among those who benefit from the Fair Labor Standards Act. We want coverage extended to include those millions in retail trades, laundries, hospitals and nursing homes, restaurants, hotels, small logging operations and cotton gins who still work for starvation wages.

"While we are mindful of the shocking fact that less than one-half of all non-white workers are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, we do not speak for Negro workers only. A living wage should be the right of <u>all</u> working Americans and this is what we wish to urge upon our Congressmen and Senators as they now prepare to deal with this legislation."

* * * * * *

The Weather

Montgomery: Partly cloudy and mild Thursday. Fair and a little cooler Thursday night. Fair and mild Friday. High, 83, and the low, 58. (Map, Details, Page 2.)

The Montgomery Advertiser

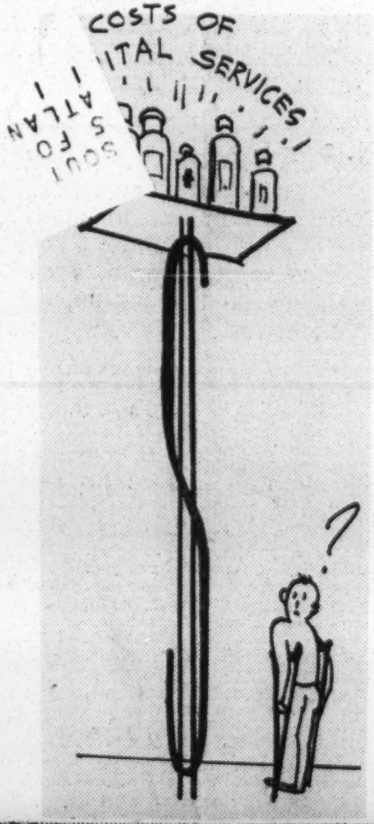
139th Year—No. 233 | Full Day, Night and Sunday Service By The Associated Press | Montgomery, Ala., Thursday Morning, September 29, 1966 | 56 Pages

Min. Wage — Enforcement

Min. Wage

Mgy Adv. 9/29/66

The High Cost Is Going Higher



By TRAVIS WOLFE
Advertiser Staff Writer

A new law which raises the minimum wage and extends coverage to 8 million more American workers will affect the operating costs of several industries. The result is the public will have to pay extra for services to offset operation costs.

Especially affected will be hospital bills.

Sister Scholastica, administrator of St. Margaret's Hospital in Montgomery, said hospitals will be forced to add to patients' bills to make up for the loss of money paid in extra wages.

She said St. Margaret's Hospital has about 500 employes. Not all, of course, make less than the minimum wage, "but when you raise one, you have to raise all of them in proportion."

At Montgomery Baptist Hospital, administrator Taylor Morrow said that hospital has a small percentage of workers who receive less than the minimum standard. "The hospitals in the smaller towns will be affected more than the ones in the big towns," he said. "In smaller towns, the cost of living is not as great, and the hospitals don't have to pay out as much. Now they will have to pay the same wages that employes at big-town hospitals get."

Sister Scholastica said the change will be gradual because the new wage standard is on a graduated scale, and hospital bills will gradually go up.

"We haven't figured out yet how much it will cost us to pay the new wages," she said.

Restaurant and hotel bills are expected to increase, too.

President Lyndon Johnson signed the new law last Friday.

The current $1.25 an hour minimum wage will go up to $1.40 next Feb. 1 and to $1.60 an hour on Feb. 1, 1968. An estimated 18 per cent of the 29.6 million workers presently covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act are earning less than $1.60 an hour now.

About 400,000 workers of the nation's largest farms will be placed under the law, at $1 minimum to start. The law also extends coverage to employes of restaurants, hotels, motels, laundries and hospitals.

Farms which employ seven or more fulltime workers will be affected by the law. The $1 minimum for farm workers will increase to $1.15 on Feb. 1, 1968, and to $1.30 in 1969.

Negro Ala

Hearing Set Friday In Anti-Tuition Suit

Negro Ala 9/29/66

By JIM McGREGOR
Advertiser Staff Writer

Hearings will begin Friday, in a move by the Justice Department in federal court, to try to prevent the state from providing tuition grants to students in private, segregated schools.

The Justice Department filed the complaint as a supplement to a 1963 civil rights case that also questioned the state grants-in-aid. In the supplemental complaint, U.S. Attorney General John Doar asked the court to issue a preliminary injunction prohibiting state officials from paying tuition grants for student attendance at private schools unless the schools are open to students of all races.

The original complaint was filed here Jan. 28, 1963. A year later a three-judge panel found that the tuition grants were unconstitutional.

Alabama is now issuing the tuition grants under 1965 and 1966 laws that do not mention race. The tuition grants are now provided for students whose applications for transfers to other schools have been denied.

The denial came in an answer the governor et al filed in connection with the Justice Department complaint.

They also said that "the tuition grants . . . are available to all qualified students regardless of race, and such grants may be used by said students to attend any non - sectarian school of his choice."

Also pending in the case (Lee vs. Macon County Board of Education) is a motion filed recently by Negro attorney Fred Gray. In his motion, Gray has asked the federal court to order Gov. George Wallace to show cause why he should not be held in contempt of a 1964 injunction.

No hearing date has been set on that motion.

At State Meet

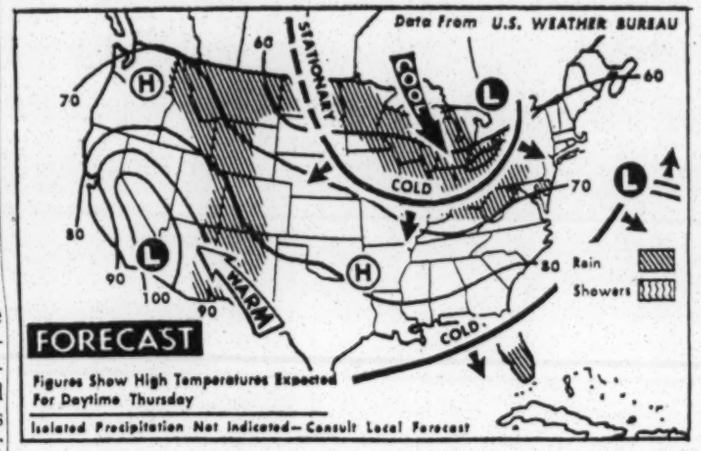
Presbyterians Condemn Booklet, Merger Talk

East Alabama Presbytery, Presbyterian Church, U.S., has recommended that the denomination — the General Assembly — withdraw from talks on church merger and to stop circulating a controversial booklet questioning denominational structure.

Delegates approved the two proposals at a session Tuesday at Green Hill Presbyterian Church in Enterprise. The General Assembly will be notified of the delegates' action on the two issues.

The Presbyterian Church

L. C. Wilson



—AP Wirephoto

WEATHER FORECAST—Rain will fall Thursday from the Great Lakes down through Kentucky, up across Montana and down the entire length of the Rocky Mountains. Rain also will visit southern Florida. It continues cool over the eastern two-thirds of the nation, but will be warm in the Southwest.

TEMPERATURES

24 hours, ending at 6 p.m. Sept. 28, 1966

Maximum Temperature	85
Minimum Temperature	70
Total Precipitation	.05

Sunrise 5:38 a.m., Sunset 5:33 p.m., River Stage 4.0.

Hourly Temperatures

7:00 a.m.	72	4:00 p.m.	83
8:00 a.m.	74	5:00 p.m.	73
9:00 a.m.	75	6:00 p.m.	72
10:00 a.m.	78	7:00 p.m.	72
11:00 a.m.	79	8:00 p.m.	72
12:00 m.	80	9:00 p.m.	72
1:00 p.m.	81	10:00 p.m.	71
2:00 p.m.	82	11:00 p.m.	70
3:00 p.m.	84	12:01 a.m.	70

Across The U.S.

WASHINGTON (AP)—Weather Bureau report of high and low temperatures and rainfall for selected areas: Maximum temperature for 12 - hour period, minimum temperatures for 18-hour period, precipitation for 24 - hour period ending 7 p.m.

Atlanta	72	67	.27
Birmingham	79	65	.32
Charleston, S.C.	77	72	.22
Chattanooga	80	67	.21
Chicago	67	56	T
Cleveland	66	42	
Dallas	78	60	
Denver	79	50	
Des Moines	70	45	T
Houston	84	67	
Jacksonville	75	70	1.19
Knoxville	79	67	.42
Los Angeles	90	64	
Memphis	70	62	.86
Meridian	78	69	.81
Miami Beach	89	80	
Mpls.-St. Paul	63	45	.04
MONTGOMERY	85	70	.04
Nashville	66	63	.05
New Orleans	85	65	
New York	62	54	
St. Louis	68	45	
San Antonio	85	65	.11
San Francisco	95	66	

Martin, Wallace Schedule Given

Pol - Ala.

Schedule for the Democratic and Republican nominees for governor of Alabama Thursday finds Mrs. Lurleen Wallace opening her statewide campaign at Birmingham's Municipal Auditorium and Rep James D. Martin in Montgomery.

The rally will be televised statewide starting at 7:30.

Wallace and Rep Martin and Mrs. Martin will both be in the Montgomery area Thursday. The Martin's arrive at Dannelly Field at 9:15 a.m. and the Republican candidate will make handshaking appearances in Montgomery and Prattville.

Mrs. Martin will attend a coffee of the courthouse square in Wetumpka, have dinner in Tallassee and meet the 1:15 shift change at Tallassee Mills, visit in Robinson Springs and Millbrook from 1 p.m. until 3:30.

They will leave by plane at 4:30 p.m. for Selma, where the 7th District congressman is due to speak at the fair at 7 p.m.

On Friday, the Martins are campigning in Calhoun County and on Saturday he will hold a press conference in Decatur at 5:30 p.m. and speak at a statewide Republican rally.

Mrs. Wallace is scheduled to appear at 10 a.m. Friday in Pell City, 11:30 in Boaz, and 5 p.m. at Albertville. On Saturday she will be in Guntersville at 11 a.m., in Arab at 1:30 p.m., in Hartselle at 4 and in Huntsville at 7:30.

☆ ☆ ☆

Martin

(Continued From Page 1)

bama's children will never again have to walk into their schools without books."

The GOP Congressman said that reports of book shortages have come in from all over Alabama since he first challenged what he termed "manipulation" in the establishment of a single book warehouse.

The textbook shortages, Martin said, "indicate gross inefficiency in the distribution system."

Martin said, for example, that children in Chambers County were short 3,500 books for weeks. He said they eventually received 2,500 books but are still short. He added that in Randolph County, the book

Martin Earns

Missouri Teamster Editorials

A UNIFIED PEACE MOVEMENT

We applaud the suggestion by Richard N. Goodwin, former member of President Johnson's corps of advisors, that Americans interested in peace unite in a single national body to exert influence upon the nation's policies in South Viet Nam.

Many currents are flowing at this time. There is the growing war-lord cry that "we must talk of victory, not peace," which carries ominous overtones of endless escalation, intervention by other powers, and ultimate nuclear war. Such a war cry might have semed less jaded in another era of man; today it misses the point that "victory" in the Vietnamese conflict can only mean the ruthless suppression by the U. S. of an indigenous revolution.

Even were a military victory possible, it would not be a victory. It would brand us as "imperialists" among the emerging nations of the world for a century to come. Rather than as saviors of democracy, we would stand alone, as we do in Viet Nam, as barbarous champions of reaction, and drive other nations of the world into the opposite camp, which is exactly what we purport to avoid in our ill-advised Southeast Asian adventure.

There are predictions from knowledgable sources that President Johnson awaits only the completion of the November Congressional elections before he signals for stepped-up involvement there. There is the disturbing viewpoint of our Ambassador to Saigon, Henry Cabot Lodge, that we are doing there what should have been done in the 1930's in the Rhineland and Sudetanland when Hitler embarked on his aggressions. Of course, there is no parallel, and it is tragic to imagine that we are trapped by such illusions. And there is the report by James Reston of the *New York Times* that Johnson does not want to be "the first American president to lose a more than an election campaign gimmick. There is the proposal put forward by our UN Ambassador, Arthur Goldberg, which is a reasonable peace proposal, and there are signs Hanoi might listen.

There is the plea by Pope Paul VI for peace and his dispatch of a peace mission to South Viet Nam, and support for the Pope's call for prayers for peace from the head of the Southern Baptist Convention in the U.S. There is the unequivocal stand of the U.N. secretary-general U Thant to quit unless peace overtures are made, and the almost universal stand of the nations of the world against his resignation. There is the mounting pressure of world opinion against the U.S. adventure in the old French colonial territory.

There is occuring in Red China what Soviet expert George Kennan calls "wild and strange things" and the statement this week by Red China's foreign minister that "the fundamental policy of Communist Chinese diplomacy is to settle problems through talking." There is the growing Russian-Chinese split, the break between North Korea and China, and the repeated Chinese statements that "anything concerning Viet Nam should be a problem of the Viet Namese." These events in the Communist world reduce to folly an inflexible American policy that only the bombing of Viet Namese villages will deter the "world-wide Communist conspiracy." To the contrary, our war may very well be the only thing that keeps the Communist world from splitting wide open with internal differences.

Further, the economic drain of the war prevents this country from pursuing its ideal course as champion of freedom and dignity, both by support of its war on poverty, its pursuit of the Great Society, and its contribution to world-wide peaceful development. This course

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Minimum Wage Makes Nation Safe For Poverty

By JAKE McCARTHY

To praise the new minimum wage bill, passed last week, is like thanking your adversary when he stops beating you so hard.

While the labor movement is taking bows for what AFL-CIO President George Meany calls a "great legislative victory," the fact remains that the legislation keeps the government in the business of making America safe for poverty.

The "poverty line" in this country, as defined by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, lies below a $3,100 annual wage for a family of four.

For the almost 30,000,000 workers previously covered by the legislation, it assures

tional interest in enabling the American worker to gain a life of minimum dignity and economic security.

When the first "Fair Labor Standards Act" was passed in 1938, it established a 1939 minimum of 25c per hour. This mounted up to $600 per year for a 48-hour week or $500 for 40 hours.

By 1945, following World War II, the American worker (if he was covered) could count on a minimum of 40c per hour. In 1950 it went to 75c per hour and reached $1.00 per hour in 1956. It has been at $1.25 per hour (or $600 per year below the poverty line) since 1964.

The extension of its coverage to 8,000,-

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But counter-currents to war are also flowing, and they are formidable. There are the polls which prove this to be an unpopular war among Americans. There is the plan of President Johnson to meet in the Philippines with friendly nations in the Asian periphery to explore peace, which we earnestly hope is world against his resignation. There is the mounting pressure of world opinion against the U.S. adventure in the old French colonial territory.

There is occuring in Red China what Soviet expert George Kennan calls "wild and strange things" and the statement this week by Red China's foreign minister that "the fundamental policy of Communist Chinese diplomacy is to settle problems through talking." There is the growing Russian-Chinese split, the break between North Korea and China, and the repeated Chinese statements that "anything concerning Viet Nam should be a problem of the Viet Namese." These events in the Communist world reduce to folly an inflexible American policy that only the bombing of Viet Namese villages will deter the "world-wide Communist conspiracy." To the contrary, our war may very well be the only thing that keeps the Communist world from splitting wide open with internal differences.

Further, the economic drain of the war prevents this country from pursuing its ideal course as champion of freedom and dignity, both by support of its war on poverty, its pursuit of the Great Society, and its contribution to world-wide peaceful development. This course would lend credence to our claim that ours is the better way of life; the war in Viet Nam puts the lie to that claim.

Surely the time has come to weigh all these considerations soberly and form a strong, united peace movement in the United States. Mr. Goodwin's proposal is a start. To fail in this opportunity would be to sell out everything America has stood for since its dream of humanism began.

TO KILL A HANDCUFFED MAN

The San Francisco riots this week over the slaying of a 16-year old Negro by a white policeman as he fled from a stolen car remind us of the notable luck St. Louis has had in averting racial violence.

No city has a worse ghetto than St. Louis but this city does have the advantage of having kept certain lines of communication open between the various racial elements to a degree other cities cannot claim. Of course, lines of communication are a poor substitute for full participation in citizenship. And they will avail little if some spark should ignite the tinder box north of Delmar Blvd. A city that would ignore this violence potential would be courting disaster.

That's why the city administration and the Police Board must suppress any temptation to whitewash the killing this week of Russell Hayes, a young robbery suspect who was shot to death by a detective as he sat handcuffed to another detective in the back seat of a police car.

Police claim Hayes suddenly pulled a "gas pistol" from his clothing as he sat handcuffed in the police car in the courtyard outside police headquarters. While this version stretches credulity, it could be true. In any case, as those who picket in protest point out, it was poor police work to fail to search an arrested robbery suspect for weapons before handcuffing him for the ride downtown.

Next time, St. Louis may not be lucky enough to escape with peaceful picketing when such an unfortunate slaying takes place. Straight answers are required in the killing of Hayes.

THE SPEAKER WHO DIDN'T SHOW

We sympathize with a small and ob- [illegible] the and the right to assemble without harrassment, which the press espouses — normally, anyway.

Because this small group is reputed [illegible] Communist, Communist-inspired, [illegible] ated, or Communist- [illegible] hich, a *cause* [illegible] upon us [illegible] the

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

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While the labor movement is taking bows for what AFL-CIO President George Meany calls a "great legislative victory," the fact remains that the legislation keeps the government in the business of making America safe for poverty.

The "poverty line" in this country, as defined by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, lies below a $3,100 annual wage for a family of four.

For the almost 30,000,000 workers previously covered by the legislation, it assures them a minimum income (if they work 40 hours a week, 50 weeks a year) of $2,800 a year by 1967 and $3,200 a year by 1968. In other words, it won't even exceed the poverty line if the worker has more than two kids.

For the 8,000,000 newly covered workers, their annual minimum income will soar to $2,000 next year, $2,300 in 1968, and jump by $300 per year to the $3,200 level in 1971, five years hence.

And when we speak of "minimums," we are, of course, pulling each others' legs. There is nothing in the legislation which guarantees the worker the right to work 2,000 hours a year to earn his pittance.

Thus the Congress, despite its bow-taking, is hardening the cast of poverty in the nation by "lifting" the wages of millions of Americans just to the poverty line and freezing them there for five years or more.

It's the same story with the Social Security legislation which assures our aged population that they have nothing to fear in their golden years but poverty.

There are many people, we suppose, who will praise the bill for being "as much as we can get." For our part, we believe a nation which boasts that it has achieved an economy of abundance for the first time in the long history of man has nothing to be proud of in the continued exploitation of the American worker.

Except for the efforts of the labor movement in free collective bargaining for the 17,000,000 workers it represents, one may be sure that the giants of industry and their governmental partners would see to it that the minimum and the maximum were precious close together.

For the 20,000,000 additional workers now covered by the new law but not represented by unions, the bulk of them can rest assured that they can reach the poverty line if they are lucky enough to work steady. They should be grateful, we suppose.

But it gets worse. Those who praise the bill gloat that farm workers are covered for the first time. Some 390,000 of them are, those who work in the largest farm industries, but the bill was careful to exclude another 1,500,000 farm workers from its largesse. The relative few lucky enough to get coverage might note that their guarantee stops at $1.30 per hour in 1969, or $2,600 per year. Does anybody know a farm worker who puts in 40 hours a week, 50 weeks a year?

A total of 12,000,000 workers are still excluded from the bill, and their plight is hard to describe. Once you have said our national wage policy rivets onto the poverty line, how do you say you must remain less than poor? But that's what the law says.

The history of the minimum wage law is itself a sobering commentary on our national interest in enabling the American worker to gain a life of minimum dignity and economic security.

When the first "Fair Labor Standards Act" was passed in 1938, it established a 1939 minimum of 25c per hour. This mounted up to $600 per year for a 48-hour week or $500 for 40 hours.

By 1945, following World War II, the American worker (if he was covered) could count on a minimum of 40c per hour. In 1950 it went to 75c per hour and reached $1.00 per hour in 1956. It has been at $1.25 per hour (or $600 per year below the poverty line) since 1964.

The extension of its coverage to 8,000,000 additional workers this year is only the second time since 1938 that more workers have been covered. As a matter of fact, in 1949 the Congress *reduced* the number of workers covered from 22.6 million to 22.1 million. It was in 1961, or 23 years after its first passage, that additional workers were covered.

Now, for the first time, the benefits of poverty assured by law pass on to 1.5 million workers in the retail trades; 1.4 million in hospitals and similar institutions; 1.7 million non-teaching employees of our schools and colleges; 685,000 blue collar employees of the government itself; and thousands of other employees in restaurants, hotels, laundries, and miscellaneous occupations.

Of course, certain benefits will accrue from the new legislation. Workers in higher pay brackets can use the new minimums as leverage for increases of their own. It will increase wage payments by nearly eight billion dollars over the next five years. It is a "step" (be patient, workers) toward decency.

But the fact remains that, in a nation with the greatest prosperity in human history, the prosperity is locked up by the very few.

Organized labor, while showing new militance in the area of free collective bargaining (which freedom, incidentally, is under threat by compulsory arbitration proposals), has won very little through the political process in the past 20 years.

As a matter of fact, it suffered sizeable losses — notably the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts which imposed tight shackles on the movement and made new organizing much more difficult.

During this period, its legislative efforts have been by and large weak and inept, and its posture mainly defensive, thanks in no small part to the wave of anti-union hysteria whomped up by the mass media in league with union-busters since 1957.

The union-busters, of course, are the same owners of America's abundance who have fought so hard against minimum wage and other social legislation in a desperate effort to keep the wealth of the nation — which all men have a moral right to share — in their own greedy hands.

Those who monopolize the wealth will not surrender it voluntarily. It is up to the free labor movement to mount a major offensive for economic justice in our land of abundance, instead of resting on Meany's "great legislative victory" interpretation of this week.

If the labor movement doesn't do it, the free economic system so cherished in our history books may be in peril. Because the worker in a land of abundance will not live in poverty forever. The course of history proves it.

Min Wage Project

Locals Should Check

Fair Labor Standards Act Extended on February 1

School, hospital and Canal Zone employees benefit from the broadened coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act which is effective February 1.

Amendments passed by Congress in 1966 as the result of all-out efforts by AFSCME become law that date. Under them, many public employees will be treated in the same manner as private employees in various ways, principally overtime provisions and minimum hourly wage rates.

AFSCME's Education and Research Guide contains the details with which every council and local union should become familiar. These amendments should be discussed at meetings to determine if they apply to any members in the units. If minimum wage or overtime provisions are applicable, officers should see to it that officials with whom they deal implement them immediately.

Following is Section 264 of the Education and Research Guide, which describes the new provisions:

The "Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966," which amend the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), become effective February 1, 1967. The bill brings under coverage 8.1 million additional workers, many of whom fall within AFSCME's jurisdiction. Among those newly covered are 1.5 million hospital, school and related institution employees, as well as 685,000 blue collar Federal employees (including citizen and non-citizen Federal workers in the Canal Zone).

FOR THE FIRST TIME, employers in these establishments must pay at least a minimum wage to all their employees, and compensate them at time and one-half for overtime work. It does not matter whether those covered under the Act are union or non-union, under a merit system or not, or whether the employer receives financial assistance from the Federal Government.

Thus, some public employees are now treated in the same manner as private employees. AFSCME was instrumental in getting school, hospital, and Canal Zone employees written into the bill, and, through an unyielding lobbying effort, effectively countered the formidable attacks waged by those opposing coverage for these employees.

Questions may arise concerning the implementation of the new amendments. In all probability the Wage and Hour Administration will issue interpretive bulletins establishing guidelines to be followed in initiating the new provisions. Any significant information in them will be incorporated into this section of the Education and Research Guide.

The following sections point out those portions of the bill which are of great importance to AFSCME.

I. Newly Covered Employees. Newly covered employees include those persons engaged in activities performed in connection with the following enterprises:

A. A hospital.

B. An institution primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective, if those being cared for reside on the premises of the institution.

C. A school for mentally ill or physically handicapped or gifted children.

D. An elementary or secondary school (elementary and secondary schools mean day or residential schools which provide education as determined under state law). (This section does not apply to teaching or administrative personnel.)

E. An institution of higher education (universities and colleges).

The bill is applicable whether or not such hospital, institution or school is public, private, profit or non-profit.

Also included under new coverage are citizen and non-citizen employees of the Federal Government in the Canal Zone.

II. Minimum Wage for Newly Covered Employees Described Above. Newly covered employees are to be paid the following:

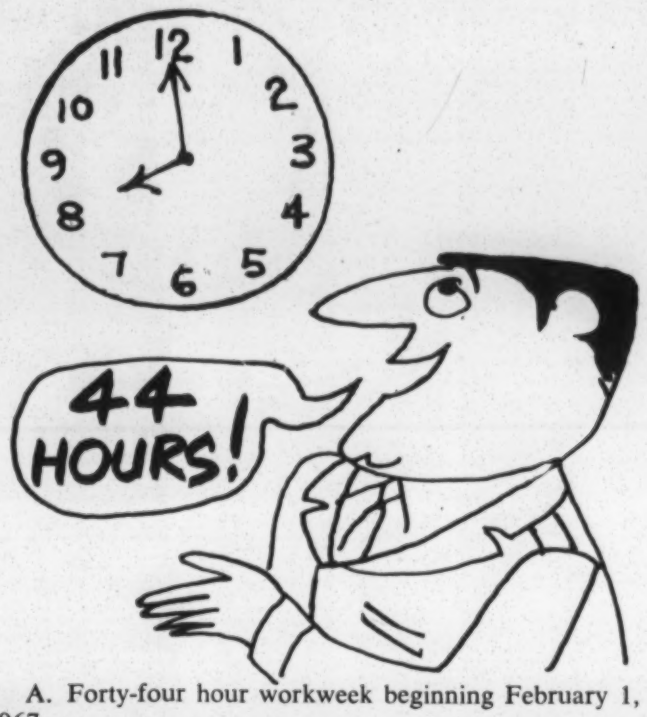
A. Not less than $1.00 an hour beginning February 1, 1967.

B. Not less than $1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968.

C. Not less than $1.30 an hour beginning February 1, 1969.

D. Not less than $1.45 an hour beginning February 1, 1971, and continuing thereafter.

III. Overtime Provisions for Newly Covered Employees. With the exception of hospital employees, for whom there is a special provision, no employer may employ a person newly covered under the 1966 amendments for a workweek longer than specified below unless such employee receives compensation for work in excess of these hours at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed. The workweeks are scheduled as follows:



A. Forty-four hour workweek beginning February 1, 1967.

B. Forty-two hour workweek beginning February 1, 1968.

C. Forty hour workweek beginning February 1, 1969 and thereafter.

IV. Overtime Provisions for Hospital Employees. This provision, which also becomes effective February 1, 1967, is applicable to hospitals only; no violation will have taken place if an agreement between the employer and employee is reached, before performance of work, that a work period of 14 consecutive days is accepted instead of the workweek of seven consecutive days for purposes of computing overtime. For employment in excess of eight hours in any workday, and in excess of 80 hours in such 14-day period, the employee will receive compensation at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

CURRENTLY, the Department of Labor, through its Wages, Hours and Public Contracts Division, is in the process of informing some 1,700,000 employers of the provisions of the new amendments to the Act.

Among the many receiving the guidelines are employers in the areas of public and private educational institutions, and hospital and nursing home facilities.

Our locals should make sure that employers in such categories are fully informed of the new provisions.

In addition to the "Handy Reference Guide" for the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Department of Labor is supplying an official poster which the employer is required to display. It explains the provisions of the Act as it affects the workers. Additional information may be obtained by writing to the nearest local office of the U.S. Department of Labor.

To Begin March 1

Applicants Are Screened For Staff Intern Program

Screening of applicants for the AFSCME Staff Intern Program (ASIP), is under way and names of members of the first class will be announced immediately after February 1.

The task of selecting the 12 to 15 members of the first class was complicated by the large number of applicants, ASIP Administrator Betty Miller reports.

"We have more than 175 excellent applicants," Mrs. Miller added. "Applications came from 20 states and the Panama Canal Zone."

INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT Jerry Wurf said he was "extremely gratified by the response to the program." He said he was impressed by the quality of the members applying, noting that they represented a good cross-section of the membership.

As part of the screening, applicants are being personally interviewed by AFSCME staff members.

Selections of applicants will be made by a committee at AFSCME International headquarters in Washington.

THOSE NAMED to participate in the program will arrive in Washington March 1. The interns will be housed at the Pick Lee House, where sessions will also be conducted. The hotel is located just a block from International headquarters in the Madison Building and close to AFL-CIO headquarters.

The first few days will be occupied by an orientation program in which the interns will become familiar with Washington, AFSCME and AFL-CIO headquarters before settling down for rigorous class sessions.

IN ADDITION to AFSCME staff members, Mrs. Miller announced instructors will include leading AFL-CIO officials such as Nat Goldfinger, director of research; Donald Slaiman, director of the Department of Civil Rights; Walter Davis, associate director of COPE; Otto Pragan, assistant director of education, and Frank Fernbach, assistant director of research.

Others participating in the program will include Larry Rogin, former director of AFL-CIO Education Department and now project director with the National Institue of Labor Education; Royce Hanson, director of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies; Professor Everett Kassalow, University of Wisconsin economist; Edmond Rovner, a member of the national board of Americans for Democratic Action, and Henry Kaiser, AFSCME general counsel.

OFFICERS and members of the Philadelphia Public School Employees Association, which voted unanimously to merge with AFSCME, get together with International representatives in a symbolic all-for-one, one-for-all demonstration. A new local union, Public School Local 86, has been chartered. From left are Joe Shaffer, Association president; Frank James; Bill Layman, Special International Representative; Harvey Schwartz; James Lee, secretary; George Bon-John Shay, executive vice president; ney, trustee; Louis Kingsboro, treasurer; Jerry McEntee, International Representative; Jim Hogwood; Michael Cava, vice president, and John Harris. An election will be held in February.

"All Possible Care Is Taken To Avoid Civilian Casualties"

Is This System Right?

We have been well exposed to the arrogance of some employers. Yet every time we see a new example of employer arrogance of a level such as that exhibited by Union Carbide Corp. we are so amazed we just cannot believe it.

Here is a company which has pulled together in one enterprise $1.4 billion dollars worth of assets. It has nearly 100 manufacturing plants spread from coast to coast. It has uncounted warehouses, sales outlets, offices and other facilities. It has 61,000 employes. It has greater economic power than many of the individual states of the union.

Union Carbide has all these things and its right to own all these things is conceded under the economic system and the

Min Wage

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

Minimum Wage Breakthrough

By SYLVIA PORTER

ON FEBRUARY 1, the first parts of the sweeping 1966 amendments to the federal wage-hour laws will go into effect. They will represent the most drastic overhaul of these laws since their enactment 29 years ago, will also signal an historic breakthrough in minimum wage coverage of U.S. workers. Under the amendments:

- The minimum wage of nearly 30 million previously covered workers will rise from today's $1.25 to $1.40 an hour. This will mean 3.8 million workers will get automatic wage hikes; the rest already make $1.40 an hour or more.

- For the first time, another 8 million workers will come under the laws, will be guaranteed a minimum of $1 an hour and will be eligible for overtime after 44 hours a week. This will mean about one million newly covered workers will get wage hikes; the rest already make $1 an hour or more.

- Of the newly covered workers 390,000 will be farm workers. This is the historic breakthrough—even though the provision now will apply only to workers on large commercial farms which employ the equivalent of seven or more full-time hired men. But this is only the opening wedge. President Johnson himself hailed the extension to farm hands as "just a starter."

- Most of the other 8 million newly covered workers will be employes of retail stores, restaurants, hotels and other enterprises with annual sales of

to $1.60 an hour on Feb. 1, 1968—giving automatic wage hikes to about 5.9 million workers. The minimum wage for newly covered workers will rise to $1.15 and they'll be entitled to overtime after 42 hours a week—giving more automatic wage hikes to more millions. A whole range of other changes is threaded through the laws. Directly ahead is a massive liberalization indeed.

What will it all mean?

TO THE WORKERS directly affected, the obvious meaning is more pay. A worker getting $50 for a 40-hour week, for instance, will get $56 ($1.40 times 40 hours = $56).

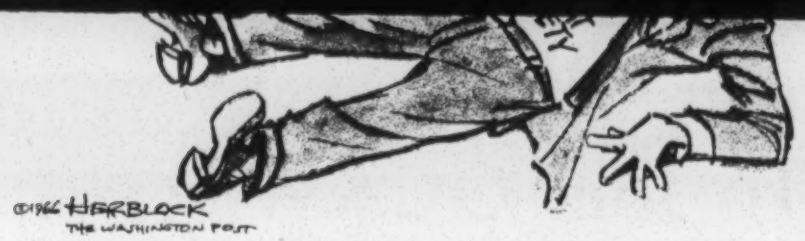
To workers above the minimums, the amendments also will mean more pay, for they will demand—and win—raises to maintain wage differentials.

To U.S. employers, the changes will mean an extra wage bill running near $2 billion a year just to comply with the new minimums according to

the amendments will mean a stimulant to purchasing power—and every penny being granted because of the new minimums will be spent by the workers immediately. At this wage level there's not much, if any, room for savings.

Undoubtedly the higher wage bills will squeeze some marginal enterprises. Undoubtedly the costs will be passed on to a moderate extent at least in the form of some price increases. But the evidence is persuasive that the bitter opponents of the 1966 amendments exaggerated the harmful impact on business. There have been significant increases in the minimum wage since 1938: from an original 25¢ an hour to 40¢ in 1945, to 75¢ in 1948, to $1 in 1955, to $1.15 in 1962, to $1.25 in 1964. Before each increase, a cry of "disaster to business" was raised; after each increase, the U.S. economy adjusted to the steeper costs with comparative ease.

What's more, Prentice-Hall points out a series of ways businessmen can—and undoubtedly will—offset much of the expense. As an illustration, many will maintain wage differentials by percentage increases which gradually taper off, instead of boosting salaries by an identical amount. The $50 a week man will get $6; the $60 a week man might get $5; the $70 a week man, $4; the $80 a week man, $3; the $90 a week man, $2; the $100 a week man, $1; and the $110 a week man, $0. Others will shift hourly jobs to incentive piece-rate jobs. Still



Is This System Right?

We have been well exposed to the arrogance of some employers. Yet every time we see a new example of employer arrogance of a level such as that exhibited by Union Carbide Corp. we are so amazed we just cannot believe it.

Here is a company which has pulled together in one enterprise $1.4 billion dollars worth of assets. It has nearly 100 manufacturing plants spread from coast to coast. It has uncounted warehouses, sales outlets, offices and other facilities. It has 61,000 employes. It has greater economic power than many of the individual states of the union.

Union Carbide has all these things and its right to own all these things is conceded under the economic system and the laws of the United States. Indeed, the power and majesty of the government guards and protects this mountain of wealth and this massive power.

Yet when 7,000 employes among the 61,000 in the company working in 11 of the company's 90-odd plants band together to amass just a fraction as much power under one umbrella as Carbide has in its far-flung empire, then Carbide says, "This is too much union power. We won't tolerate it." The people who can justify the accumulation of wealth and power in Carbide's hands while denying a fraction as much in the worker's hands are being incredibly arrogant. We see it, but we can't believe it.

Perhaps this is not the fault of Carbide alone. Perhaps it is part and parcel of the American attitude. Certainly this seemed to be the case when the government asked and a Federal court granted a Taft-Hartley injunction forcing the workers in one — just one — of the plants to return to work. Thus the muscle of Uncle Sam went to the aid of this massive company and was wielded against the few union people.

Is this the sort of balance of power the American system calls for? If so, it is time to take a long and critical look at the American system. If this is its balance of values, some changes need to be made.

Yesterday Is Gone

Forbes, the national business magazine, says "In business, yesterday's formula for success is often tomorrow's recipe for trouble." This could apply to the business of the labor movement, as well. — *Texas AFL-CIO News*

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under the laws, will be guaranteed a minimum of $1 an hour and will be eligible for overtime after 44 hours a week. This will mean about one million newly covered workers will get wage hikes; the rest already make $1 an hour or more.

• Of the newly covered workers 390,000 will be farm workers. This is the historic breakthrough — even though the provision now will apply only to workers on large commercial farms which employ the equivalent of seven or more full-time hired men. But this is only the opening wedge. President Johnson himself hailed the extension to farm hands as "just a starter."

• Most of the other 8 million newly covered workers will be employes of retail stores, restaurants, hotels and other enterprises with annual sales of $500,000 or more. The "sales test" until now has been $1 million.

Moreover, Feb. 1 will mark only the first steps. The minimum wage for previously covered workers will rise again overtime after 42 hours a week — giving more automatic wage hikes to more millions. A whole range of other changes is threaded through the laws. Directly ahead is a massive liberalization indeed.

What will it all mean?

TO THE WORKERS directly affected, the obvious meaning is more pay. A worker getting $50 for a 40-hour week, for instance, will get $56 ($1.40 times 40 hours = $56).

To workers above the minimums, the amendments also will mean more pay, for they will demand — and win — raises to maintain wage differentials.

To U.S. employers, the changes will mean an extra wage bill running near $2 billion a year just to comply with the new minimums, according to a Prentice-Hall analysis. And they will mean a wage bill running to millions of additional dollars for employes who will insist on pay increases to maintain wage differentials.

To our economy in general, 1962, to $1.25 in 1964. Before each increase, a cry of "disaster to business" was raised; after each increase, the U.S. economy adjusted to the steeper costs with comparative ease.

What's more, Prentice-Hall points out a series of ways businessmen can — and undoubtedly will — offset much of the expense. As an illustration, many will maintain wage differentials by percentage increases which gradually taper off, instead of boosting salaries by an identical amount. The $50 a week man will get $6; the $60 a week man might get $5; the $70 a week man, $4; the $80 a week man, $3; the $90 a week man, $2; the $100 a week man, $1; and the $110 a week man, $0. Others will shift hourly jobs to incentive piece-rate jobs. Still others will adjust their methods of paying overtime to keep these costs to a minimum.

BUT ONE POINT that "Feb. 1" will damatize above all: 1967 will be a year of powerful uptrend in paychecks.

Says ROSCOE FLEMING:

Income Floor: It's Coming

COMING EVENTS sometimes cast long shadows. During the 1930's the shadow was that of social security, especially for the aged.

Opponents called it immoral, socialistic or communistic. But the national will prevailed at last. Now payments to the indigent aged are taken for granted; both morally, and as adding to the nation's economic strength rather than weakening it.

Now another inevitable but creeping advance is getting the same sort of opposition. That is the proposal to put a floor under income, so that nobody of whatever age should be compelled to go hungry or cold.

FLEMING

Economists say that some 30 million Americans still have less than a decent subsistence income. Most are of minority racial groups.

Some opponents raise the moral objection that such a program would reward the slothful and undeserving, as well as the deserving. But as the late "Bishop" Frank Rice of Denver once observed, the undeserving get just as hungry as the deserving.

ON THE MORAL side it's doubtful if anyone is qualified to sit in judgment because he makes his own way, or lives on what Grandaddy left him.

On the economic side, such a program would actually cost little more than the Vietnamese war, and might be a sufficient economic stimulator so as eventually to pay for itself.

For it is the day-to-day spending of the millions, even in relatively small personal amounts, that keep the economy going; not the occasional large spending of the better-heeled.

It is the working or turned-over dollar that keeps us going. But to spend, the millions need to have confidence in the soundness of the economy.

Fear of want and depression leads to hoarding, which enhances the chance of depression, and so on around the vicious circle.

Gradually the horizon has however been lightening. A public which lived for years in the departing shadow of the great depression, has become convinced that the national government now has sufficient power to avert depression.

Further, the nation has been persuaded toward "Keynesian" economics — the thesis of the great Briton that government spending can be used to keep the economy steaming ahead, and should be so used even at the cost of increasing the national debt.

Such a cost is held preferable to the less tangible but the real and frightening human costs of depression. And does anyone seriously maintain that the richest nation on earth can't afford it?

A GENERATION from now, the concept of putting a floor under income will be seen as having been as inevitable as we now see old-age assistance to have been.

It will be just as taken for granted, and everyone will be the better off for it, not just those directly assisted.

rive Opens

Is Boosted

EV — Min Wage Pa

2-4-67

Meany Issues Call To Central Bodies

By David L. Perlman

The AFL-CIO opened a nationwide drive for vigorous enforcement of the new wage-hour law and set up machinery to help all workers—union members or not—who are shortchanged by chiseling employers.

Federation Pres. George Meany outlined labor's enforcement program in a letter to Pres. Johnson and in letters to all AFL-CIO state and local central bodies.

The program calls for each central body to set up machinery to receive and help process complaints of wage law violations from all workers in its area—including employes of unorganized shops and businesses.

The unorganized now "have no place to go," Meany said. "I hope each central body becomes such a place."

In his letter to Johnson, Meany termed the addition of more than 9 million workers to coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the increase in the wage floor "by far the greatest single victory up to now in the war against poverty in America."

He noted that nearly 5 million workers were scheduled to receive pay raises Feb. 1 to bring those already covered by FLSA to a $1.40 minimum and to guarantee newly-covered workers $1 an hour. The direct impact of raising the wage floor will add $1 billion to the purchasing power of those in greatest need.

"Only one circumstance could prevent this memorable legislative advance from fulfilling our hopes, and that is widespread violation of its terms," Meany wrote the President.

He stressed that "a law is only as good as its enforcement, and in this instance enforcement poses a special problem."

Meany pointed out that last year

(Continued on Page 5)

Meany Spurs Central Bodies:

AFL-CIO Wage-Hour Drive Seeks Vigorous Enforcement

(Continued from Page 1)

Labor Dept. investigators found that "some 430,000 workers were underpaid a total of $90 million by employers who flouted the FLSA" and the departmetnt estimates that "only about half the violators were caught."

The new amendments increase the number of covered workers by almost 30 percent, Meany noted, and the number of establishments to be checked by nearly 60 percent.

This extension of coverage "will enormously enlarge the inspection task," he said. He termed the President's budget request to Congress for additional wage-hour inspectors "a necessary first step."

To supplement this, Meany told the President, the AFL-CIO is undertaking its own campaign to assist workers in processing complaints of wage-hour violations. He urged the President to "make sure that both employers and the administrators of this law know that you intend to have fair labor standards for all—in fact as well as in name."

The problem of enforcement was pointed up by the Labor Dept.'s wage-hour administrator, Clarence T. Lundquist, at a news conference.

Lundquist said he could add 175 additional wage-hour investigators to the present staff of 1,000 if Congress approves the full budget increase sought by the President.

He acknowledged, in reply to questions, that even after the new investigators are trained the Labor Dept. would not be able to inspect as high a proportion of firms as it did last year.

Enforcement problems are always greater following a change in the law, he said, and the government will have to depend to a greater extent on violations being called to its attention, rather than ferreted out by investigators.

Meany, in his letter to central bodies, pointed out that the Labor Dept. "has never had enough inspectors to do the job" and "it is up to us to help."

Procedure 'Cumbersome'

The procedure for workers to file individual complaints that they are not being paid the legal minimum "is just cumbersome enough to be discouraging," Meany noted, "especially for the unorganized people who have to operate on their own."

He called on each central body to:

- Set up a wage-hour enforcement committee to receive and help process complaints.
- Publicize the creation of the committee, stressing its availability to all workers, especially the unorganized.
- Help the worker bring his complaint to a wage-hour investigator and press for prompt action by the government.
- Keep tabs on the outcome of all cases and be alert to unnecessary compromises that give the worker only a portion of the money due him.

Emphasizing the importance of the program, Meany reminded central bodies that "more often than not the cheaters on the wage-hour law are in competition with organized shops and depress the wages of all."

An article in the February issue of the AFL-CIO American Federationist points up the problem of enforcement, including the difficulty of collecting back wages when violations are uncovered.

70% Claim Loss

Only $27 million of the nearly $90 million underpayment found by wage-hour investigators during the 1966 fiscal year was actually recovered by the workers who were short-changed. If an employer refuses to pay up for past violations, either the worker or the Labor Dept. has to bring a court suit.

"Too often," the Federationist article points out, "the collection suits are never brought, especially where the workers involved have no union representation and fear employer reprisal."

The article also quotes a Labor Dept. estimate that 1.77 million employes were underpaid at some time during the two-year period, 1964-65, an average of $172 per worker. Over 343,000 establishments were involved in violations of one or more provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The bulk of the violations represented failure by employers to pay time-and-one-half overtime rates.

Adding to the enforcement problem this year is coverage, for the first time, of a large group of farm workers.

It Works!

Letter to Central Bodies On Wage-Hour Program

Text of AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany's letter to state and local central bodies on enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act:

On Feb. 1 the new wage-hour amendments will go into effect, not only raising the federal minimum wage but extending its coverage to more than 9 million workers and to 700,000 new employers.

It is clearly in the best interests of the AFL-CIO, as well as in the national interest, to see that the law is observed.

AFL-CIO NEWS

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It is clearly in the best interests of the AFL-CIO, as well as in the national interest, to see that the law is observed.

Unfortunately, the wage-hour division of the Dept. of Labor has never had enough inspectors to do the job. Furthermore, the procedure available to workers for filing individual complaints is just cumbersome enough to be discouraging, especially for the unorganized people who have to operate on their own.

The next issue of the American Federationist, which you will shortly receive, describes the new law in a special article. The article also discusses enforcement procedures. You will see that they are complex.

Pres. Johnson's proposed budget calls for additional federal inspectors, as I noted in a letter to him, a copy of which is enclosed. But the enforcement job will be so greatly increased by the new amendments that still other measures are needed.

It is up to us to help in the enforcement of this law. Organized workers can, for the most part, appeal for help to their own unions. The unorganized have no place to go. I hope each central body becomes such a place.

I urge each of you to let it be known that you are ready, willing and able to handle all wage-hour complaints, from any source. Here are some of the steps you might take:

1. Establish a standing committee on wage-hour enforcement, to receive and help to process complaints.

2. Issue a news release announcing the creation of the committee, and stressing your readiness to assist all workers, especially the unorganized.

3. When complainants come in, get in touch with the nearest wage-hour field office on the enclosed list. Set up an appointment for the complainant in the most convenient subsidiary field station. Obviously it is not possible for a worker at the minimum wage level to travel a long distance to lodge a complaint.

4. Press the wage-hour office for prompt action. To workers who are being gypped under the wage-hour law, speed is vital.

5. Compile a record of the outcome of cases that come to your attention. The official Dept. of Labor statistics indicate that because of negotiated "compromises," even workers who have been upheld have collected only about a third of what was owed them. Compromise is all right in its place, but the law is the law, and it provides little enough at 100 percent.

As you well know, this program is not just charitable. More often than not the cheaters on the wage-hour law are in competion with organized shops and depress the wages of all.

Let's make the most out of a very good thing—and one for which the AFL-CIO can take full credit.

UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPT., AFL-CIO

The Minimum Wage Impact

THE FEB. 1, 1967, increase in the federal minimum wage to $1.40 an hour and extension of the law to an additional 8 million workers will predictably set off a flurry of reports of layoffs, closed businesses and a general wailing about how the country is once again on the brink of ruin.

The reports will come from those who believe that $1.40 an hour is an "extravagant" wage; that workers should be thankful there are benevolent employers to provide jobs, and never mind the wages.

The $1.40 an hour will bring a worker employed for a full year at 40 hours a week the munificent annual salary of $2,912—still short of the $3,000 a year income that the government has drawn as the poverty line.

Of the 5 million persons who will receive increases this month under the new amendments to the Wage-Hour Act, many of them will be protected by the law for the first time and will receive $1 an hour. They will not reach the top minimum of $1.60 an hour—that will go into effect for previously covered workers Feb. 1, 1968—until Feb. 1, 1971.

If an increase in the minimum wage to $1.40 for those presently covered by the law and a floor of $1 an hour for those covered for the first time will make or break a business or industry, then it has been guilty of the cruelest form of wage exploitation.

* * *

BUT THE EVIDENCE is overwhelmingly against those who raise the cry of ruination because a worker is guaranteed $1 to $1.40 an hour.

In January 1963 the secretary of labor reported to Congress the effects of a first-step increase in the minimum wage to $1.15 in 1961 and the expansion of coverage to 3.5 million more workers. The secretary declared that the minimum wage increases "had no discernible effect on the nationwide level of employment in the industries affected. On an overall basis employment has risen in these industries since the 1961 amendments took effect."

In January 1965 the secretary reported again, in accordance with the requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act, that "recent experience has indicated that the extension of coverage to low-wage industries has not in fact curtailed employment. Even more important, the idea that substandard wages should be retained in some occupations and industries to provide marginal jobs is in direct contradiction to our goal of eliminating poverty."

In January 1966, after reviewing the record for the four previous years during which the minimum went to $1.25 and newly covered workers reached maximum protection, the secretary reported:

"The strong—and only—indication from the record is that reasonable increases in the minimum rate have no retarding effect on an expanding economy and do not result in larger unemployment than there would have been in the absence of such increases."

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* * *

THE 1967 INCREASE and expansion of the minimum wage is expected to add $1 billion in purchasing power for the 12 months beginning Feb. 1. This will be money in the hands of low wage earners who will spend it to improve their impoverished standard of living. It will signal a major victory in the war on poverty.

On Feb. 1, 1968, when the minimum moves to $1.60 an hour, the country will have moved past the poverty line for those covered by the new top rate. The exploiters and the chiselers will raise a new cry, for their kind never quite gives up. But they will be hauled wailing and kicking, as in the past, into a society where the working poor is a disappearing breed.

AFL-CIO News

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WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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2-4-67 Ev- Min wage Report

THE NEW WAGE-HOUR AMENDMENTS

DATE	WORKERS ALREADY COVERED		NEWLY-COVERED WORKERS			
	MINIMUM WAGE PER HOUR	OVERTIME HOURS 1½ TIMES REGULAR RATE	MINIMUM WAGE PER HOUR	OVERTIME HOURS 1½ TIMES REGULAR RATE	FARM WORKERS MINIMUM WAGE	FARM WORKERS OVERTIME HOURS
FEB. 1, 1967	$1.40	AFTER 40 HOURS	$1.00	AFTER 44 HOURS	$1.00	NO OVERTIME PAY
FEB. 1, 1968	$1.60		$1.15	AFTER 42 HOURS	$1.15	
FEB. 1, 1969			$1.30	AFTER 40 HOURS	$1.30	
FEB. 1, 1970			$1.45			
FEB. 1, 1971			$1.60			

FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE COVERAGE BY INDUSTRY*
(IN THOUSANDS)

INDUSTRY	EMPLOYES COVERED BY THE FLSA			NON-SUPERVISORY EMPLOYES NOT COVERED BY FLSA
	TOTAL NON-SUPERVISORY EMPLOYES	EMPLOYES COVERED	NUMBER COVERED BY THE 1966 AMENDMENTS	
UNITED STATES	50,429 (a)	41,428 (b)	9,121 (b)	11,437 (a)
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND FISHERIES	1,517	477	460	1,040
MINING	550	544	—	6
CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION	3,236	3,201	625	35
MANUFACTURING	17,481	16,903	69	578
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, UTILITIES	3,823	3,751	112	72
WHOLESALE TRADE	3,133	2,368	143	765
RETAIL TRADE	8,690	5,060	2,210	3,630
FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE	2,687	1,998	—	689
SERVICES (EXCLUDING DOMESTIC SERVICE)	6,871	4,690	3,066	2,181
DOMESTIC SERVICE	2,441	—	—	2,441
GOVERNMENT	—	2,436	2,436	—

* Estimates based on employment data for 1966. All employes are included except executive, administrative, and professional employes and academic administrative personnel and teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Employes added to coverage by 1966 amendments include those who will be covered in 1967 and 1969.
(a) Excludes all government employes.
(b) Includes the estimated 2,436,000 government employes added to coverage by 1966 amendments.
SOURCE: Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, Dept. of Labor.

FEB 1967

Union Acts to Intervene In Amendments' Defense

WASHINGTON

AFSCME is waging a fight to save the amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act which apply minimum wage and overtime provisions to school, hospital and other state and local employees.

The overtime provisions will provide the chief benefits for AFSCME members.

The union's general counsel has petitioned the U.S. District Court for Maryland to intervene in the defense of the amendments which have been challenged on constitutional grounds by the Maryland attorney general. Nine other states have joined Maryland in what is expected to be a landmark case.

Approximately 110,000 AFSCME members nationwide and about 3,700 members in Maryland will be affected by the outcome of the suit brought by Maryland against the Secretary of Labor, the Wage-Hour Administrator and the director of the Wage-Hour Division's Third Region.

CHIEF JUDGE Roszel C. Thomsen of the U.S. District Court set February 10 as the date for intervention by other states and interested parties. On that date AFSCME attorneys filed a petition to intervene. Attorneys for the AFL-CIO also requested permission to enter the defense of the suit as a friend of the court.

By the February 10 deadline nine states had joined the Maryland action. They were Colorado, Florida, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

The decision of AFSCME to seek intervention was made by the International Executive Board, which met here during the week of January 23. It also instructed the International officers to seek the assistance of the AFL-CIO and all of its subordinate bodies in support of the wage and hour amendments.

(Continued on Page 8)

(Continued from Page 1)

THE BOARD said that AFSCME is vitally concerned lest these important advances be subverted. The International officers were authorized to "take all appropriate action in support of the recent amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, including participation in any legal proceedings involving these amendments."

The amendments in question require payment of a $1 hourly minimum to newly-covered employees starting February 1, 1967; $1.15 the second year; $1.30 the second year; $1.30 the third; $1.45 the fourth, and $1.60 the fifth.

Time and one-half for overtime after 44 hours a week started February 1, 1967. The premium pay starts after 42 hours a year later and begins after 40 hours on February 1, 1969.

Judge Thomsen issued a temporary restraining order against enforcement of the Act by the Government at the request of the Maryland attorney general at the time suit was filed. He extended it to March 31 in a pre-trial order. This restraint was to be extended to all other states joining the action.

In anticipation of dismissal of the suit or its loss by the plaintiffs, however, the order sets the condition that participating states must maintain adequate records reflecting daily and weekly hours of work and wages paid to employees covered by the amendments. In the event of an ultimate decision this means that payment of the minimum wage and overtime would be retroactive to February 1, 1967.

The suit will be tried by a three-judge court in Baltimore. On February 24 the judges will hear an exchange of economic data by the states and the Labor Department. On March 6 the government will present its brief in support of the constitutionality of the amendments. Supporting briefs from AFSCME and AFL-CIO attorneys also will be presented on that date.

On March 16 state briefs in opposition to the constitutionality will be heard. The government's reply in support of constitutionality will come before the court on March 22. Testimony will be concluded on March 29 when oral arguments will be given before the three-judge court.

ATTORNEY Ronald Rosenberg, of the firm of Van Arkel and Kaiser, general counsel for AFSCME, said that in view of the highly expedited scheduling he had hopes that the court would be able to decide the case shortly after the oral argument. He noted that there is a possibility that a decision either way might quickly be taken to the Supreme Court in order to have argument in the spring term. If not, he said, the Supreme Court would hear the case early in the October term.

Maryland and the other states are challenging the amendments to the Act on two grounds:

- That they infringe on the rights of the states as guaranteed under the 10th Amendment of the Constitution.
- That the operation of school systems, hospitals and other institutions does not constitute "commerce," and that Congress may not expand the Congressional meaning of the word "commerce."

ROSENBERG said that the Supreme Court has held, as long ago as 1935, that the operation of a railroad by a state would be subject to regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Presumably, this is the reason the plaintiffs are not challenging the extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to public transportation systems.

The question to be decided by the three-man court, and, probably by the Supreme Court is whether public hospitals and schools may be regulated by the Congress under the powers granted by the commerce clause.

By no means all of the state attorney generals contend that the amendments are unconstitutional. Attorney General Bronson LaFollette of Wisconsin has advised that "Congress may subject state hospitals, institutions and educational centers to the Fair Labor Standards Act under the powers granted by the commerce clause.

IN ADDITION to the arguments by AFSCME attorney, an affidavit and exhibits in support of the motion to intervene in the suit were presented to the court on February 10.

An affidavit from Joseph L. Ames, AFSCME Secretary-Treasurer, pointed out that the union has some 311,000 members in 1,726 local unions throughout the country and that a considerable number of these members are employed in schools and hospitals. They are directly affected by the amendments which extend overtime and minimum wage guarantees.

An exhibit attached to the affidavit was prepared by AFSCME's Department of Education and Research. It sets forth in detail the number of members in the various states who will be directly affected by this legislation.

Meanwhile, another threat to the provisions of the law extending coverage to state and local government employees appeared. Republican Senators Allott and Domenick of Colorado have introduced a bill in Congress that would repeal the extending amendments.

Thus, AFSCME faces fights on two fronts—the judicial and the legislative—to retain the amendments to the Act for which it battled so hard to have enacted by the Congress in 1946.

Labor News 3/10/67

BACK WAGES FOUND DUE IN GREENSBORO

GREENSBORO — The Greensboro Office of the Wage Hour and Public Contracts Divisions (WHPC), U.S. Department of Labor, during the last six months of 1966 made investigations which show that workers in the area were paid $423,140 less than the wages required by the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA).

Labon F. Chappell, supervisor of the WHPC Divisions' field office at Room 253, Post Office and Court House Building, 324 W. Market St., Greensboro, N.C. 27402, announced the figures today for the 22 counties in northwestern North Carolina.

Chappell said the back wages were found to be due employes covered by the federal act in 185 establishments checked by his staff members during the six-month period. He stated that many employers voluntarily paid the back wages under supervision of the U.S. Department of Labor and that court litigation is pending in other cases.

He announced that 1,220 workers who were paid at hourly rates lower than the applicable federal minimum were due $137,708; 1950 employes were due $285,432 because they had not been paid at least one and one-half times their regular rates for hours worked in excess of 40 in a workweek.

He said that workers covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and its amendments prior to Feb. 1, 1967, must now be paid at least $1.40 an hour plus one and one-half times their regular rate for hours worked in excess of 40 in a workweek. Employes newly covered as of Feb. 1, 1957, must now be paid at least $1 an hour and time and one-half hours in excess of 44 in a workweek. Hotel, motel and restaurant, and certain other employes are exempt from overtime pay provisions of FLSA.

Henry A. Huettner, WHPC regional director, Atlanta, said that back pay figures found for the 4-state area in which he administers the act reached $5,354,394 for July- December 1966.

He reported that 13,197 workers in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina were due $1,799,602 in minimum wages; 23,291 were underpaid $3,364,809 for overtime hours; and 186 were due $170,992 under the equal pay provisions. Of these, 190 were underpaid $18,991 under provisions of the McNamara-O'Hara Service Contracts Act.

Huettner also reported that investigators assigned to the 12 Wage-Hour field offices in the region found 779 minors employed in violation of the child-labor provisions of the FLSA in non-agricultural investigations.

Publications explaining all phases of the FLSA, including minimum wage, overtime pay, record-keeping, child labor, hazardous occupations, and the Equal Pay Act, are available without cost from the address listed above.

Min Wage - Enforcement

Labor News 4/11/69 Minimum Wage

PUBLISHED WEEKLY Vol. 28, No. 52 DURHA

N.C. MINIMUM WAGE IS INCREASED TO $1.25 AN HOUR, EFFECTIVE JULY 1

An estimated 30,000 of the lowest-paid employees in North Carolina will be guaranteed a minimum wage of at least $1.25 an hour, effective July 1, 1969, as a result of action taken by the General Assembly early in the current session.

Identical bills introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Ernest B. .Messer of Haywood County and in the Senate by Sen William W. Staton of Lee County were enacted without opposition in either legislative body.

The approved legislation was in the form of amendments to the State Minimum Wage Law, which was enacted originally in 1959. It will accomplish two things

1. The present legal minimum wage of $1 an hour in establishments covered by the act will be increased on July 1, 1969 to $1.25 an hour.

2. A new procedure relating to compensation of tipped employees under the law is established, making this feature of the Minimum Wage Act identical with the procedure used under the Federal Wage and Hour Law. Under this procedure, tips received by an employee may be counted as wages, but only by an amount which does not exceed 50 percent of the applicable minimum wage. An example of how this principle works would be as follows:

A waitress in a covered establishment works a 48-hour workweek. Under the Minimum Wage Law, she would be due gross pay of at least $60 (48 hours times $1.25). During the workweek in question she receives $40 in tips. The employer would be permitted under the law to count $30 of these tips (50 percent of the applicable minimum wage) as part of the wages for which he is legally responsible. So the actual gross earnings of the waitress for that workweek would be $70, of which $30 would be a direct employer expense, $30 would be in tips for which the employer could take credit under the law, and the remaining $10 would be in tips for which the employer could not take credit.

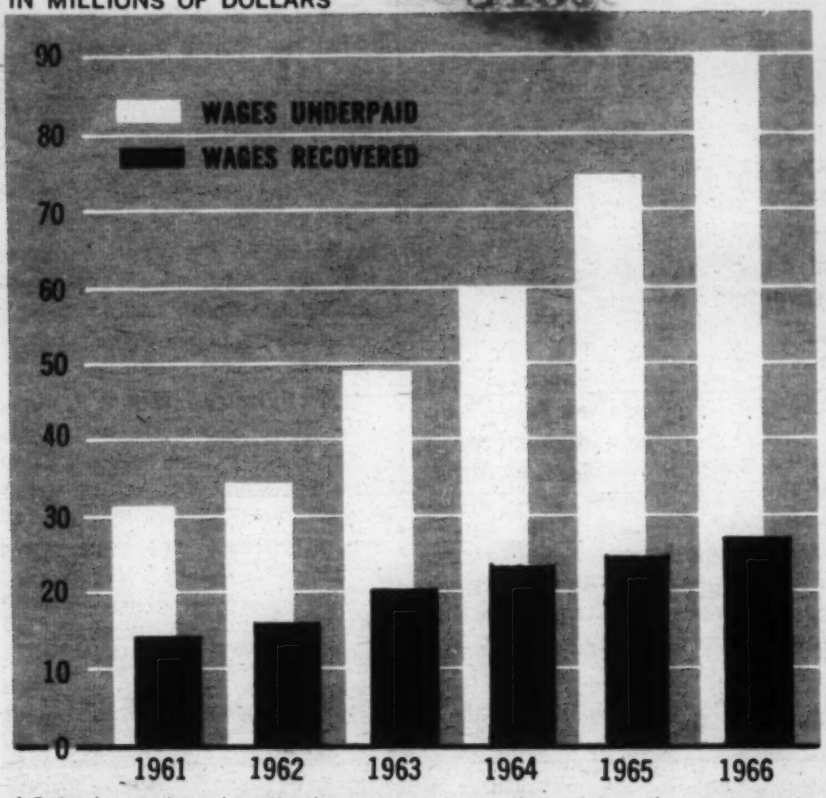
(The Minimum Wage Law already permits meals furnished to an employee by an employer to be counted as wages, provided the charge for them does not exceed 50 cents per meal or $15 per week.)

In testifying before legislative committees prior to enactment of the new minimum wage, Commissioner Crane pointed out that the principal effect of the $1.25 minimum will be in retail and service establishments employing four or more persons and having less than $250,000 per year gross sales. Establishments having $250,000 or more gross sales per year already are covered by the Federal Wage and Hour Law.

The present $1 hourly minimum wage was established by act of the 1965 General Assembly and became effective on Jan. 1, 1966. It will have been in effect for three and one-half years on July 1, 1969, the effective date of the new $1.25 minimum.

WAGE-HOUR UNDERPAYMENTS*

IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS



* Federal wage-hour investigations uncover a growing number of underpayments, but the amount recovered in behalf of workers lags far behind. It is estimated these investigations, based on spot-checks of firms and on worker complaints, still miss about half the violations.

SOURCE: Wage-Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, U. S. Department of Labor.

Min-Wage

A.U.
A/K
Ken Dean
Ray Marshall

January 9, 1967

Michael Piore

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Memorandum on: The Impact of the Agricultural Minimum Wage in Mississippi

When I was in Mississippi during Christmas Vacation, I talked to Amzie Moore, the leader of the Civil rights Movement in four conties in the Delta. Mr. Moore was extremely concerned about the impact of the agricultural minimum wage. He expects that when the law becomes effective February 1, 12,000 familes will be evicted from plantations in his four ~~conty~~ counties (Bolivar, Washington, Sunflower, and Coshoma). He has been trying to gain financial support for projects to house these people, but feels that he has been unsuccessful, thus far, in arousing any interest at all in Washington.

I was unable to investigate the problem myself. But I was extremely impressed with Mr. Moore; he is an intelligent, articulate and sophisticated man, and his arguments seem quite plausible. Most of the Negro farm workers in the Delta have already been displaced by technological change. Whereas cotton once required a large labor force during the summer months to chop weeds and pick the crop, chemical fertilizers have eliminated the need for chopping and mechanical pickers have replaced hand picking. The displaced workers have nonetheless been allowed to remain in the shacks which dot the Delta plantations and to live on welfare and surplus commodities. It is generally believed that the minimum wage will be used as an excuse to evict these people. The incentive to do so is rendered particularly strong by the fact that Negroes now constitute a majority of registered voters in a number of Delta counties, and all major state and county offices will be up for election this fall. Additional incentives may be that (1) the minimum wage applies only to farms with seven or more employees so that it can be avoided if the number of workers is reduced below that level, and (2) a number of plantations are shifting to cattle, and the scattered shacks in which the displaced workers now live may be more of a hindrance in cattle ranching than they have been incotton. (Mr. Moore did not mention these last factors.) People in the Delta report --and I talked to several different people about this --that skilled workers (tractor dirvers and the like have already been put on "straight-time) (i.e., salary

in Para 4

Added text to explain welfare for nation (not just a regional problem)

Purchasing power in Country

in an attempt to evade the minimum wage by lengthening hours of work without a corresponding increase in pay. Some people felt that all workers not on salary would be evicted.

While I could not check all of this out in detail, I did talk with Hodding Carter, III, Editor of the Delta Democrat Times in Greenville, who is personally acquainted with a number of Delta planters. He felt that about half of the planters would use the minimum wage as an excuse to evict their Negro tenants. Although he thought that the other half would probably be deterred by the plantation tradition of paternalism, he also said that he would not be surprised if 100,000 workers and their families were displaced in the state in the coming year.

If a displacement of this magnitude does occur, the repercussions may be disastrous. Mr. Moore, who is certainly one of the most resourceful leaders in the state, reports that he is completely unequipped to handle the problem he anticipates in his own counties. He would like to solve the immediate problem by putting the displaced people to work building their own houses and to work out a longer run program of industrial development and training. I think he has the capacity to carry through such a project. There are a number of people in the area who have experience in construction and are close enough to the plantation background to translate this experience into terms that the people can understand. However, Mr. Moore reported that he had been unable to obtain funds either for land or for building materials. If he cannot do so before the displacement occurs, the people will be camping on the highways.

The alternative is migration to the Northern ghettos. Most migration from Mississippi, so far as I can tell, is to Chicago, Detroit and the Ohio cities--areas that are already having trouble absorbing the Southern Negro migrants. However, while my knowledge of these people is impressionistic (I worked in a richer section of the state in 1964), I doubt that they will migrate voluntarily. Most migrants now come, so far as I can tell, from a group of people who have already moved from the farms to the smaller towns and cities. The people on the plantations have extremely limited horizons and do not think in terms of Northern cities. Most of them have never been more than a few miles from their homes and lack even that contact with the larger world which television provides. In fact, given the adjustment difficulties of recent Southern migrants to Northern cities, who are infinitely more attuned to modern industrial life than these people straight-off the plantations, it is difficult to imagine how the displaced workers can adjust at all.

However, while voluntary migration is, I think, unlikely, a forced migration is not. I spoke to a number of white state and federal officials in the summer of 1964, and most of them felt that out-migration of the Negroes was the only long-run solution to the state's problems. The growth of Negro registration has now added a sense of urgency to these problems. The shift from commodities to food stamps as a vehicle for the distribution of federal surplus foods provides a means of starving the evicted tenants out of the state. Most of them require surplus food for survival, but cannot afford to participate in the food stamp program because minimum cash payments are required. While the attitudes of white Mississippi have changed greatly since 1954, the change may well represent a shift from violence to moare subtle tactics of this kind.

I realize that the picture I have painted is difficult to accept, and that belief is not aided by the hysteria and paranoia of so many of those who have participated in the civil rights programs in Mississippi. However, most of the extremists in the Civil Rights Movement have left the state. The leaders whom I met over Christmas vacation were pragamatic and realistic. The background about the minimum wage which I have reported emerged from discussions about programs designed to meet the problems posed by the legislation. This, in itself, represented a change from the summer of 1964 when the people were often so overwhelmed by the problems that they could not contemplate program at all. Thus, I think that the concerns of Mr. Moore warrant an investigation, and that if these concerns prove justified, careful consideration should be given to the programs which he has suggested.

I would be happy to supply more detail myself. Further information can be obtained from:

~~Annie Moore~~
Amaie Moore
614 Chrisman Avenue
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Telephone: 843-2504
843-5413 (office

Paul Brest
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
583½ North Farrish Street
Jackson, Mississippi
Telephone: 948-7301

BACK WAGES FOUND DUE IN CHARLOTTE

CHARLOTTE—The Charlotte Office of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions (WHPC), U.S. Department of Labor, during the last six months of 1966 made investigations which show that workers in the area were paid $542,432 less than the wages required by the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA).

Fred E. Carlock, supervisor of the WHPC Divisions' field office at Room 401, BSR Building, 316 E. Morehead St., Charlotte, N.C. 28202, announced the figures today for the South Central and Southeastern part of North Carolina.

Carlock said the back wages were found to be due employes covered by the federal act in 234 establishments checked by his staff members during the six-month period. He stated that many employers voluntarily paid the back wages under supervision of the U.S. Department of Labor and that court litigation is pending in other cases.

He announced that 1910 workers who were paid at hourly rates lower than the applicable federal minimum were due $202,947; 2888 employes were due $326,763 because they had not been paid at least one and one-half times their regular rates for hours worked in excess of 40 in a workweek.

He said that workers covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and its amendments prior to Feb. 1, 1967, must now be paid at least $1.40 an hour plus one and one-half times their regular rate for hours worked in excess of 40 in a workweek. Employes newly covered as of Feb. 1, 1967, must now be paid at least $1 an hour and time and one-half hours in excess of 44 in a workweek. Hotel, motel and restaurant, and certain other employes are exempt from overtime pay provisions of FLSA.

Henry A. Huettner, WHPC regional director, Atlanta, said that back pay figures found for the 4-state area in which he administers the act reached $5,354,394 for July-December 1966.

He reported that 13,197 workers in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina were due $1,799,602 in minimum wages; 23,291 were underpaid $3,364,809 for overtime hours; and 186 were due $170,992 under the equal pay provisions. Of these, 190 were underpaid $18,991 under provisions of the McNamara-O'Hara Service Contracts Act.

Huettner also reported that investigators assigned to the 12 Wage-Hour field offices in the region found 779 minors employed in violation of the child-labor provisions of the FLSA in non-agricultural investigations.

3/10/67
Labor News

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First Pilot Project:

Minneapolis Starts Union Arts Program

Minneapolis—A national AFL-CIO program to increase activity by union members in the performing and graphic arts made its debut here.

Representatives of the Minneapolis AFL-CIO and the locals it represents combined with a blue ribbon entourage from the city's arts and cultural society to launch the pilot program in two days of meetings.

Minneapolis is one of four cities chosen by the AFL-CIO to conduct pilot projects. Conferences next month will kick off programs in Louisville, Ky., and Buffalo, N.Y. The New York City demonstration project will be opened with a conference later in the spring, Leo Perlis, director of AFL-CIO Community Services Activities reported.

"The visual and performing arts representatives are pleased to be involved in this program with the AFL-CIO," Dean Myhr, executive director of the Minnesota State Arts Commission told reporters at a press conference.

Robert R. Bigelow, acting president of the labor central body noted that 99 percent of the people working in the performing arts are union members, including musicians and actors.

"We intend to engage in new ideas, as well as take part in current programs," Bigelow said. "The whole city should be proud that the AFL-CIO has confidence not only in our labor unions but in the community itself."

The central body is establishing an Arts Project Committee which will guide the activities of the demonstration project—a two-year program. Working with the committee will be similar committees in each local in Minneapolis.

Jack Golodner, executive secretary of the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Scientific, Professional & Cultural Employes, told union representatives that success in the program will bring an added quality to the lives of union members.

"We hope to achieve a new enrichment of life for our members," Perlis told the audiences attending the conference. "This is a natural development in the labor movement, just as involvement in community services and political action were natural developments."

He noted that many unions have often been involved in the performing and visual arts.

Among those from the arts and cultural facilities who took part in the conference were representatives of the Walker Art Center, the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, the Minneapolis Theatre Co., the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts, Northrup Auditorium, Minneapolis Public Library and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

LEADERSHIP OF LOCALS affiliated with the Minneapolis AFL-CIO heard AFL-CIO Community Services Activities Dir. Leo Perlis (left) outline a program to extend participation of union members in the arts. With Perlis were (from left) Edward Carlin of the Dept. of Community Services Activities, Harlowe Dean, project consultant, and Jack Golodner, executive secretary of the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Scientific, Professional & Cultural Employes.

Auto Insurance Probe Urged By AFL-CIO

Spiraling insurance costs, discrimination based on occupation and neighborhood as well as race, years of delay in court cases all point up the need for fundamental reforms in auto insurance, the AFL-CIO said.

Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller reiterated to a House Commerce subcommittee what he had told a Senate hearing the previous week—that the AFL-CIO "heartily endorses" legislation authorizing a comprehensive investigation of the

'Judicial Review' Hit As Threat To Schools

Federal aid to education as well as the separation of powers in American government would be endangered by a pending "judicial review" bill, the AFL-CIO testified at House hearings.

A bill passed by the Senate last year would enable any person to bring a "taxpayer's suit" to block federal funds under nine major programs from going to any church-related school or institution.

Thomas E. Harris, the AFL-CIO's associate general counsel, said the proposed legislation would in effect mean that the Supreme Court would be compelled "to pronounce upon the legality of

have resulted in invalidation of many programs which are now generally acknowledged to be clearly constitutional.

He cited as an example an attempt to challenge the constitutionality of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the mid-thirties. The Supreme Court, in line with its

House Action on Rights

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House Action on Rights Delayed by Rules Unit

(Continued from Page 1)

til Apr. 9 also picked up the support of two northern Democrats—James J. Delaney of New York and B. F. Sisk of California.

Democratic leaders saw a good possibility that at least one of the two would support the procedural resolution at the Apr. 9 meeting. That would make it possible to get oor action on the eve of the sched- d Easter recess—providing not many congressmen began their day earlier. The day after the ss is the start of the Rev. Martin her King's "poor peoples' ch" on Washington—and some se members are reported con- ned lest a vote for the bill at t time would look like giving in pressure."

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), airman of the House Judiciary Committee, said he thought the Senate bill could be passed "without any changes." It will be close, he said, "but we've counted noses and we can count on considerable Republican support."

The Senate bill bore a big bipartisan label, both in the drafting of the legislation and in the 71-20 vote by which it was passed.

In other congressional action:

- The House gave 381-0 approval of a bill giving the government authority to set standards for color television sets and other consumer devices that might emit harmful radiation.

- The Senate continued to debate a "code of ethics" for its members and employes. One of the provisions in the code recommended by the Senate's special Ethics Committee would have required senators to file financial statements in sealed envelopes which could be opened only if the committee were investigating the conduct of a senator. An amendment by Senators Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) and Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) to require public disclosure of a senator's financial statement was rejected, 44-40, after heated debate.

- Just in time to prevent the United States from running out of gold to meet its international monetary commitments, the Senate voted 39-37 approval of a House-passed bill eliminating the requirement that the government keep gold reserves equal to 25 percent of the nation's currency.

Before the vote, all senators received a telegram from AFL-CIO Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller urging approval of the legislation.

He warned that delay "only aids those waging economic warfare against this nation" and could "threaten the wages, jobs and security of every American."

Biemiller termed the gold reserve requirement "an outmoded, harmful anachronism."

Auto Insurance Probe Urged By AFL-CIO

Spiraling insurance costs, discrimination based on occupation and neighborhood as well as race, years of delay in court cases all point up the need for fundamental reforms in auto insurance, the AFL-CIO said.

Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller reiterated to a House Commerce subcommittee what he had told a Senate hearing the previous week—that the AFL-CIO "heartily endorses" legislation authorizing a comprehensive investigation of the automobile insurance industry by the Dept. of Transportation.

He told the House members that state AFL-CIO central bodies "have been engaged in continuing, though rarely successful, efforts to fight the spiraling rate increases" sought by the industry.

Biemiller said only about 50 cents of the premium dollar goes to compensate accident victims. "High administrative costs, including salesmen's commissions and excessive costs for claims adjustment" use up most of the balance, he charged.

A variety of proposals for changes in the auto insurance system should be considered by the commission, Biemiller said. He stressed that there is little hope that the needed reforms can be accomplished either "by voluntary action on the part of the insurance industry" or by action of the states.

'Judicial Review' Hit As Threat To Schools

Federal aid to education as well as the separation of powers in American government would be endangered by a pending "judicial review" bill, the AFL-CIO testified at House hearings.

A bill passed by the Senate last year would enable any person to bring a "taxpayer's suit" to block federal funds under nine major programs from going to any church-related school or institution.

Thomas E. Harris, the AFL-CIO's associate general counsel, said the proposed legislation would in effect mean that the Supreme Court would be compelled "to pronounce upon the legality of every action of the other branches of government."

That's a role it has refused to take, Harris said, ever since George Washington's time when the court ruled that it could not render advisory opinions to the President.

In practical terms, Harris told a House Judiciary subcommittee, the bill threatens to upset the delicate compromise over assistance to poor students attending church-supported schools which made possible the landmark Elementary & Secondary Education Act of 1965.

"The AFL-CIO believes that any holding banning all aid of any type to church-connected schools would probably destroy the entire program of federal aid," Harris said.

Historically, he pointed out, "taxpayer suits" based on constitutional grounds would probably have resulted in invalidation of many programs which are now generally acknowledged to be clearly constitutional.

He cited as an example an attempt to challenge the constitutionality of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the mid-thirties. The Supreme Court, in line with its historic position on separation of powers, refused to consider the case, Harris noted. But if it had, he said, the court majority at that time would probably have declared it unconstitutional. Later courts would have disagreed with that interpretation, but meanwhile "a great and much needed public project would probably have been destroyed."

Back-Door Attack

Harris cited an AFL-CIO convention resolution which termed the judicial review bill "a back-door attack on federal aid to education, civil rights, the war on poverty and many related programs."

The legislation was termed "unsound in principle" and likely "disastrous in practice."

Even if the expenditure challenged were eventually upheld by the Supreme Court as constitutional, lower courts would have been empowered to issue injunctions which might block programs during years of litigation.

"A greater opportunity for sheer obstructionism could hardly be devised," the AFL-CIO said.

Labor Urges Expanded Federal Aid To Vocational Education Programs

(Continued from Page 1)

the AFL-CIO "strongly endorses" the section that would consolidate all vocational education laws within the 1963 law and apply its standards for the allotment of federal funds.

He pointed out that this change would permit federal grants to go to job training "in the total spectrum of all occupations" and would "greatly simplify administration, matching of funds, reporting and accounting."

A provision to extend federal training funds to the field of home economics won AFL-CIO backing because, as Young noted, it would help develop new programs of training low-income families in buying, home safety, child care and "other phases of family living."

The AFL-CIO also supported a provision for grants to states for new "exemplary" programs of experimentation in bridging the gap between education and work.

Federal funds would be available to familiarize junior high school students with occupations, for special guidance and counseling, to improve curricula and teaching materials, to exchange personnel between schools and government agencies as well as industry and to set up work-experience programs.

The federation "wholeheartedly" endorses this program, Young said, stressing that the "experimentation" should be directed particularly toward benefitting poor youths.

The AFL-CIO statement also endorsed sections of the legislation that would revise criteria required of states to become eligible for federal grants.

Among other things, the states would have to submit an annual evaluation of vocational education programs, see to it that the programs serve all groups in all communities, and plan long-range programs.

Young declared that the current level of financing all vocational education—"only $273 million was appropriated in 1968"—is far too low. He noted that the National Advisory Council recommends $500 million for the "comprehensive" programs alone — not including work-study, residential, exemplary and disadvantaged youth programs —and urged Congress to set "realistic" sums.

In the specific and separate section to set up "exemplary" programs of innovative and experimental projects, he stressed that the $15 million proposed could scarcely cover "even a minor part" and urged that it be raised.

The federation also "strongly opposed" a part of the bill calling for expiration in 1968 of work-study programs and residential vocational schools.

Machinists Win Virginia Election

Winchester, Va.—Employes of a Crown Cork & Seal Co. can plant here voted for the Machinists in an election contest with Mine Workers District 50.

The vote in a National Labor Relations Board election was 275 for the IAM, 63 for District 50, with 11 voting for neither and two votes challenged in a unit of 375 employes.

Crown workers joined the unaffiliated union three years ago but were unhappy over lack of service, inferior working conditions and low wages, IAM Vice Pres. Floyd Smith reported. The IAM will issue a new charter and prepare contract proposals, Smith said.

6-Month Report:

Wage Chiseling Up, Crackdown Pushed

(Continued from Page 1)

ceding six months to $36.3 million—a nearly 2 percent increase.

The $36.3 million represented wage chiseling—some of it deliberate—broken down as follows: 138,834 workers who did not get overtime due them at the time-and-a-half rate; 78,652 who were paid less than the required minimum wage; 4,235 not paid the prevailing wage under the McNamara-O'Hara Service Contracts Act, and 2,514 not given equal pay for equal work.

Every classification showed an increase in numbers of employes unlawfully underpaid except one—that under the Equal Pay Act.

The increase in violations uncovered was 42 percent among employes covered by the Service Contracts Act, nearly 15 percent for minimum wage violations.

Total underpayments followed the same pattern. For the last half of 1967, minimum wage underpayments rose by more than $1 million, and service contracts violations were more than double—from $229,000 to $681,000.

Overtime underpayments dropped slightly from $25.6 million to $25.4 and equal pay violations from $1.8 to $1.2 million.

The data show a continuing need for a vigorous and sustained inspection program, the AFL-CIO Dept. of Research observed. Violations by employers are probably even more widespread than the figures indicate, the department said.

When the amendments supported by labor took effect 13 months ago, the AFL-CIO launched its own program to seek out violations and urged Congress to approve Pres. Johnson's request for more wage-hour inspectors.

Labor central bodies across the country offered their services to all workers, whether union members or not, in the drive to enforce the law against chiseling or underpayments by careless or uninformed employers. The statistics do not show how many complaints were filed at union request, the department said.

The wage-hour law requires payment of not less than $1.60 an hour for certain employes of firms in interstate commerce.

For hours worked in excess of 40 in any workweek, employes must receive at least time and a half their regular pay unless a specific exemption applies.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963, which amended the FLSA, prohibits wage discrimination based on sex for employes subject to

Labor Urges White House Aging Parley

A call for a White House Conference on Aging in 1970 was endorsed by the AFL-CIO. The conference is proposed in a resolution now being considered by a special Senate Labor subcommittee.

In a letter to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), chairman of the subcommittee, AFL-CIO Legis-

MUSCULAR DYSTROPHY VICTIMS benefitted when the Fire Fighters celebrated their 50th birthday at a dinner in Washington. More than 1,000 guests paid $50 a plate, and the proceeds went to the Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America. Speakers included AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz and comedian Jerry Lewis, MDAA chairman.

Medicare Doctor Bill Signup Ends Apr. 1

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For those who haven't, there's only until Apr. 1 to take advantage of the current open enrollment period. If they don't, they will have to wait another year for the next open period—and then pay a premium 10 percent higher. And those who wait

Fire Fighters Jubilee Aids Dystrophy Fund

(Continued from Page 1)

gathering, "to an organization which celebrates its anniversary with hardly a word about what it does for itself, but rather what it does for other people."

Meany spoke of labor's pride in the community service contributions of union members, and he spoke also of the thorny problem of collective bargaining for public employes such as fire fighters.

"One thing is for sure," Meany stressed, the solution "doesn't lie in the audience as at the head table. Mrs. Perle Mesta was honorary chairman of the anniversary banquet and the working committee included equally prominent Washingtonians.

The union's record of community service in past years, Meany told the gathering, is matched by its "determination to do even more in the future" and is part of the labor movement's recognition of its "obligations to the nation as a whole."

not given equal pay for equal work.

Every classification showed an increase in numbers of employes unlawfully underpaid except one—that under the Equal Pay Act.

The increase in violations uncovered was 42 percent among employes covered by the Service Contracts Act, nearly 15 percent for minimum wage violations.

Total underpayments followed the same pattern. For the last half of 1967, minimum wage underpayments rose by more than $1 than the figures indicate, the department said.

When the amendments supported by labor took effect 13 months ago, the AFL-CIO launched its own program to seek out violations and urged Congress to approve Pres. Johnson's request for more wage-hour inspectors.

Labor central bodies across the country offered their services to all workers, whether union members or not, in the drive to enforce the law against chiseling or underpayments by careless or uninformed employers. The statistics do not show how many complaints were filed at union request, the department said.

The wage-hour law requires payment of not less than $1.60 an hour for certain employes of firms in interstate commerce.

For hours worked in excess of 40 in any workweek, employes must receive at least time and a half their regular pay unless a specific exemption applies.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963, which amended the FLSA, prohibits wage discrimination based on sex for employes subject to the minimum wage provisions of the wage-hour law. Under the Service Contracts Act, workers for private employers doing government contract work must be paid the prevailing wage and fringe benefits as determined by the secretary of labor.

On Feb. 1, 1967, FLSA amendments raised the minimum wages for those previously covered and extended coverage to more than 9 million additional workers in hospitals and nursing homes, public and private educational agencies, laundries, construction jobs, and large retail firms, restaurants, hotels, motels and farms.

Further changes went into effect Feb. 1, 1968. They raised the minimums for most covered workers from $1.40 an hour to $1.60. Those brought under the act's protection by the 1966 amendments became entitled to $1.15 an hour and overtime pay after 42 hours.

Labor Urges White House Aging Parley

A call for a White House Conference on Aging in 1970 was endorsed by the AFL-CIO. The conference is proposed in a resolution now being considered by a special Senate Labor subcommittee.

In a letter to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), chairman of the subcommittee, AFL-CIO Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller called for a favorable report on the measure.

Biemiller noted that 30 percent of the 20 million older Americans live in poverty, with another 20 percent "only a stone's throw away" from it.

"The need is obvious for an improved public policy when one of two elderly people live in poverty or on the brink of it," he said.

"Insufficient income, poor housing, shortcomings in health care, lack of community facilities with services to assist them in their problems, frequent isolation from the main stream, are a few of the conditions which frustrate older people."

A White House conference, Biemiller added, will provide "an essential curriculum for decision-making in our country's major attacks on the problems of age."

Sleight of Hand

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For those who haven't, there's only until Apr. 1 to take advantage of the current open enrollment period. If they don't, they will have to wait another year for the next open period—and then pay a premium 10 percent higher. And those who wait three years past their first chance to enroll won't be able to join.

Just about everyone now 65 or over is eligible for the voluntary medical insurance, whether or not they have ever worked under social security and whether retired or still working.

Johnson Asks New Programs To Help D.C.

Pres. Johnson asked Congress to help make the District of Columbia a good place to live in as well as to visit.

He urged new and expanded programs of crime prevention, education and housing, to make up for years of neglect.

The President termed crime "the first problem in the nation's first city" and asked for a stronger, better-paid police force that could "serve as a model for all the cities of America."

He asked higher pay—and a $7,000 starting salary—for school teachers, along with a large-scale "community school" experiment to serve adults as well as children, offer recreation as well as learning.

Johnson urged "seed money" assistance to non-profit sponsors of low-income housing and called for legislation to prevent landlords from evicting tenants in retaliation for having reported building code violations.

He backed legislation to provide an elected school board and representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.

Johnson reiterated his support for home rule for Washington, declaring that "as long as I am President, I will work to hasten that day's arrival."

Fire Fighters Jubilee Aids Dystrophy Fund

(Continued from Page 1)

gathering, "to an organization which celebrates its anniversary with hardly a word about what it does for itself, but rather what it does for other people."

Meany spoke of labor's pride in the community service contributions of union members, and he spoke also of the thorny problem of collective bargaining for public employes such as fire fighters.

"One thing is for sure," Meany stressed, the solution "doesn't lie in punitive legislation."

He said municipal workers must have the same right to bargain collectively as other workers.

"No matter what a man's work is, he has the same living problems," Meany said. "Municipal workers have fallen behind other workers. Perhaps voluntary arbitration is an answer—with determination made by those who can look at the problem with a heart and a sense of justice to the workers."

He saluted "the partnership in behalf of muscular dystrophy victims which has been so fortunately formed by the Fire Fighters, the MDAA and Jerry Lewis, that funny but very serious man."

Fire Fighters Pres. William D. Buck welcomed the guests, and two veterans of the union's founding convention half a century ago were presented to the audience—William Gardner of Kansas City, Mo., and former Sec.-Treas. George Richardson of Silver Spring, Md. Gardner had brought to the anniversary observance for presentation to the union the original copy of the IAFF constitution and the proceedings of its first convention.

It was Jerry Lewis' birthday and he used a fire axe to cut the five-foot cake. There were speakers, entertainers and as many notables in the audience as at the head table. Mrs. Perle Mesta was honorary chairman of the anniversary banquet and the working committee included equally prominent Washingtonians.

The union's record of community service in past years, Meany told the gathering, is matched by its "determination to do even more in the future" and is part of the labor movement's recognition of its "obligations to the nation as a whole."

Dystrophy Unit Elects Kenin, Donahue

Musicians Pres. Herman D. Kenin and Assistant Sec. of Labor Thomas R. Donahue, Jr., are among the newly-elected vice presidents of the Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, Pres. William D. Buck of the Fire Fighters and Vice Pres. James H. Rademacher of the Letter Carriers were renamed to the organization's national board, and Retail Clerks Pres. James A. Suffridge was reelected a vice president.

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EMORY F VIA
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Court Uphold Jobless Pay In Rail Layoff

The U.S. Supreme Court has upheld the Railroad Retirement Board's grant of more than $2.5 million in unemployment benefits to some 3,000 rail firemen whose jobs on diesels were eliminated under a 1963 compulsory arbitration award.

The high court declined to review a lower court ruling which sustained the board and rejected a challenge brought by the Western Pacific Railway Co. and the Southern Pacific Railway Co.

The board ruled that firemen with two to 10 years seniority were eligible for jobless compensation even though they also received severance pay under the award.

The deciding issue in the case, the lower court found, was that the board's grant of benefits is not reviewable under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, except to review a denial of benefits or determine who is an employer.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

January 17, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I appreciate your interest in offering assistance on our priority legislation attempting to enact a Minimum Wage Bill in Georgia. Also your expressed interest in garnishment laws in the Southeastern States and wage-payment - wage-collection laws.

I am enclosing for your information, as per your request, Bureau of Labor Standards Suggested Language on Minimum Wage and Wage-Payment - Wage-Collection. I am also enclosing a copy of Suggested Language of each of the above subjects which have been approved by the Council of State Governments and are in essence similar or equal to the Bureau of Labor Standards draft; in fact the Suggested Language of the Council of State Governments was supplied by the Bureau of Labor Standards.

Enclosed also is Public Law 90-321, the Consumer Credit Protection Act. You will note on pages 17, 18 and 19 is Title III, Restrictions on Garnishments, which I discussed with you over the telephone.

My effort up-to-now in attempting to form a State committee to promote the State Minimum Wage Bill has not been too fruitful. I would appreciate any efforts you can make to assist me in forming the committee.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Smith

Harold L. Smith
Regional Consultant

Enclosure

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page 3.)

Unions Plan Assault On Companies Lured By Mexico's Low Pay

2/21/69

Labor Will Seek Higher Tariffs On Goods, May Boycott Them; Stand Is Called 'Unthinkable'

Wall St. Journal

By JAMES P. GANNON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—The big, black headline on the promotion pamphlet issued by an Arizona boosters group is enough to make George Meany's blood boil.

"Inexhaustible labor supply, 30 cents an hour," proclaims the come-on message. U.S. manufacturers, the pamphlet says, "don't have to go to Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea or Japan for low-cost, easily trainable foreign labor. . . . It's available right here in North America along the Mexico-Arizona border for as low as 30 cents an hour in virtually inexhaustible numbers."

That siren song to profit-conscious companies is from an issue of Date Line, official publication of the Development Authority for Tucson's Expansion (DATE), a nonprofit corporation seeking to lure industry. Attracted by such appeals, dozens of American concerns are skipping south of the border, setting up plants in Mexico to produce goods for American consumers—out of the reach of U.S. union organizers and high American wage standards.

To union leaders gathered here at the AFL-CIO's winter executive council meeting, all those Yankee factories are like red flags, goading labor's bulls into an angry, heads-down attack.

"A National Scandal"

"These companies are trying to set up a Hong Kong economy across the Rio Grande River," complains Hank Brown, the lanky president of the Texas AFL-CIO.

The industrial border-jumping "is becoming a national scandal," fumes Jacob S. Potofsky, the white-goateed president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. "We don't propose to sit idly by and see our hard-won union standards undermined by some chiselers who want to get by on cheap labor."

The 29-man executive council, the AFL-CIO's top policy-making group, yesterday blasted "greedy businessmen" taking advantage of Mexico's desire for industrialization to create "a system of exploitation . . . a cruel hoax" on the Mexican workers.

AFL-CIO strategists are plotting ways to stem the "runaway" tide of industry and jobs

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AFL-CIO strategists are plotting ways to stem the "runaway" tide of industry and jobs to Mexico. They plan to lobby for laws to boost U.S. tariffs on the imports and to make their origin more clearly labeled. The strategists hope to help Mexican unions organize the border plants and raise wages. And there are rumblings of boycotts and picketing of stores that sell the Mexican-made wares.

Labor's position "is just unthinkable," says J. Karl Meyer, executive director of DATE. He says the program is making work for many Mexicans and is "upgrading the economic development" of the border area. The factories "aren't sweatshops but are modern plants," he asserts.

A spokesman or the U.S. Chamber of Commerce finds it "ironic" that organized labor should be so upset about the moves to Mexico. He says the unions are responsible for the moves because labor's efforts to increase the minimum wage "are nearly bankrupting so many businesses that rely on unskilled labor." Moreover, he asserts, Mexico is "part of the marketplace, and if you can make it better and cheaper there, you're entitled to."

The heat generated by the Mexican border skirmish is indicative of American labor's increasing wariness of real or potential job losses to imports. Though AFL-CIO men bristle at suggestions they're becoming "protectionists," there's no doubt about their worry over the surge in imports of cars, steel, transistor radios and other goods.

Another Volkswagen?

"I remember a few years ago when the Volkswagen started coming into the U.S. and Walter Reuther told the executive council not to worry, it was only 50,000 cars," recalls Joseph D. Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. "Then Dave McDonald of the Steelworkers told us not to worry about steel imports because they amounted to only one million tons, but now it is 18 million. This Mexican deal is the same sort of thing."

It's clear that U.S. labor chiefs have something to worry about. The Mexican government's four-year-old effort to develop its northern frontiers by attracting U.S. industry has lately become a big success.

American manufacturers established 66 plants along the Mexican side of the border last year, the Mexican government reports. That brought to 125 the number of plants set up since 1964. The operators range from such blue-chip names as Radio Corp. of America and Motorola Inc. to small, obscure outfits. The border factories make electronic parts and appliances, toys, furniture, clothing and other goods.

To encourage border industry, Mexico permits U.S. companies to set up plants and to import machinery, raw materials and components without restrictions or tariffs, as long

Please Turn to Page 23, Column 1

Unions Plan Assault on Companies Lured by Low Wages in Mexico

Continued From Page One

as the plant's entire output is exported. And the Yankee manufacturer gets a tariff break from home, too. When he ships back a Mexican-assembled product made of parts or materials from the U.S., he pays American tariffs only on the value added in the Mexican operation—meaning roughly the cost of the low Mexican wages.

30 Cents an Hour

Business groups such as Arizona's DATE are promoting the "twin plant concept" under which an American company sets up one plant on the U.S. side to manufacture components or do other highly skilled operations, and another plant across the border for simpler assembly tasks that take a lot of unskilled labor.

Mexico's basic lure is easy to understand. Wages in the border towns average 30 to 40 cents an hour. In the U.S., the Federal minimum wage is $1.60 an hour, and hourly pay in manufacturing averages around $3.10.

AFL-CIO officials estimate that about 20,000 jobs have been "exported" to Mexcian border plants. So far, they say few layoffs of U.S. workers have resulted from the job-flight south. Rather, potential employment gains have been diverted to Mexico, they contend.

But labor leaders worry that their Mexican headache is only beginning. This has been a partly experimental, partly operational program so far, but within a short time it could really explode into a very serious problem," warns Nat Goldfinger, the AFL-CIO's chief economist. "Within two or three years, the border-plant program might mushroom, costing the U.S. 300,000 jobs or more."

The Union Counterattack

To prevent that, the AFL-CIO is aiming some big weapons at the Mexican industrialization effort.

Labor lobbyists in Congress will push to repeal a tariff provision that limits duties on products made from American components to the value added in foreign assembly. The unions want tariffs applied to the full value of the finished product, a change that would in many cases multiply the levies.

The unions also will lobby for a "truth-in-imports labeling" law that would require prominent display of a country-of-origin label on products assembled abroad. Present requirements, labor officials contend, permit hiding tiny-lettered labels in obscure places. The theory is that a big "Made in Mexico" sticker on a TV set would deter at least some purchasers.

Both the tariff and labeling measures would affect not only Mexico but other countries exporting to the U.S., however, so they're bound to stir powerful opposition. The tariff change, particularly, faces an uphill fight. But labor men say their Congressional push, even if unsuccessful, is a way to focus attention on their problem and perhaps scare Mexico into soft-pedaling the border-industry drive.

U.S. and Mexican labor leaders have conferred several times on ways to organize the border plants and push up wages, which would make the area less attractive to U.S. concerns. Suggestions include providing the Mexican unions financial assistance and bargaining expertise, notably information about the American companies' profit figures and U.S. wage rates.

Some Hints of Trouble

Few of the border factories have been organized by Mexican unions so far, AFL-CIO officials say. But in the border town of Nuevo Laredo about 1,400 unionized Mexican workers in a plant run by Transitron Electronic Corp. staged a three-week work stoppage over a Christmas bonus dispute. One AFL-CIO official darkly hints that such incidents will become more frequent as resentment mounts against "gringo companies" that move south to "exploit" the Mexican workers.

A clothing workers union officer says that picketing of retail stores handling the Mexican-made goods is "probable" if any major U.S. clothing makers start Mexican production.

Aware of labor's growing opposition, the Mexican government appears to be taking a defensive posture. Octaviano Campos Salas, secretary of industry and commerce, contends that his country isn't seeking "runaway" industry from the U.S. but only plants that otherwise would be set up in the Far East. "All we want is to be given the same opportunity presently enjoyed by Japan and Hong Kong for the establishment of high labor-intensive operations by U.S. companies," he says.

Public Law 90-321
90th Congress, S. 5
May 29, 1968

An Act

To safeguard the consumer in connection with the utilization of credit by requiring full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in credit transactions or in offers to extend credit; by restricting the garnishment of wages; and by creating the National Commission on Consumer Finance to study and make recommendations on the need for further regulation of the consumer finance industry; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Consumer Credit Protection Act.

§ 1. Short title of entire Act

This Act may be cited as the Consumer Credit Protection Act.

TITLE I—CONSUMER CREDIT COST DISCLOSURE

Chapter	Section
1. General Provisions	101
2. Credit Transactions	121
3. Credit Advertising	141

CHAPTER 1—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Sec.
101. Short title.
102. Findings and declaration of purpose.
103. Definitions and rules of construction.
104. Exempted transactions.
105. Regulations.
106. Determination of finance charge.
107. Determination of annual percentage rate.
108. Administrative enforcement.
109. Views of other agencies.
110. Advisory committee.
111. Effect on other laws.
112. Criminal liability for willful and knowing violation.
113. Penalties inapplicable to governmental agencies.
114. Reports by Board and Attorney General.

§ 101. Short title

This title may be cited as the Truth in Lending Act.

Citation of title.

§ 102. Findings and declaration of purpose

The Congress finds that economic stabilization would be enhanced and the competition among the various financial institutions and other firms engaged in the extension of consumer credit would be strengthened by the informed use of credit. The informed use of credit results from an awareness of the cost thereof by consumers. It is the purpose of this title to assure a meaningful disclosure of credit terms so that the consumer will be able to compare more readily the various credit terms available to him and avoid the uninformed use of credit.

82 STAT. 146

82 STAT. 147

§ 103. Definitions and rules of construction

(a) The definitions and rules of construction set forth in this section are applicable for the purposes of this title.

(b) The term "Board" refers to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

(c) The term "organization" means a corporation, government or governmental subdivision or agency, trust, estate, partnership, cooperative, or association.

(d) The term "person" means a natural person or an organization.

(e) The term "credit" means the right granted by a creditor to a debtor to defer payment of debt or to incur debt and defer its payment.

(f) The term "creditor" refers only to creditors who regularly extend, or arrange for the extension of, credit for which the payment of

94-642 O - 68

Min-Wage 9/23/69 Wall St Jnl

* * *

WAGE-FLOOR VIOLATIONS spur demands from labor for stricter enforcement.

The Labor Department finds 207,000 workers were illegally paid less than the Federal minimum wage in the fiscal year ended June 30, up from 169,000 the preceding year. Back wages due underpaid workers amounted to $27.5 million in fiscal 1969 compared with $20.4 million in fiscal 1968. One reason violations are rising, a Federal analyst suggests, is that many recently covered employers are unfamiliar with the law.

AFL-CIO President Meany terms the increase in violations "unconscionable." He urges that the Labor Department's 1,000-member investigative staff be expanded by 33%. Wage-hour administrator Robert Moran's new program to "educate" employers about the law's provisions draws Meany's praise. But the labor leader insists that "finding violation" by investigation must be the primary goal.

The AFL-CIO calls on its state and local bodies to "set up or reinvigorate" wage-hour enforcement committees to receive and help process employe complaints.

* * *

I will need a total of 100 copies of these — 35 for Saturday's VEP meeting.

Instruction: Include only those items checked — Headings, U.S, Domestic, Southern States, footnotes. It will probably get on 2 pages. Thanks.

Minimum Wage + Maximum Hours Standards
Under the Fair Labor Standards Act: January 1967

~~Table 2.~~ Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by State, as of February 1, 1967 a/

(in thousands)

State and region	Total number of nonsupervisory employees	Employees covered by the FLSA: Total number covered	Employees covered by the FLSA: Number covered prior to 1966 amendments	Employees covered by the FLSA: Number covered by the 1966 amendments	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA	Number of nonsupervisory employees covered by State laws only b/	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA or State laws
United States	50,429 c/	41,428 d/	32,307	9,121 d/	11,437 c/	3,068 c/	8,369 c/
Domestic workers	2,441	-	-	-	2,441	-	2,441
Boston	3,254	2,824	2,226	598	566	414	152
Connecticut	872	769	639	130	127	124	3
Maine	243	192	145	47	66	28	38
Massachusetts	1,607	1,414	1,092	322	267	187	80
New Hampshire	187	152	120	32	41	31	10
Rhode Island	243	216	169	47	41	29	12
Vermont	102	81	61	20	24	15	9
New York City	6,948	6,125	4,877	1,248	1,135	777	358
New Jersey	1,806	1,594	1,317	277	278	195	83
New York	5,142	4,531	3,560	971	857	582	275
Chambersburg	4,393	3,931	3,115	816	677	432	245
Delaware	150	128	105	23	28	20	8
District of Columbia	281	262	166	96	56	42	14
Maryland	822	721	545	176	156	48	108
Pennsylvania	3,140	2,820	2,299	521	437	322	115

Table 2. Status of nonsupervisory employees under State minimum wage laws and orders, by
Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by
February 1, 1967 a/ (Continued)

(in thousands)

Employees covered by the FLSA | Number | Number of nonsuper- | Number of non-supervisory

Table 2. Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by State, as of February 1, 1967 a/ (Continued)

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Birmingham	2,155	1,813	1,347	466	472	-	472
Alabama	656	577	447	130	127	-	127
Arkansas	372	306	216	90	84	-	84
Louisiana	732	597	455	142	172	-	172
Mississippi	395	333	229	104	89	-	89
Chicago	11,288	9,873	8,054	1,819	1,834	573	1,261
Illinois	3,103	2,724	2,210	514	493	-	493
Indiana	1,337	1,185	987	198	203	94	109
Michigan	2,185	1,921	1,583	338	347	229	118
Minnesota	854	722	557	165	168	67	101
Ohio	2,740	2,420	1,990	430	418	106	312
Wisconsin	1,069	901	727	174	205	77	128
Kansas City	3,570	2,943	2,191	752	826	84	742
Colorado	440	368	263	105	104	21	83
Iowa	600	484	365	119	142	-	142
Kansas	437	360	269	91	103	-	103
Missouri	1,184	1,004	795	209	224	-	224
Montana	133	101	72	29	40	-	40
Nebraska	308	250	177	73	75	-	75
North Dakota	95	67	41	26	35	17	18
South Dakota	95	71	44	27	32	19	13
Utah	210	186	129	57	49	11	38
Wyoming	68	52	36	16	22	16	6

Table 2. Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by State, as of February 1, 1967 a/ (Continued)

(in thousands)

State and region	Total number of nonsupervisory employees	Employees covered by the FLSA: Total number covered	Employees covered by the FLSA: Number covered prior to 1966 amendments	Employees covered by the FLSA: Number covered by the 1966 amendments	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA	Number of nonsupervisory employees covered by State laws only b/	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA or State laws
Dallas	2,985	2,499	1,840	659	678	48	630
New Mexico	169	140	92	48	46	26	20
Oklahoma	475	406	292	114	113	22	91
Texas	2,341	1,953	1,456	497	519	-	519
San Francisco	6,600	5,640	4,208	1,432	1,387	581	806
Alaska	39	42	25	17	9	7	2
Arizona	320	280	194	86	62	-	62
California	4,594	3,948	2,987	961	933	348	585
Hawaii	162	150	82	68	36	23	13
Idaho	145	106	78	28	46	27	19
Nevada	112	87	54	33	32	30	2
Oregon	484	395	304	91	109	38	71
Washington	744	632	484	148	160	108	52
Nashville	2,855	2,426	1,876	550	605	75	530
Kentucky	633	498	378	120	171	51	120
Tennessee	934	788	630	158	192	-	192
Virginia	931	827	615	212	182	-	182
West Virginia	357	313	253	60	60	24	36

Table 2. Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by State, as of February 1, 1967 a/ (Concluded)

245-199 C

245-199 O - 67 - 3

Table 2. Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by State, as of February 1, 1967 a/ (Concluded)

(in thousands)

State and region	Total number of nonsupervisory employees	Employees covered by the FLSA: Total number covered	Employees covered by the FLSA: Number covered prior to 1966 amendments	Employees covered by the FLSA: Number covered by the 1966 amendments	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA	Number of nonsupervisory employees covered by State laws only b/	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA or State laws
Atlanta	3,940	3,354	2,573	781	816	84	732
Florida	1,205	1,020	698	322	264	-	264
Georgia	975	852	666	186	189	-	189
North Carolina	1,199	992	814	178	256	84	172
South Carolina	561	490	395	95	107	-	107

a/ Estimates are based on employment data for 1966. All employees are included except executive, administrative and professional employees and academic administrative personnel and teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments include those who will be covered in 1967 and 1969.

b/ Estimates of employees covered by State minimum wage laws only are for those States having minimum wage laws or orders enacted or revised from 1961 through February 1967.

c/ Excludes all government employees.

d/ Includes the estimated 2,436,000 government employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments.

Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions

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Table II. Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by industry, as of February 1, 1968 a/

(in thousands)

Industry	Total number of nonsupervisory employees c/	Employees covered by the FLSA b/			Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA c/	Number of nonsupervisory employees covered by State laws only c/ e/	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA or State laws c/
		Total number covered d/	Number covered prior to 1966 amendments	Number covered by the 1966 amendments d/			
United States	51,866	42,778	33,052	9,726	11,769	3,484	8,285
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries f/	1,513	466	15	451	1,047	102	945
Mining	533	529	529	-	4	3	1
Contract construction	3,292	3,257	2,640	617	35	6	29
Manufacturing	17,517	16,942	16,871	71	575	93	482
Transportation, communications, utilities	3,917	3,842	3,738	104	75	31	44
Wholesale trade	3,275	2,487	2,360	127	788	67	721
Retail trade	9,150	5,372	3,051	2,321	3,778	1,814	1,964
Finance, insurance, real estate	2,857	2,133	2,133	-	724	141	583

Source:

Economic Effects Studies:

Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards Under the FLSA

Submitted to the Congress-19

Table 11. Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by industry, as of February 1, 1968 a/ (Concluded)

(in thousands)

Industry	Total number of nonsupervisory employees c/	Employees covered by the FLSA b/			Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA c/	Number of nonsupervisory employees covered by State laws only c/e/	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA or State laws c/
		Total number covered d/	Number covered prior to 1966 amendments	Number covered by the 1966 amendments d/			
Services (excluding domestic service)	7,589	5,069	1,715	3,354	2,520	1,227	1,293
Domestic service	2,223	-	-	-	2,223	-	2,223
Government	-	2,681	-	2,681	-	-	-

a/ Estimates are based on employment data for 1967. All employees are included except executive, administrative and professional employees and academic administrative personnel and teachers in elementary and secondary schools.
b/ Employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments include those who will be covered in 1969.
c/ Estimates relate to the private sector only.
d/ Includes the estimated 2,681,000 government employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments.
e/ Estimates of employees covered by State minimum wage laws only are for those States having minimum wage laws or orders enacted or revised from 1961 to December 1, 1967.
f/ Total nonsupervisory employment based on data representing 1967 annual average. Coverage estimates include data on agricultural workers obtained from a survey conducted by the Department of Agriculture as of May 1967. May data does not vary markedly from annual average data.

Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions

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Up from the Sweatshop – 50 Years of the Minimum Wage

Prof. Lab Legis!
Min. Wage

by Francis X. Burkhardt

Fair labor standards legislation has had strong opposition from the very beginning. There are those who have opposed any attempt by federal or state law—or even by collective bargaining between unions and employers—to establish minimum rates of pay. They cried "disaster," when the Fair Labor Standards Act was passed 30 years ago and they have repeated their predictions of general disaster whenever any improvements of FLSA have been discussed.

Other opponents of fair labor standards legislation have concentrated their predictions on increased unemployment. Every increase in the minimum wage has been greeted by predictions of rising joblessness.

Some opponents have increasingly concentrated their dire forecasts on specific groups—the minimum wage according to them will result in rising unemployment of young people or Negroes.

Yet the Fair Labor Standards Act and its improving amendments have raised the wages of most of the nation's lowest-wage workers—raising the standard of living and helping to bring them and their families into America's mainstream. Employment has increased and business has prospered. Reports to Congress by the Secretary of Labor on the effects of increases in the federal minimum wage—required by law—show that there have been substantial benefits and only rare isolated instances of adverse effects, involving a few small firms and very few employes.

The unceasing opposition has resulted in denying the protections of the law to all workers. There are 13 million non-supervisory workers who are not protected by FLSA. Many of these workers earn less than the present federal minimum wage. And many of them and their families live in poverty. Their incomes from work are so low that welfare payments are often needed to supplement them.

FRANCIS X. BURKHARDT is currently on the staff of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation after a year as an intern in the Federation's Department of Research, where he prepared this article.

Early advocates of minimum wage laws understood that workers have a right to a living wage. Monsignor John Ryan, one of the early leaders in the fight for minimum wage laws, wrote:

> "The goods and products of the earth are controlled in our industrial system by the employer. If it were the state that managed and operated the right of the laborer would be against the state, because the state would then have control of the means out of which wages must come. As a matter of fact, it is not the state that controls in our system; it is the employer. Therefore, the laborers' right to a decent livelihood from the fruits of the earth becomes a right against the employer for a living wage. The employer is bound to pay that because he is the paymaster of society."

In the U.S., changes in the economy after 1870 had disastrous effects on wages. The scarce labor supply before 1870—in an economy of farms, small shops and small factories—had caused a generally favorable level of wages. But the growth of big industry and the flood of immigrants after 1870 quickly changed the picture.

By the turn of the century, immigration to the U.S. reached more than a million persons a year. Many

NO. 13-70 JUNE 22, 1970

from

GEORGE MEANY, Chairman LANE KIRKLAND, Secretary-Treasurer ALEXANDER E. BARKAN, National Director

BIDDING FOR RETURN to U.S. Senate, Hubert Humphrey announces candidacy for Minnesota seat being vacated by Eugene McCarthy. He comes out swinging at Nixon economic policies, attacks soaring joblessness, interest rates, prices, health care costs. His GOP opponent will be Rep. Clark McGregor. Early polls show HHH with commanding lead.

BAY STATE DEMOCRATS ready for biennial donnybrook. By state law, parties nominate candidates at a convention, then anyone can jump into the primaries. Massachusetts Democrats in convention nominate State Senate leader Maurice Donahue for governor. Three candidates he defeated at the convention promptly announce they're going to run in September primary.

FAR RIGHT, FAR LEFT hollerings have had their impact on basic attitudes of Americans toward Bill of Rights. If first 10 amendments to the Constitution came up for popular vote today, five apparently would be turned down. That's the finding of a CBS News poll. First to go would be the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech. A paraphrase of the amendment in terms of current issues was put to respondents, and 76 percent of them disagreed with it.

Round-up

HHH Bids For Senate

IN CONNECTICUT, Senator Thomas Dodd withdraws from contention as Democratic nominee for re-election. However, Dodd is expected to run as an independent. Harry Byrd Jr. went that route in Virginia recently.

IN MARYLAND, the man who helped pave the way for Spiro Agnew in big-time politics strikes again. George P. Mahoney is running for major office for the ninth time in 20 years. In 1966 his "A Man's Home Is His Castle" appeal to bigotry toppled liberal Carlton Sickles in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. Many pro-

(Continued on Page 4)

Lengthening lines of jobless workers won't be shortened by President Nixon's proposals of last week on economic policy and productivity, AFL-CIO asserts. In response to Nixon's address, AFL-CIO President George Meany stated, "The proposed National Commission on Productivity and the Council of Economic Advisers' Inflation Alert may increase public education on economic issues. However, I fail to see how they will curb inflation, reduce unemployment and cut interest rates."

Minimum Wage

Tried Living on $1.60 an Hour Lately?

These days, $1.60 might barely swing one pound of sirloin steak, or a couple of pounds of ground chuck. Maybe it would buy 1½ pounds of pork chops—center cut, on sale.

That's not much for $1.60, yet millions of American wage-earners have to work one hour for one pound of sirloin, or two pounds of ground chuck, or 1½ pounds of pork chops. These are the millions who are at the $1.60 minimum wage level. Very likely, they don't eat sirloin.

Millions of others—16½ million workers—remain unprotected by minimum wage laws. And still millions more earn barely above the $1.60 minimum wage. To them, the steak counter at the local supermarket is as remote as the Riviera.

All this at a time when Labor Department statistics peg $10,000 a year as a "moderate" standard for an urban family of four.

That there is something wrong with prices is self-evident. It's called inflation. Nobody likes it and everyone thinks something should be done about it.

But there's something wrong, too, with a minimum wage that barely permits subsistence living and whose meager buying power drops cruelly every time prices rise.

Something should be done about that, too.

The AFL-CIO believes Congress must immediately raise the minimum wage to $2 an hour to achieve at least in part the goal of the Fair Labor Standards Act, passed in 1938 to eliminate labor conditions "detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers."

Back then, Congress set the floor under wages for this "minimum standard of living" at 25 cents an hour, which wasn't much more beneficent then than $1.60 is now.

The fact is, the minimum wage has never really cut it. The time to start doing something about that is now.

If the pay base were raised to $2 an hour, it is calculated that by that one action the number of Americans living in poverty would be cut in half. No single step could achieve so much, so quickly, for so many, in the war against poverty.

For one of the little-known truths about poverty is that the overwhelming majority of the nation's 25½ million poor live in households where the father or mother, or both, hold jobs, and nearly half of these work fulltime.

If the wiseacres who festoon their cars with John Birch-inspired bumper stickers saying "I Fight Poverty —I Work" knew this, maybe they'd have the grace to scrape the stickers off.

As former Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz pointed out, the majority who live in poverty "do so not because the head of the family is unemployed, but because he doesn't get a decent living for the work he does."

And as the AFL-CIO points out, the responsibility of providing a living wage lies not with taxpayers but

(Continued on Page 3)

Who's Covered—Who Isn't

Following is a U.S. Labor Department breakdown of the number of non-supervisory workers in various types of employment covered and not covered by the federal minimum wage law as of Feb. 1, 1970. (Numbers in thousands.)

WORK	TOTAL WORKED	COVERED	NOT COVERED
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	1,273	620	653
Mining	570	565	5
Contract construction	3,444	3,409	35
Manufacturing	18,381	17,793	588
Transportation, communications, utilities	4,164	4,095	69
Wholesale trade	3,524	2,686	838
Retail trade	9,948	5,803	4,145
Finance, insurance, real estate	3,119	2,349	770
Services (excluding domestic service)	8,289	5,794	2,495
Domestic service	2,185	5,794	2,185
Federal government	2,440	729	1,711
State and local government	5,426	2,412	3,014
U.S. TOTAL	62,763	46,255	16,508

It's Time to Up Base Pay to $2

(Continued from Page 2)

"with the employers who benefit from the work of their employes. The 'working poor' are not looking for handouts. Rather, they seek a wage which provides at least a minimum level of living."

Under the family assistance plan proposed by President Nixon, the government would subsidize a worker (head of family of four) who works full time, year-around at the current minimum wage of $1.60. As a matter of fact under that plan the government would subsidize such a worker's earnings up to an income level of $3,920 a year. So unless the minimum wage is increased to at least $2 an hour, tax funds will be used to subsidize the earnings of the average poor family head and to transfer the obligations set forth in the Fair Labor Standards Act from the employer to the taxpayer. Unless the minimum wage is increased, the promise of the Act to set forth conditions essential for the minimum standard of living would be made a mockery.

In addition, the Fair Labor Standards Act still excludes over 16½ million working men and women from its protection. Many of these workers are among the poorest-paid and most exploited in our society. The law's coverage must be extended to these workers to guarantee them protection from poverty wages.

The 16½ million workers are employed in small retail stores, on smaller farms, in movie theaters, and other service operations and domestic work and in some state and local government operations.

Among the most exploited are the nearly two million domestics. While the situation of day workers in terms of salaries, hours, and duties has improved over the years, nevertheless the majority of these workers enjoy no labor protection whatsoever. Recently Mrs. Matty E. Wardell, a domestic worker of St. Louis, described salary increases from the old, almost slave labor standards of $1 a day. "Then we went to $2, then jumped from $2 to $4. The next jump was to $5 and then to $7 and then to $8 plus carfare and a lot of people (employers) really thought that was the limit."

However, she receives no benefits such as pension or insurance, no guarantee of severance pay, no guarantee that payment promised would be given, no paid vacation, and transportation often takes up to two hours one way.

While some 600,000 farm workers were covered by the 1966 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, a number equally large still remains outside of the Act's protection. And even the farm workers already covered are being denied the full benefits of the Act, as the minimum wage stopped with $1.30 in 1969. Further, they receive no protection from long hours, as they were excluded from the overtime protection of the Act.

Approximately four million workers in smaller retail establishments (those grossing less than $250,000 a year) are not currently covered by the Act. Many of these work in franchised restaurants and other operations controlled by large enterprises. Many of these workers are below $2 an hour.

Some three million non-supervisory employees of state and local governments also are without the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. While the 1966 Amendments first brought protection to state and local government employes working in schools and hospiatls, it left these other groups outside of the Act's coverage. Experiences of the last few years show that extension of the Act's protection brought the wages of many of these government employes up to the FLSA minimum and simultaneously guaranteed them protection against long hours of work without a premium penalty payment.

The other large group of workers, some 2½ million not covered by the Act, are in various types of service establishments, while nearly all service workers in such operations as laundries are currently covered by the Act. Still nearly one out of three non-supervisory workers in service-type industries do not enjoy the Act's protection. These include many beauty operators, movie theater employes, repair operations, etc.

In addition to the workers completely exempted from the Fair Labor Standards Act, there are some six million workers who are protected by the minimum wage requirements of the Act but do not enjoy the safeguards relating to overtime. The 1966 Amendments exclude from overtime protection hotel and restaurant workers, local transit employes, farm workers and others. As a matter of fact, the Act contains some 19 specific exemptions to its overtime protection.

The most effective attack on poverty today would be to provide for universal minimum wage coverage and to raise immediately the federal minimum wage to at least $2 an hour. This is the protection that the working poor need in order to assure them that they maintain at least a minimum standard of living.

Urge Support

Two bills endorsed by the AFL-CIO, to raise the minimum wage to $2 an hour, now are before Congress. They are HR 10948 by Rep. John Dent (D.-Pa.) and S 2070 by Sen. Harrison Williams (D.-N.J.). Write to your senators and congressman urging their support of the $2 minimum wage.

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Round-up

(Continued from Page 1)

gressives consequently supported Agnew, then an unknown quantity, and helped elect him. Mahoney this time will challenge Sen. Tydings in the September primary.

IN OHIO, a major scandal rocks the GOP. Three of its candidates were found to have accepted campaign contributions from a firm that arranged for illegal loans of state funds. One of them, gubernatorial candidate Roger Cloud, the state auditor, claims he returned the money when he discovered its source. He has demanded that the other two, nominees for state attorney general and state treasurer, get off the ticket. They refuse, even though the state GOP executive committee voted to repudiate them both.

TWO JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY members may be in Congress next year. In recent California GOP primary, John Rousselot won House nomination in solidly conservative 24th District. He'll face Democratic candidate Mrs. Medgar Evers, widow of slain Mississippi civil rights leader. Rousselot served a couple of terms in Congress in early 60s, withdrew to become JBS national public relations director. In Orange County's 35th District, college teacher and state senator John Schmitz simultaneously was elected to fill the remainder of the term of Rep. James Utt, who died recently, and was nominated to run as GOP candidate in November.

IN NEWARK, N.J., Kenneth A. Gibson becomes first black mayor of a major eastern seaboard city, decisively defeating incumbent Hugh Addonizio. Gibson's victory statement was a simple but eloquent appeal to heal racial wounds in a troubled community: "People of all colors must come together to show America that determined people can reverse the decay of cities around the nation."

Carrying Political Disclosure Too Far

When Americans demand "full political disclosure," it's not likely they mean it in the sense some of the Dutch do.

A group of candidates calling themselves the "Gnomes of the Orange Free State" campaigned for the Amsterdam city council stark naked, posing nude for newspaper pictures and dancing that way with their girl friends.

Dutch voters must have found it refreshing. Five of the "Gnomes" were elected to city council.

FIVE-YEAR EXTENSION of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, with a section added lowering the voting age to 18 for all elections beginning next January 1, was approved by the House of Representatives and sent to the White House. As the *Memo* went to press, President Nixon had not yet signed the legislation. He had announced he favored the vote for 18-year-olds but recommended the Constitutional amendment route to achieve it. He could sign the measure, let it become law without his signature, or even veto it. A veto is not expected.

The Voting Rights Act extension came after a long struggle in which the Administration won the first round by weakening the Act in the House. The Senate, however, successfully insisted on simple extension of the present Act, which has increased black registrants by a million in southern areas where for a century coercion and violence had prevented blacks from voting.

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Toward A Modern Minimum Wage

The AFL-CIO urges Congress to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide an immediate increase in the federal minimum wage to no less than $2 an hour and extension of the act's coverage to the 17 million non-supervisory workers not now covered by the law. Such action is essential to update the minimum wage level, which was last revised four long years ago, and to lift the wages and living standards of the working poor.

Modernization of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) is urgently needed. The present minimum wage of $1.60 an hour, under the amendments adopted in 1966, was barely tolerable at that time. It is utterly inadequate in 1970—in the face of four years of an inflationary rise of living costs and improvements in the nation's standard of living. Moreover, millions of the poorest-paid workers are not protected by the act.

The major purpose of this statute, as outlined in its Declaration of Policy, is to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate labor conditions "detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living, necessary for health, efficiency and general well-being of workers."

To fulfill the law's intent, it has been necessary to increase the floor under wages as the cost of living and the nation's productivity have increased. It has also been necessary to extend the coverage of the act. In the 32 years since enactment, FLSA has been amended four times—the minimum wage was updated four times and coverage extended twice.

An immediate increase of the federal minimum wage to at least $2 an hour is now required on the basis of the economic facts. Indeed, as the last AFL-CIO convention said, "the unchecked rise in living costs may soon make even a $2 minimum obsolete."

Modernization of the act in 1970 would represent a major step in the effort to eliminate poverty. Over half of the poor, according to the government's definition of poverty, are in families headed by a worker in the labor force—low-wage, part-time or unemployed workers. About one-third of the poor—and nearly 40 percent of all the children growing up in poverty —are in families headed by a full-time, year-round worker whose wages are so low that his family is impoverished.

At a $2 an hour minimum wage, a full-time, year-round worker would earn approximately $4,000 a year. This is not much above the government-defined poverty line of about $3,900, at 1970 living costs, for a non-farm family of four. But it would represent quite an improvement over the $3,200 such a worker makes at the present $1.60 federal minimum rate.

We urge Congress to raise the federal minimum wage to $2 an hour, effective Feb. 1, 1971, for all jobs that were covered prior to the 1966 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. On that date, workers who were first covered by the 1966 amendments will receive the final step-up to the $1.60 federal minimum; we urge Congress to raise the minimum wage for this group to $2 and hour, effective Feb. 1, 1972.

The minimum wage for farm workers presently covered by FLSA should be raised to $1.60 on Feb. 1, 1971, and to $2 on Feb. 1, 1972. The minimum wage for those who are first covered by the additional coverage we urge Congress to adopt this year should be set at $1.60 an hour effective Feb. 1, 1971, and $2 on Feb. 1, 1972.

We believe a single-standard minimum wage of $2 an hour should apply to all workers—young and old, black and white, women and men. Multiple minimums for different categories of workers would be discriminatory.

Employes of smaller retail establishments, state and local government employes, hired farm workers and others still denied coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act should be guaranteed the benefits of the federal minimum wage and protection against excessive hours of work. The act's coverage, which now protects 46 million workers, should be extended to the remaining 17 million non-supervisory wage and salary employes who are not protected by this law .

Approximately 6 million workers currently pro-

THIS ARTICLE is based on AFL-CIO President George Meany's testimony on minimum wage before the House Education and Labor Committee.

STATE MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

A TABLE SHOWING SOME BASIC PROVISIONS

November 1970

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WORKPLACE STANDARDS ADMINISTRATION
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS

Prot. Labor Legis - Minimum Wage (State)

AFL-CIO News Min. Wage

Minimum Pay Violations Hit $93 Million for Year

3/6/71 #9

NINETEEN STORIES UP, Iron Workers in downtown Cleveland painted this reply to Pres. Nixon's suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires that prevailing wages be paid on federal construction projects. Earlier, the Iron Workers had inscribed a Valentine's Day message for the secretaries of the Federal Office Building next door. But the President's action changed their mood.

Chiseling Trims Pay Of 465,000

By Eugene A. Kelly

The nation's employers were caught underpaying 465,000 of their workers by $93 million in minimum wages due last year, Labor Sec. James D. Hodgson said in his annual report to Congress on the economic effects of federal wage-hour laws.

The report disclosed that despite some progress through education and enforcement programs to reduce cheating and carelessness, underpayments discovered by investigators still affect an increasing portion of the workforce.

As for the economic effects of the 1970 changes in the minimum wage, Hodgson told Congress that "in view of overall economic trends, it is doubtful" whether they had "any substantial impact on wage, price or employment trends."

"Of much greater significance," he added, ". . . is the fact that the 15-cent boost" that became effective on Feb. 1, 1970, "did help 2 million workers recover some of the purchasing power eroded by the steady upward movement of prices."

That increase raised the wage floor to $1.45 an hour for certain groups of retail and service employes brought under coverage for the first time by the 1966 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act. They reached the final step—$1.60 an hour—on Feb. 1, 1971.

The AFL-CIO Executive Coun-

(Continued on Page 6)

465,000 Workers Suffer:

Wage Violations Set at $93 Million

(Continued from Page 1)

cil, at its recent winter meeting, urged Congress to raise the minimum wage to "at least $2 an hour immediately" as a major step in the effort to eliminate poverty.

The council said the $1.60 an hour adopted in 1966 "was barely tolerable at that time" and is "utterly inadequate in 1971."

Hodgson's report on the effects of raising the federal minimum wage refuted the oft-repeated claim of some employer groups that such raises destroy jobs in marginal businesses.

It is possible, the Secretary's report said, that the 15-cent increase from $1.30 to $1.45 "may have had some effect on the price level of some goods and services" but, because of the "small impact" of the increase on wages, the effect on the price level was "probably very insignificant."

Hodgson told Congress the Labor Dept.'s wage and hours division will submit a comprehensive report this spring on a 1969-1970 study of the economic effects of changes in wage floors.

Reports on two special studies were submitted with the report on wages and hours. One was an evaluation of tips received by workers in the culinary trades. The other was a study of the wages, hours and working conditions of state and local government employes not now covered by the FLSA. **(Stories this page.)**

In a companion report, Hodgson noted a rise in complaints of age discrimination. He said the 1,344 complaints received during Fiscal 1970 represented a 30 percent increase over 1969. The law prohibits discrimination in hiring, promotion or job retention for persons 40 to 65 years of age. It applies to employers of 25 or more persons, employment agencies serving employers, and unions with 25 or more members.

Of the total of $93 million in wage underpayments discovered, Hodgson listed these components:

- Failure to pay the required wage minimums deprived 207,000 workers of $29 million—up by more than 8 percent over 1969.
- Overtime pay violations deprived 231,000 employes of $54 million due them under the wage-hour law.
- Backpay totaling $6 million was found to be due 18,000 workers, mostly women, in violation of the law requiring equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.
- In state and local schools and hospitals, a voluntary program of compliance produced $4 million in wage increases and another $4 million in backpay due some of the 100,000 employes involved.

Hodgson's report said child labor law violations in nonfarm industries rose more than 15 percent in Fiscal 1970 with 11,570 minors found illegally employed —4,412 in hazardous occupations.

In agriculture, Labor Dept. agents reported 1,472 minors as illegally employed—up 18 percent over 1969.

The report stressed a new program under which company officials of large firms, trained by Labor Dept. personnel, conduct self-audits of their operations to assure they comply with wage and hour laws. The enforcement program has been "significantly aided" by a large-scale public education program on what the laws require, it said.

The Labor Dept. said that although the minimum wage has been increased substantially over the years, its ratio to earnings has been largely eroded by rises in average hourly earnings. Consequently, the report said, "the ratio of the minimum wage to average hourly earnings . . . is now lower than it was in 1950, when the 1949 amendments went into effect."

Hodgson's report did not reveal what percentage of pay illegally withheld from workers was recovered in 1970. In the 1969 fiscal year, the Labor Dept. reported that $31.7 million was collected out of the $89 million discovered in unlawful underpayments—about 35 cents per dollar of wages due.

When minimum wage means no wage at all

Teen-agers, especially blacks, are hit the hardest by reluctance to hire

Shortly before Christmas, 1929, Harvard University fired, without notice, Mrs. Katherine Donahue, Mrs. Hannah Hogan, and 18 other scrubwomen in the Widener Library rather than raise their pay from 35¢ to 37¢ an hour as demanded by the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. To avoid paying the extra 2¢, Harvard replaced the women with men, who were not covered by the state's pioneering but weak minimum wage law.

As recounted by labor historian Irving Bernstein in *The Lean Years*, the case of the Harvard charwomen ended on a brighter note. Denouncing the university as "harsh, stingy, socially insensitive, and considerably short of the highest ethical standards of the time," a group of 268 students and alumni, headed by Corliss Lamont, raised $3,880 to compensate the discharged scrubwomen.

Minimum wage laws have come a long way since the early decades of this century, when they were first devised to halt exploitation of "the poor working girl." Now a federal minimum wage of $1.60 an hour covers some 46-million workers, and pressures are building to raise it to $2 and extend coverage to the rest of the labor force.

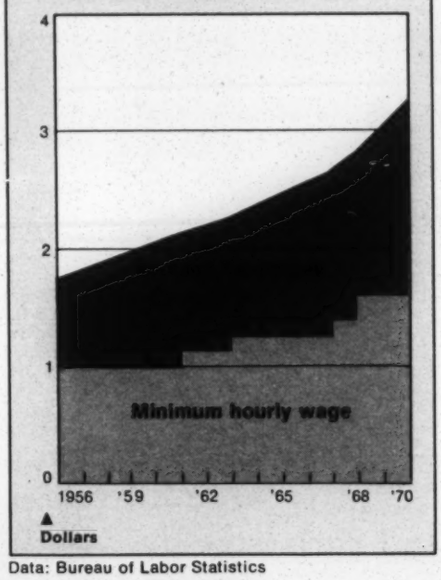
Inflation at work. On the basis on which the minimum wage has generally been debated, there are good grounds for an upward shift. Inflation has wiped out nearly 17% of purchasing power since the floor was last raised in February, 1968. Today's minimum wage is less than half of average hourly earnings and provides the full-time worker with an income substantially below the federal poverty line.

But the debate has shifted in recent years, particularly among economists. A growing and politically diverse number of them are convinced that, by eliminating marginal job opportunities, the minimum wage is hurting people it is supposed to help, striking hardest at blacks and teen-agers.

"What good does it do a black youth to know that an employer must pay him $1.60 per hour if the fact that he must be paid that amount is what keeps him from getting a job?" asks Paul A. Samuelson. And Milton Friedman refers to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the base of the minimum wage, as "the most anti-Negro law on our statute books—in its effect, not its intent."

Where it hurts. Samuelson's rhetorical question and Friedman's questionable rhetoric point up the kind of emotion generated by the minimum wage issue. But economists using the rigorously clinical, computerized techniques of econometrics come up with the same general idea. As Gene L. Chapin and Douglas K. Adie of Ohio University put it: "Increases in the federal minimum wage cause unemployment among teen-agers. The effects tend to persist for considerable periods of time. And the effects seem to be strengthening as coverage is increased and enforcement of the laws becomes more rigorous."

The minimum wage pushes upward



Data: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The techniques, language, and variables used in their mathematical models may vary, but most other econometricians get the same result: a strong correlation, confirmed by repeated observations in the 1950s and 1960s, between youth unemployment and the minimum wage.

Finis Welch of the National Bureau of Economic Research and Marvin Kosters, now a senior staff economist with the Council of Economic Advisers, concluded in a Rand Corp. study last year that "minimum wage legislation has apparently played an important role in increasing the cyclical sensitivity of teen-age employment." They found that as minimums rise, "teen-agers are able to obtain fewer jobs, and their jobs are less secure over the business cycle. A disproportionate share of these unfavorable employment effects accrues to nonwhite teen-agers."

The econometricians concede that the raw figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics do not show these correlations. They note that the minimum wage usually has been raised when the economy has been swinging upward, which "washes out" much of the disemployment effect. Chapin adds that this phenomenon gives "politicians a chance to appear to be doing something the public wants with little cost." But a study by economists Jacob Mincer and Masanori Hashimoto at the NBER warns that many teen-agers are scared out of the labor force by lack of job opportunities and vanish into the gray area of hidden unemployment.

The BLS has shown deep concern about these findings and run its own econometric check of the results. In a Labor Dept. study titled "Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages," Assistant BLS Commissioner Thomas W. Gavett notes that "while there is a significant relationship . . . where other variables are excluded, a look at the whole set of variables casts doubt upon the importance of minimum wages as an explanatory variable." But Gavett finds the lack of clear evidence "discouraging." He fears there is some basis for inferring that extensions of minimum wage coverage, not the rate itself, tended in the 1960s to offset benefits of federal manpower programs.

Labor Dept. study doubts that a rise in minimum wage is the whole explanation

Opposing views. Not all econometricians, to be sure, subscribe flat-out to the minimum wage-disemployment hypothesis. Ruth Fabricant of New York's City Planning Dept. found in a study at the Federal Reserve Board that the effect of minimum wage boosts on hours of work from 1954 to 1968 was "strongly negative," but the impact on the number of persons employed was "significantly positive" before the large increases in coverage and rates that took effect in 1967. Miss Fabricant explained that since minimum wage hikes are permanent and anticipated, "employers view them differently from other wage increases."

There is still another way to view minimum wage increases, and this is the approach taken by advocates. They find the econometric case unproven or

W-S-J 12.8.71

The Minimum-Wage Mystique

Despite all of the arguments mustered by economists of varied political persuasions, Congress once again seems about to raise the minimum wage in the mistaken notion that the action will help the nation's poor.

"While it is true that those who remain employed receive higher wages, fewer are in fact employed," said New York's First National City Bank in its current Monthly Letter. "The higher minimum leads employers to replace unskilled labor with machines and skilled workers, thus increasing the unemployment of the most disadvantaged portion of the labor force and increasing employment opportunities for the more mobile, skilled sector."

The Nixon administration obviously fears that the results of a new minimum wage increase would be the same as the effects of all previous increases. So the administration is pushing for a lower rate for workers 18 and under.

As National City says, such a differential would be helpful to teen-age workers. However, it adds, "if one accepts the logic that the minimum wage makes the unemployment rate higher for some groups than it would otherwise be, then why not go all the way and eliminate the legal minimum entirely?"

In the real political world, that development is unlikely, to put it mildly. Nonetheless, National City suggests that lawmakers who really want to help the poor ought to listen to advice such as that from James Tobin, former member of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Kennedy:

"People who lack the capacity to earn a decent living should be helped, but they will not be helped by minimum-wage laws, trade-union pressures or other devices which seek to compel employers to pay more than their work is worth. The likely outcome of such regulations is that the intended beneficiaries are not employed at all."

The minimum wage mystique, despite its political appeal, cruelly deludes those it professes to help.

Early Floor Vote on Minimum Wage Rise To $2 an Hour Sought by House Democrats

3/3/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—House Democratic leaders said they will push for an early floor vote on legislation to lift the general minimum wage to $2 an hour from $1.60.

The measure has been blocked by the House Rules Committee since last fall. If the committee continues to hold the bill, Speaker Carl Albert (D., Okla.) said he will seek to override the panel to bring the legislation to the floor.

Other Democrats said an effort may be made within a week or two to vote the bill out of the Rules Committee. But they conceded it's uncertain whether a majority of the committee will vote to clear the legislation in view of opposition by Chairman William Colmer (D., Miss.). If the bill fails in the Rules Committee, the Democratic leadership still would have other parliamentary routes available to get it to the floor, but these are cumbersome and time-consuming.

Rep. Albert expressed confidence that a $2 minimum wage would be passed once it reached the floor. Under a revised Democratic plan, the increase for most covered workers would start July 1 or six weeks after the bill's enactment, whichever is later.

The $2 minimum would apply to nonagricultural employes who were covered by the minimum-wage law prior to certain 1966 amendments. Other nonfarm workers would receive a two-step boost, first to $1.80 and later to $2. Minimums for covered agricultural workers would rise in two stages to $1.70.

In addition to the Rules Committee conflict, the Nixon administration may oppose a $2 minimum for most workers. The administration has established a $1.90-an-hour cutoff for low-income exemptions from wage controls. And in its latest policy statement, it urged a more gradual boost in the minimum wage than that advocated by congressional Democratic leaders.

However, Rep. Albert Quie of Minnesota, an influential Republican spokesman on labor legislation, said the administration hasn't yet set a definite policy on the pending bill. Mr. Quie said he personally would favor the general rise to $2, although he also wants certain changes in the Democratic bill relating to minimums for teen-age workers.

A minimum-wage bill also is awaiting committee action in the Senate. A measure being pushed by Senate Democrats would eventually lift the minimum for covered workers to $2.25 an hour.

Minimum Wage Bill Compromise Defeated

WASHINGTON (U P I) — With organized labor's leaders looking over their shoulders, senators on both sides of the issue voted down a compromise Wednesday on a bill to raise the minimum wage and extend its coverage to 8.4 million additional workers.

Rejection of the compromise by a vote of 81 to 4 cleared the way for a straight yes-or-no vote on an administration bill, considerably less far-reaching than a labor-backed measure proposed by Democrats.

The showdown vote was scheduled for 11 a.m. EDT Thursday. A close vote was expected and the outcome was in doubt.

So much so in fact that Democratic presidential nominee George S. McGovern decided to interrupt his South Dakota vacation and return to cast his Senate vote on the issue.

The administration bill would raise the minimum wage from its present $1.60 an hour to $2 over a 14-month period. But it would not extend coverage to the 14.7 million workers not now covered by minimum wage law — a crucial point with organized labor.

In contrast, the Democratic bill would raise the minimum wage to $2 in 60 days of enactment and to $2.20 a year later and bring about 8.4 million workers under the law for the first time.

Chiefly affected by the extension of coverage would be between 750,000 and 1.5 million farm workers, 1.4 million retail store employes, 1.2 million domestics, 1.7 federal employes and 3.2 million state and local government employes.

The AFL-CIO has campaigned for the extension of coverage, putting pressure on senators —particularly Democrats who need labor support to win re-election — to vote against the administration bill.

But strong counter-pressures have come from Chambers of Commerce and many small and marginal businessmen who contend they would be forced to the wall if required to pay their employes $2.20 an hour.

Sen. Peter H. Dominick, R-Colo., chief sponsor of the administration bill, said "every housewife in America will be on our necks" if Congress brings domestic servants under the law. He said burdensome record-keeping would be required of the housewife-employers.

The administration bill narrowly passed the House in May. The Senate bill, when adopted, will have to be compromised with the House bill.

Even the Democratic bill does not go as far as the platform adopted by the Democratic national convention in Miami Beach last week, calling for a $2.50 minimum wage.

Bail Ban Ruled Out in Texas

AUSTIN, Tex. (UPI) — The Texas court of criminal appeals ruled Wednesday that accused murderers, rapists, and armed robbers can no longer be denied bail while they await trial in Texas.

The appeals court said the U.S. Supreme Court's decision against the death penalty abolished the only legal basis Texas judges had for refusing to set bail for persons accused of what were previously considered "capital" offenses.

The court ordered a Houston judge to set bonds for two men accused in the gangland-style murder of a 19-year-old youth and the attempted murder of his companion.

The two men, Pete Anthony Contella Jr. and Larry Lee McDougal, had been ordered held in jail without bond pending an Aug. 14 trial for the March 28 slaying of Roy Howard Clements, 19.

Prosecutors had argued against releasing the two on bond on grounds they were "cold blooded killers" and might endanger the life of Clements' companion and the sole witness to the slaying, Robert Earl Everett, also 19.

Min. Wage

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • GRamercy 3-0284

April 4, 1966

IMMEDIATE ACTION MEMO: House Minimum Wage Bill
TO: Concerned Organizations and Individuals
FROM: Linda Lewis, Program Secretary

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Program Secretary

STANLEY HAMILTON
2104 Chester Pike
Richmond, Indiana
Field Representative

On March 21, the House Committee on Education and Labor reported out a minimum wage bill, H.R. 13712, which includes farm workers. While the number of workers to be covered is lower, and the wage itself is less than that considered in the first session of this 89th Congress, the bill is nonetheless an important step toward providing economic dignity and independence for American farm workers. Details of the bill are enclosed, as well as information pertinent to the farm workers' need for a minimum wage.

Wage strikes in Arizona, California, Florida, Mississippi, and elsewhere across the nation are clear indications of the farm laborers' determination to secure legislative reforms. It would be foolish to withhold support for this new minimum wage bill simply because it does not satisfy every demand. It is an important and necessary start. If it passes, farm workers who have sacrificed much in their efforts to gain adequate wages and a decent life will be encouraged to continue their struggle. If this mild bill is defeated, it will be a serious set-back for farm workers.

There is a second, equally important reason for securing an overwhelmingly favorable vote in the House. Since this is an election year, many Congressmen are reluctant to take a definitive stand on an issue strongly opposed by powerful interest groups. If the minimum wage bill were passed in the House with a comfortable margin, the Senate could then proceed, confident of public support, to make changes in the bill to broaden the number of workers to be covered and increase the wage minimum.

But the bill must first pass in the House. It is imperative that Representatives be informed of their constituents' views on farm labor issues. These men will be in their home states beginning April 6 for two weeks, with the express purpose of "taking the political pulse" of those they represent. We strongly urge you to form delegations of up to five people and visit your Representative. If it is possible to balance the delegation with members of church, labor, civil rights, and civic groups, that is all to the good.

Discussions with the Representative need not be extensive or detailed. Fact sheets are enclosed to give you a general background on the need for a minimum wage for farm workers.

In addition, letters and wires supporting the farm labor provision should be sent immediately to Congressmen. We hope you will do all you can to improve the lot of the farm worker during these critical weeks.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR • WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION • WASHINGTON, D.C.

notice to employees

ABOUT REQUIREMENTS OF THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

Effective February 1, 1969

ALL NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES COVERED BY THE ACT AND NOT SPECIFICALLY EXEMPT

MUST BE PAID

A MINIMUM WAGE

OF AT LEAST $1.60 AN HOUR

In any employment to which the Act's minimum wage requirements would have applied before February 1, 1967

OF AT LEAST $1.30 AN HOUR

$1.45 an hour beginning February 1, 1970
$1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1971
In any employment brought under the minimum wage requirements only by the amendments effective February 1, 1967

Effective February 1, 1969

ALL NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES COVERED BY THE ACT AND NOT SPECIFICALLY EXEMPT

MUST BE PAID

A MINIMUM WAGE

$1.60 OF AT LEAST AN HOUR

In any employment to which the Act's minimum wage requirements would have applied before February 1, 1967

$1.30 OF AT LEAST AN HOUR

$1.45 an hour beginning February 1, 1970
$1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1971
In any employment brought under the minimum wage requirements only by the amendments effective February 1, 1967

OVERTIME PAY after **40** hours a week:
not less than **1½** times the employee's regular rate of pay

---

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK regardless of sex is required in establishments having employees subject to the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Some nonagricultural employees are wholly or partially exempt from the provisions of the act

---

A minimum wage of $1.30 an hour is required for certain agricultural employment on larger farms. Farm workers are exempt from overtime pay requirements

THE ACT PROHIBITS DISCHARGING OR DISCRIMINATING AGAINST AN EMPLOYEE BECAUSE HE FILED A COMPLAINT OR PARTICIPATED IN A PROCEEDING UNDER THE ACT.

EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS seeking additional information, assistance or guidance, or desiring to report improper wage payments under the law, may contact the nearest Federal Wage-Hour Office:

REGIONAL OFFICE
Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions
U.S. Department of Labor
Room 331
1371 Peachtree Street NE.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

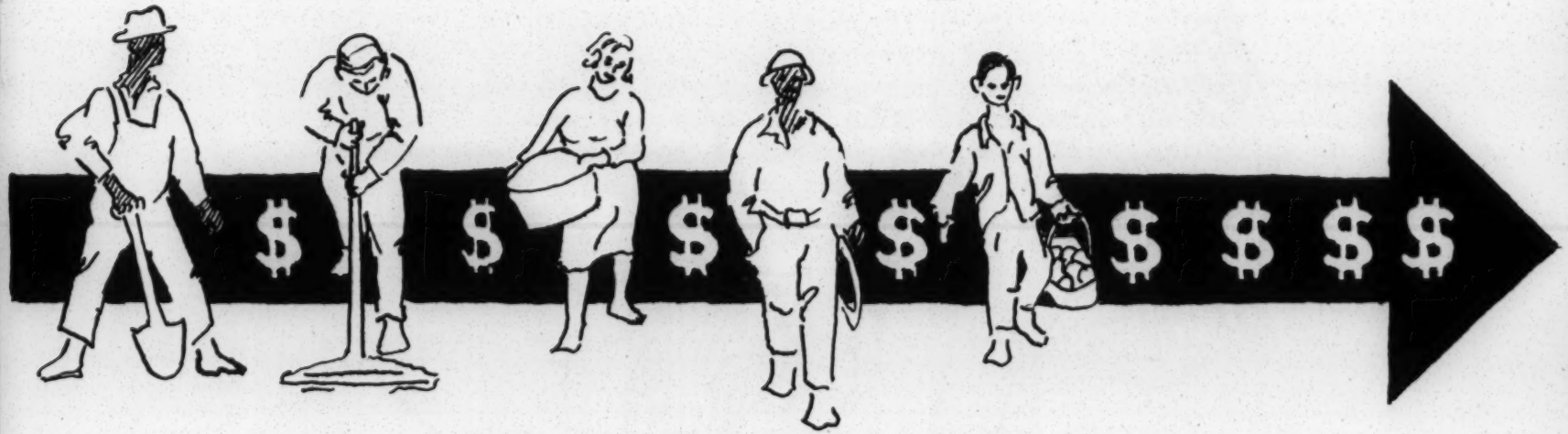
OTHER OFFICES
Fort Lauderdale, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Tampa, FLORIDA; Atlanta, Columbus, Hapeville, Savannah, GEORGIA; Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh, NORTH CAROLINA; Columbia, SOUTH CAROLINA

Other offices, located in more than 100 principal cities, are listed in the telephone directory as the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, under the U.S. Department of Labor in the U.S. Government listing.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS

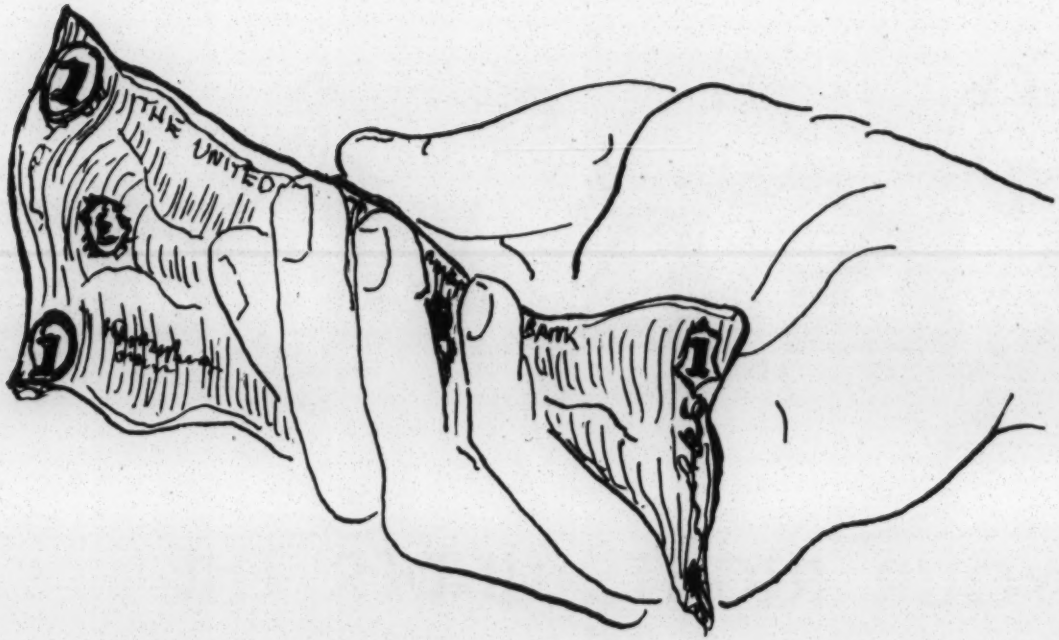
U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1968—O-324-940

MORE MONEY FOR YOU?



YOUR RIGHTS UNDER THE MINIMUM WAGE LAW

Labor Program
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303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About this pamphlet, "MORE MONEY FOR YOU ?"

If you distribute the pamphlet to wage earners, be sure to place your organization's name, address and phone number in the space provided on the back cover and/or include the name and address of the closest office of the Wage and Hour Division (see the list included in the Minimum Wage Campaign Kit). For a large distribution it would pay to have a rubber stamp made for those addresses.

Additional copies of the pamphlet may be obtained from:

Labor Program, Southern Regional Council , Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Single copies	------	15¢
10-49 copies	------	10¢ each
50 or more	------	8¢ each

We have a new federal law that may mean
more pay for you.

It is called the Fair Labor Standards Act, or the
Minimum Wage Law.

You should know what the new Fair Labor Standards Act
says about your job.

You should know what to do to get the wages the law
says you are supposed to get.

Read this pamphlet for more information. See the back
of this pamphlet for the name of someone to help you.

$ 40 a week pay

8 A.M - 12:00
1 P.M - 5:00 = 8 hrs. a day

½ hr. change clothes
and clean up = 8½ hrs. a day

work 5 days a week X5

42½ hrs. a week

$.94 an hour

42½ hrs. work) $40 a week pay

How much is your weekly pay before deductions?

If you don't know for sure, ask your boss.

How many hours a week do you work?

When you figure your hours count in —

- time to change your clothes where you work if you are required to wear a uniform or work clothes
- time to get your work ready
- time to clean up your work
- time spent doing errands for the boss even if it is on your lunch hour.

Now divide the hours you work into your weekly pay (before overtime is figured).

The figure you get is your hourly rate.

If your pay is less than $1 an hour—
or if your pay is exactly $1.25 an hour—

you may be entitled to
a raise in your hourly rate.

If you work more than 44 hours in a week
or if you work more than 40 hours in a week
you may be entitled to overtime pay.

Does your son work in the kitchen
of a big restaurant?

Are you a porter in a school?

Does your sister or daughter work in
a laundry or dry cleaners?

Is your wife a cook in a hospital?

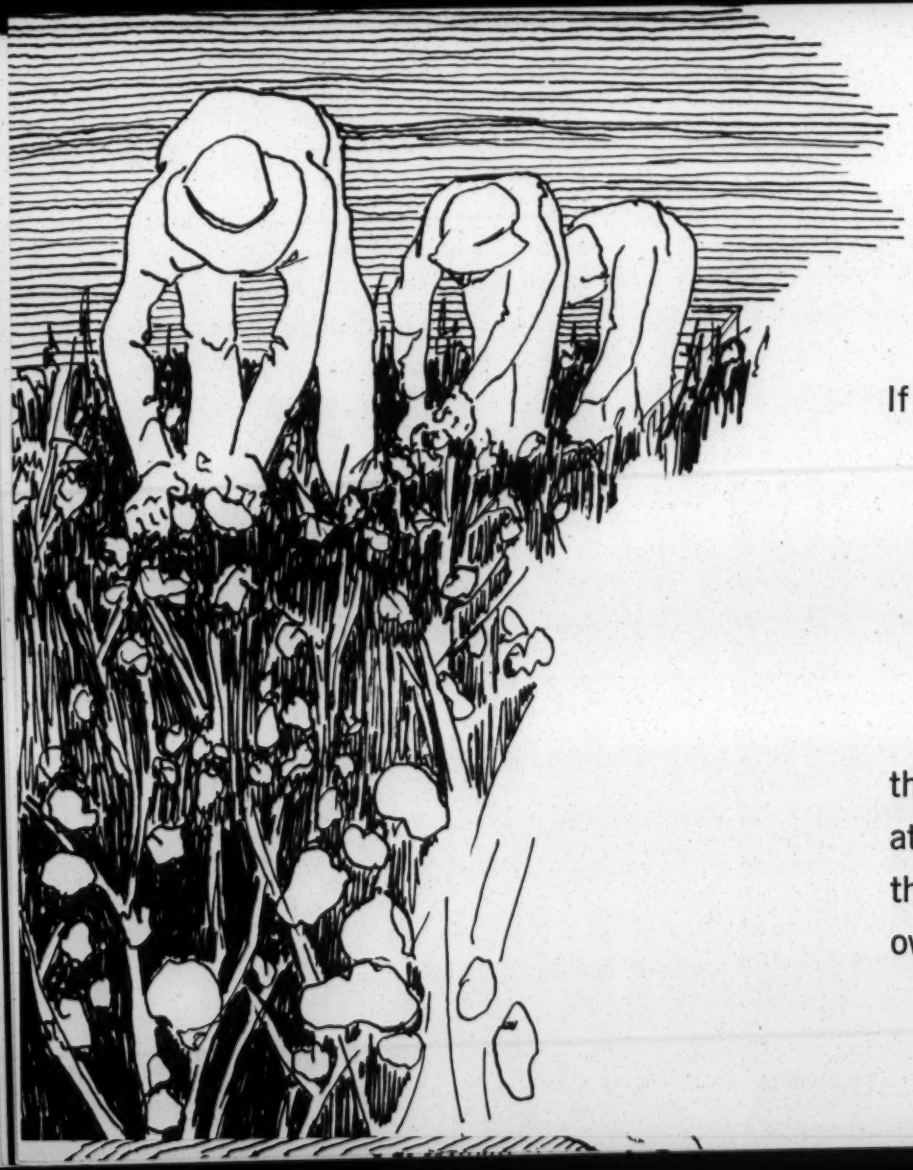
Anybody who has a job in any of these places probably should be earning at least

$1 an hour for 44 hours in a week

and at least

$1.50 an hour for all hours over 44 hours.

If you already earn more than $1.00 an hour, you should earn time and a half (one and a half times your regular rate) for hours over 44 anyway.



If you work on:

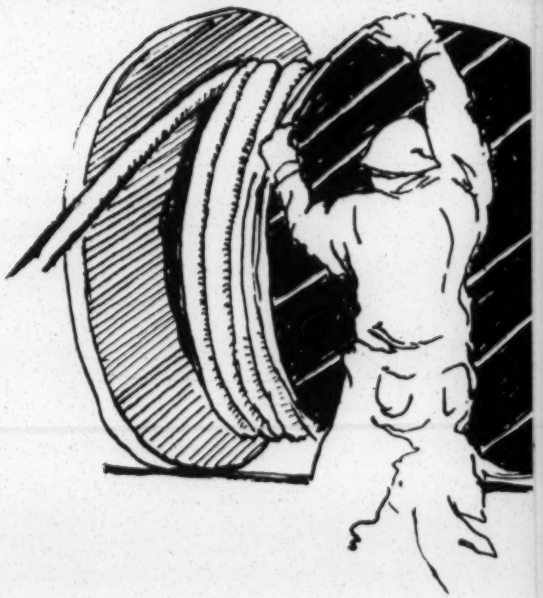
A big farm that has at least
7 or 8 regular full time
workers during the season

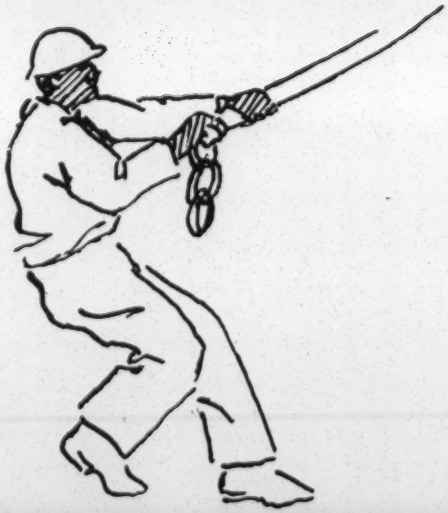
or

A big motel or hotel

then you probably should earn
at least $1.00 an hour, but
the law does not require
overtime pay.

Here are some places where you probably should earn at least $1 an hour for 44 hours plus time and a half for hours over 44 —





Construction company

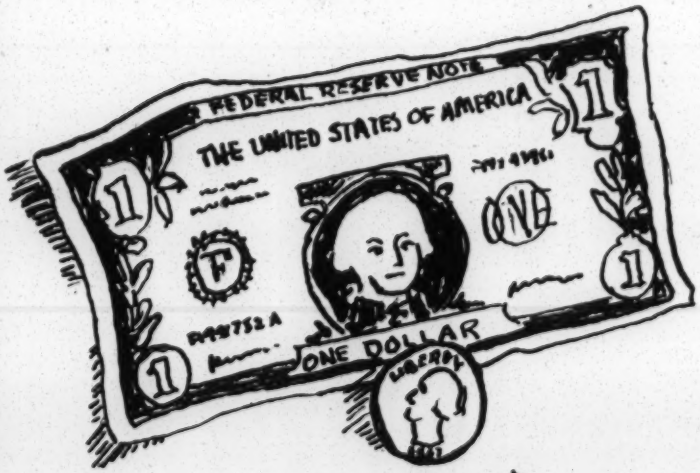
Big Retail store

Big drug store

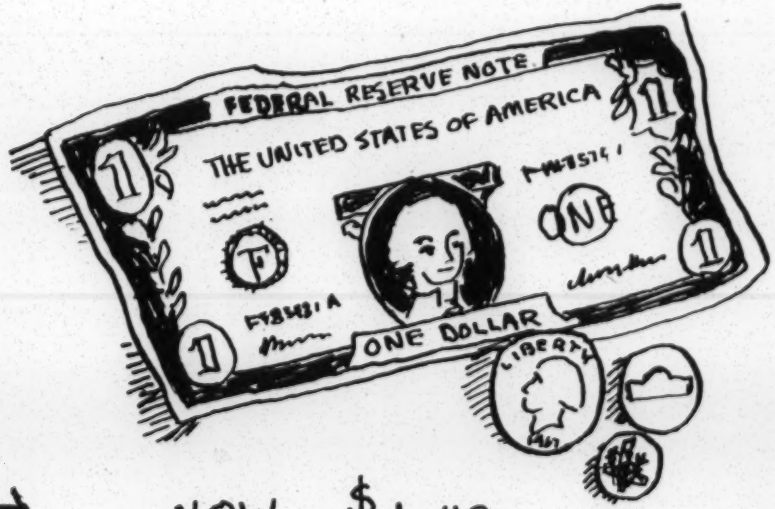
Big automobile, trailer, farm implement dealer

Big gas station

Bank



BEFORE $1.25 ⟶ NOW $1.40



and

FOR ALL HOURS OVER 40 HOURS

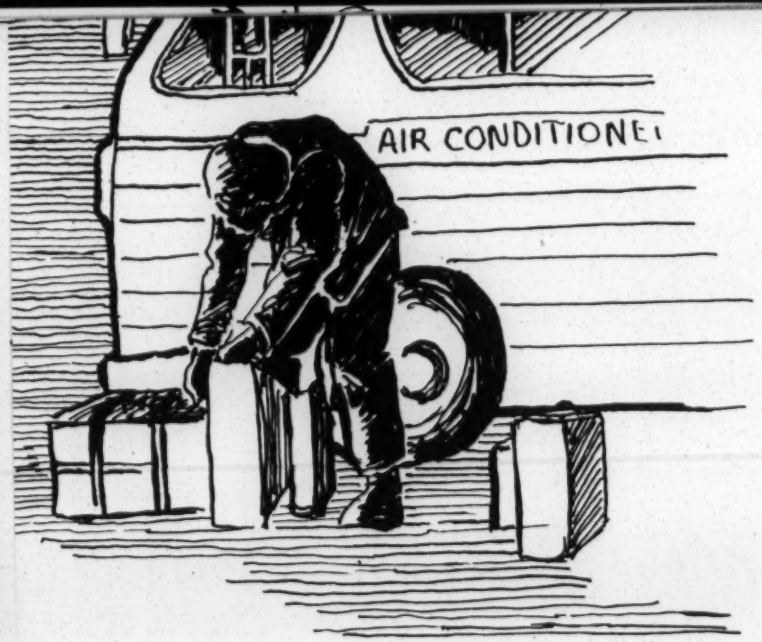
$2.10 an hour

Maybe you have been earning $1.25 an hour or
more for some time now.

If so, that may mean that you were covered by
the Minimum Wage Law before, and

beginning February, 1967, you should
be given a raise.

You should now get at least
$1.40 an hour for 40 hours work in a week
and at least
$2.10 an hour for all hours over 40 hours.



Do you work in a —

Bus company?

Department store?

Road repair crew?

Railroad station?

Wholesale company?

Big gas station?

If you do, and that job paid $1.25 an hour for

40 hours before February, 1967 —

then probably after February, you should

earn at least $1.40 an hour plus time and
a half (at least $2.10) for overtime.

If you are a woman worker—

and if you get paid less than

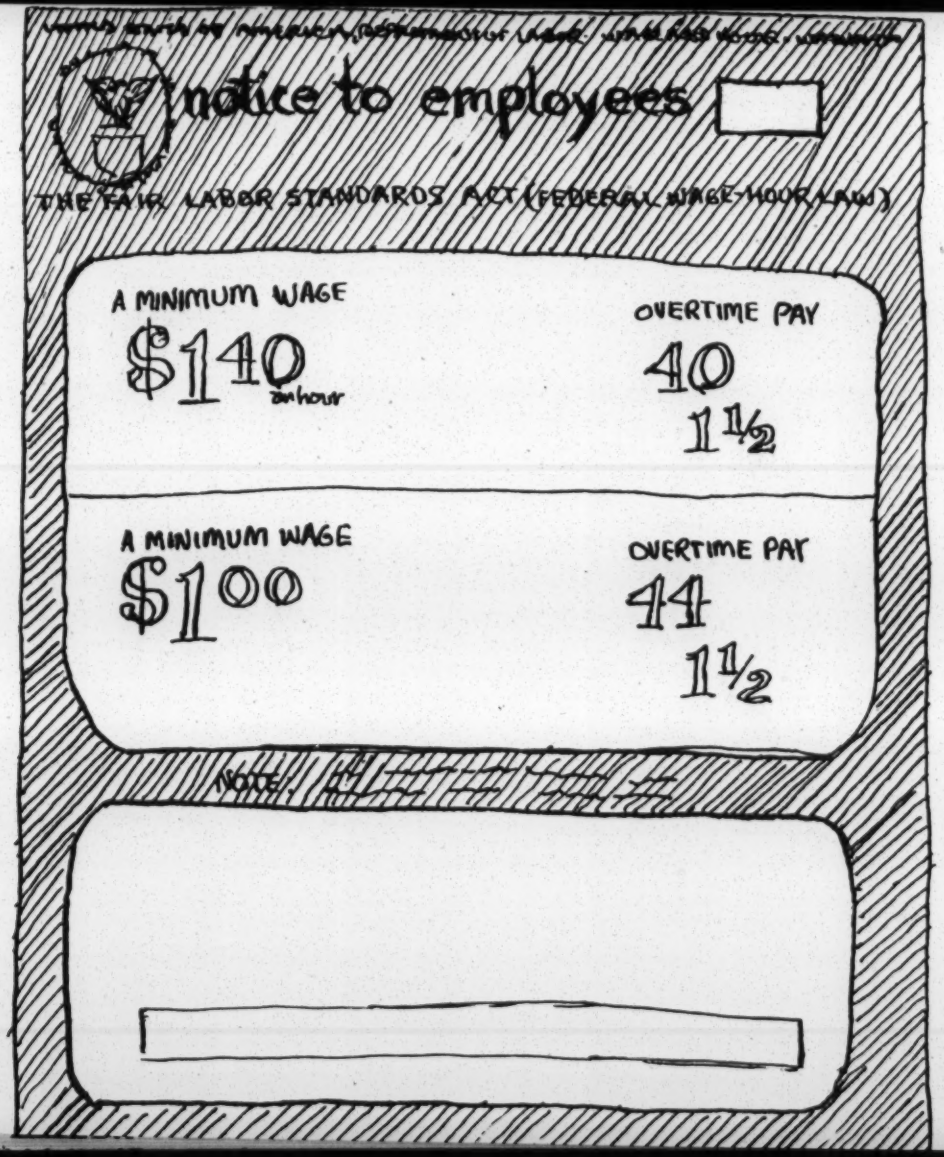
the men for the same work—

you may be entitled to earn as

much as they do.

If your boss employs school
children during school hours—
or if children are doing
dangerous work
even after school or in
the summer—
this may be against the law

If your boss sells to the
federal government or
works for the government—
you are protected by
the minimum wage law.


notice to employees
THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT (FEDERAL WAGE-HOUR LAW)
A MINIMUM WAGE
$1.40 an hour
OVERTIME PAY
40
1½
A MINIMUM WAGE
$1.00
OVERTIME PAY
44
1½
NOTE:

Does your place of work have a big brown and white sign that says—

NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT REQUIRES . . .

Read the sign. You may find that you or someone you know is entitled to be paid more than he now gets.

If you think you are not getting
the right amount —
here is what you should do.

Tell somebody in the group that
gave you this pamphlet

Or write a letter or a postcard
to the Wage and Hour Division
of the U. S. Department of
Labor nearest to you.

Or telephone the Wage and Hour
Division

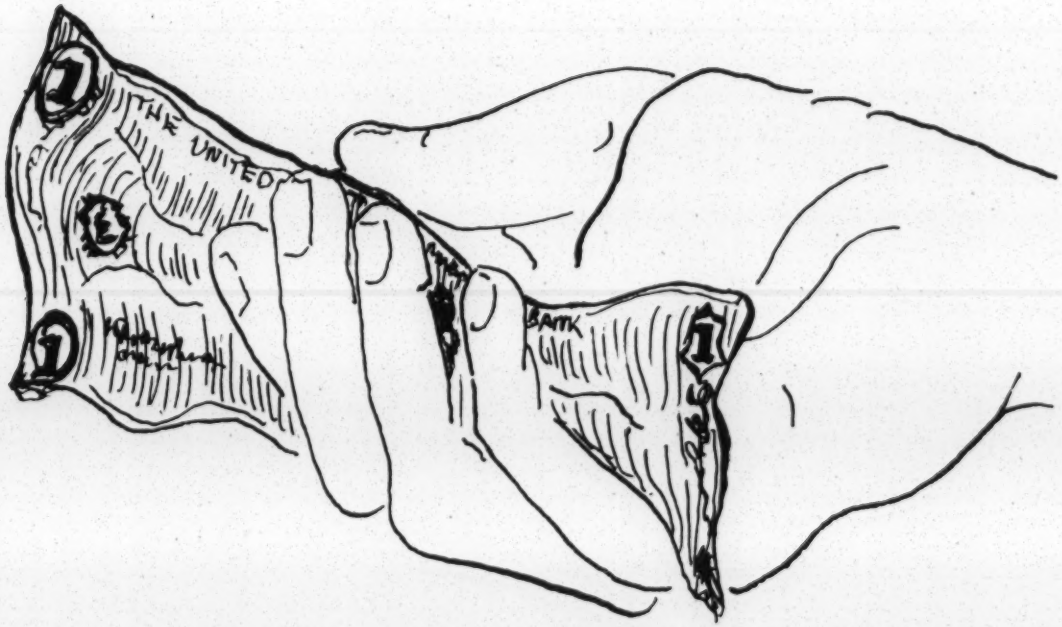
Or go to the Wage and Hour Division
yourself.

The people at the Wage and Hour Division will NOT tell your name to anybody.

You have a right to ask for help.

Your boss can NOT fire you for asking.

The addresses and phone numbers you need are on the back page of this booklet.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BATIK

The Wage and Hour Division will give you a report in
a month or so.

If you are getting the right amount already, they
will explain to you why you are not entitled to more.

If your boss has not been paying you the right amount, then
he will have to begin to pay you the legal rate
that you are supposed to get.
Also he may have to pay you back the extra amount
that you were supposed to get for the
whole time that you were underpaid

So you see, it is really worthwhile to ask.

If you have any questions about this get in touch with:

February, 1967

Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by industry, as of February 1, 1968 a/

(in thousands)

Industry	Total number of nonsupervisory employees c/	Employees covered by the FLSA b/			Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA c/	Number of nonsupervisory employees covered by State laws only c/ e/	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA or State laws c/
		Total number covered d/	Number Covered prior to 1966 amendments	Number covered by the 1966 amendments d/			
United States	51,866	42,778	33,052	9,726	11,769	3,484	8,285
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries f/	1,513	466	15	451	1,047	102	945
Mining	533	529	529	-	4	3	1
Contract construction	3,292	3,257	2,640	617	35	6	29
Manufacturing	17,517	16,942	16,871	71	575	93	482
Transportation, communications, utilities	3,917	3,842	3,738	104	75	31	44
Wholesale trade	3,275	2,487	2,360	127	788	67	721
Retail trade	9,150	5,372	3,051	2,321	3,778	1,814	1,964
Finance, insurance, real estate	2,857	2,133	2,133	-	724	141	583

SOURCE:
Economic Effects Studies:
Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards Under the FLSA

Submitted to the Congress - 1968

Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by industry, as of February 1, 1968 a/ (Concluded)

(in thousands)

Industry	Total number of nonsupervisory employees c/	Employees covered by the FLSA b/			Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA c/	Number of nonsupervisory employees covered by State laws only c/ e/	Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA or State laws c/
		Total number covered d/	Number covered prior to 1966 amendments	Number covered by the 1966 amendments d/			
Services (excluding domestic service	7,589	5,069	1,715	3,354	2,520	1,227	1,293
Domestic service	2,223	-	-	-	2,223	-	2,223
Government	-	2,681	-	2,681	-	-	-

a/ Estimates are based on employment data for 1967. All employees are included except executive, administrative and professional employees and academic administrative personnel and teachers in elementary and secondary schools.
b/ Employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments include those who will be covered in 1969.
c/ Estimates relate to the private sector only.
d/ Includes the estimated 2,681,000 government employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments.
e/ Estimates of employees covered by State minimum wage laws only are for those States having minimum wage laws or orders enacted or revised from 1961 to December 1, 1967.
f/ Total nonsupervisory employment based on data representing 1967 annual average. Coverage estimates include data on agricultural workers obtained from a survey conducted by the Department of Agriculture as of May 1967. May data does not vary markedly from annual average data.

Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions

Distributed by the Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

SAMPLE INFORMATION FORM

For Developing a Minimum Wage Law Complaint

Fill in as completely as possible. You do not have to have all of this information in order to make a complaint to the nearest office of the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor. An official form (Employment Information Form) can be obtained from that office.

---

1. INFORMATION ABOUT ESTABLISHMENT
   (a) Name of establishment_____

   (b) Address_____
   (Number and Street) (City) (Zone) (State)

   (c) Does the firm have branches?_____Where?_____

   (d) Nature of business_____
   (Example: manufacturing stoves, construction, wholesale shoes, etc.)

   (e) Does establishment ship out of state?_____Does establishment receive goods from out of state?_____

   (f) Does the establishment sell to or perform services for the following types of business? (Check):

   _____Private consumers _____Transportation companies
   _____Hotels, restaurants, etc _____Other public utilities
   q _____Retail dealers _____Mining companies
   _____Wholesale dealers _____Manufacturers

   (g) Has establishment worked on a U.S. GOVERNMENT contract recently?_____
   What articles?_____

2. INFORMATION REGARDING WORKING CONDITIONS
   (a) Person furnishing information is _____
   (Example: present employee, former employee, competitor, union, etc.)

   (b) In what respect do you think that the establishment has failed to comply with the Federal Wage and Hour Law or the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act:

   Minimum Wage_____Overtime_____Oppressive Child Labor_____Record Keeping_____Illegal Home Work_____Other_____
   Describe: (If additional space is needed, please use reverse side)

   (c) What is basis of pay of employee(s) involved $_____per_____
   (Examples: Hour, day, week, month, piece, etc.)

   (d) Period of employment from _____to _____
   (month,year) (month, year)

   (e) Occupation of employee(s) - describe exact work in detail_____
   _____
   _____
   (continue on reverse side, if necessary)

   Name in full (Print): M_____Telephone_____
   (Mr., Mrs., Miss)

   Signature_____Date_____

   Address (Print):_____
   (Number) (Street) (City or Town) (State) (Zip)

   Date of Birth (if under 21)_____

Emory F. Via

86th Congress
1st Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

Min Wage

A COMPILATION OF ECONOMIC DATA ON INDUSTRIES AFFECTED BY S. 1046 AND OTHER BILLS TO AMEND THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

PENDING BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

UNITED STATES SENATE

PREPARED BY

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

AT THE REQUEST OF

SEN. JOHN F. KENNEDY, CHAIRMAN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR

Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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File - Min. Wage

Report of the Economic Policy Committee to
The AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments

February 24, 1966
Bal Harbour, Florida

In the war on poverty, the one single measure that would result in more tangible benefit for the millions of working poor is expansion and modernization of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The U. S. Department of Labor reports that over 17½ million non-supervisory wage and salary workers in private employment are still excluded from the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Major groups of these low-paid workers work in hotels, restaurants, laundries, dry cleaning establishments, hospitals and nursing homes, retail and service enterprises and institutions and logging operations. Farm workers are a particularly low-paid and exploited group that have no protection.

But even if these workers were given the law's present protection, they would receive only a poverty wage. Today workers employed full-time, year-round, earn $2,600, substantially less than the Administration's own "poverty level" -- $3,130 a year.

Thus, broader coverage and a higher minimum wage are essential if the Fair Labor Standards Act is to continue to assure the low-paid worker a minimum fair standard of living and the national economy an adequate level of purchasing power to sustain economic health and growth. The same automatic percentage increases and extensions of coverage must also be provided in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa as on the mainland.

The cost of such improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act can easily be absorbed out of record-breaking business profits and rapidly rising productivity.

The Congress now has before it legislation to broaden coverage and raise the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. H.R. 10518 would extend the Act's protection to 7.9 million additional workers and would raise the minimum wage in several annual step-ups to $1.75 an hour.

These would be modest steps, indeed, measured against the nearly ten million workers who would still be left outside the Act's protection and the wages that are required for decent living by the nation's workers under present-day economic conditions.

- more -

We consider them only a down-payment for America's working poor. We intend to continue our fight for the extension of coverage to all workers and for an increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour.

We urge the Congress to take prompt action to enact substantial improvements in the Act so that it can serve its original purposes in the public interest and help win victory in the war on poverty.

Background Paper on Minimum Wage

The AFL-CIO urges an increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour and the immediate extension of FLSA coverage to more than seven million workers.

The Minimum Needs to be Raised

Elimination of poverty among the "working poor" was the goal of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Today the minimum of $1.25 is far short of this goal. A full-time, year-round worker would only earn $2,600 a year -- far below the poverty level of $3,130. Over 25% of the poor -- including more than six million children -- are in families, where the father or mother is working full-time, year around, but earning a poverty wage.

Minimum wages raise the wages of the very poor. Studies of minimum wage effects on covered and non-convered industries show that the lowest wages usually rise to the level of the federal minimum, only by changes in the law. Today, one-fourth of the workers in non-covered retail trade earn less than $1.25 an hour; almost no one in the covered sector of retailing earns below that rate. Five years ago, in covered industries in low-wage, non-metropolitan areas of the South, 40% of the workers earned less than $1.25; today nearly everyone in these covered industries is paid $1.25, while, in the non-covered industries in these areas, 58% of the workers earn less than $1.25 an hour.

The minimum wage historically required periodic revision, and such revision is needed now. In 1938, Congress established a 25-cent-an-hour minimum, rising in steps to 40 cents. In 1949, the Act was amended to 75 cents, in 1955 to $1.00, and in 1961 to $1.25. Now it is time to bring the Act up-to-date again.

The over-all cost impact of small step increases in the minimum wage is slight. A $1.40 minimum wage for presently covered workers and a $1.15 minimum for over seven million presently uncovered workers would raise total wage and salary payments in 1966 by 1/2 of one percent. The over-all impact would be roughly similar in succeeding years, if steps were taken each year to reach a $2 minimum as rapidly as possible.

Low wage industries have shown that they can make adjustments. In 1955 and 1961, certain industries in the South paid more than 70 or 80 percent of their workers less than the new minimum wage. These industries not only survived in the South, but in most cases their employment increased, following raises in the minimum wage.

- more -

Minimum wage changes don't cause unemployment. The figures show the opposite. When minimum wage coverage was extended to part of the retail industry in 1961, that part of the industry, which was covered, showed an employment increase of 13% (288,000) between 1961 and 1965. But that part of retailing, not covered by the law, increased employment only 9% (256,000). Similar results are shown in studies of covered industries (except retail) in small metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas of the South -- areas particularly affected by minimum wage increases. Over the past five years, employment in such covered industries increased 17% and 21% respectively in those areas.

Inflation has never resulted from small increases in the minimum wage. During the past five years, while the minimum wage increased twice and coverage was extended, the over-all consumer price index has been relatively stable. Even a special study by the Labor Department of products in 15 low-wage industries in the South showed that prices of a majority of the products had increases of less than one percent a year over the three-year period, April 1961 to April 1964. As a matter of fact, prices of over a fifth of the products of these low-wage industries were actually reduced over this time period, when the minimum wage was increasing.

Even the President's wage-price guideposts suggest an exception for minimum wages.

> "Some exceptions to the general guideposts are necessary to promote economic objectives. Wage increases above the general guideposts may be desirable.
>
> "--where wages are particularly low -- that is, near the bottom of the economy's wage scales."

(1966 Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, p.91)

Coverage Needs to be Extended

The Fair Labor Standards Act presently covers 29½ million of the 47 million non-supervisory workers in private industries. H.R. 10518 would bring coverage to 7.9 million more workers leaving nearly 10 million still exempt. The extension of coverage, under that bill, would be along the following lines:

Groups Receiving Coverage

Retail Trade. An additional two million of the 3½ million unprotected workers would be covered. The basis for coverage would be annual sales of $250,000 by an enterprise and $150,000 by an establishment of such an enterprise.

Restaurants. Approximately 525,000 of the 1.753,000 employees of restaurants would be granted minimum wage and overtime protection by applying the same dollar standards as apply to the rest of retail trade. Special provisions are made for taking account of tips.

Laundries and Dry Cleaning Establishments. The exemption granted laundries and cleaning establishments would be repealed and coverage would be extended to all, 505,000 employees in laundries and cleaning establishments.

Hotels and Motels. Protection for 275,000 of the 549,000 employees in this industry would be provided. An overtime exception would apply to seasonal resort hotels.

Hospital and Related Institutions. Approximately 1,353,000 employees of hospitals, nursing homes and homes for the aging would be granted minimum wage and overtime protection.

Construction. All construction workers would be covered, extending protection to an additional 581,000 workers. Nearly 2½ million construction workers already receive the safeguards of the Act.

Logging Operations. The minimum wage and overtime exception for logging operations, with not more than 12 employees, would be repealed. This would bring needed protection to more than 87,000 loggers not now covered by FLSA.

These employees were covered prior to 1949. Long hours and low wages have characterized this industry, since 1949.

Motion Picture Theaters. About 80,000 of the 114,000 employees of motion picture theaters would be provided minimum wage and overtime protection.

Agricultural Processing. Some 90,000 agricultural processing employees in the so-called "area of production" would be covered by the minimum wage and a measure of overtime protection. An additional 40,000 employees engaged in cotton ginning, country elevators, local transportation of fruits and vegetables, and harvest workers would be granted minimum wage coverage but no overtime protection.

Agricultural Workers. Approximately 1.3 billion of the 1.9 million farm workers would receive special minimum wage protection. All temporary or seasonal agricultural workers would be covered as well as agricultural laborers employed by the same employer for more than 12 consecutive weeks, if they are employed by an employer who uses more than 300 man-days of non-seasonal agricultural labor in any one of the preceding four calendar quarters. This generally covers a farm having five or more full-time employees.

- more -

A member of an employer's immediate family is not an employee as that term is defined in the Act.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S STATEMENTS ON MINIMUM WAGE

JANUARY 1966

State of the Union Message

"For those who labor, I propose to improve unemployment insurance, to expand minimum wage benefits, and -- by the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act -- to make the labor laws in all our states equal to the laws of the 31 states which do not have right-to-work measures."

Budget Message

"Labor: I urge enactment of legislation to --

"Increase the minimum wage and extend protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to over 5 million more workers."

Economic Report

"Millions of workers at the bottom of our wage scale still lack the protection of federal minimum standards. At the same time, we need to reinforce this protection by raising the minimum wage.

"I recommend the extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to large numbers of additional workers. In enacting higher minimum wage levels, the Congress should consider carefully their effects on substandard incomes, on cost and price stability, and on the availability of job opportunities for marginal workers."

- more -

FLSA Coverage By Industry of Non-Supervisory Employees
(In Thousands)

Industry	Employees not now subject to the minimum wage provisions	Employees added to minimum wage coverage by H.R. 10518	Total employees subject to minimum wage provisions (H.R. 10518 and present coverage)
Retail Trade	3,567	2,010	4,596
Restaurants	1,753	525	532
Hotels and Motels	549	275	275
Motion Pictures Theaters	114	80	80
Hospitals & Nursing Homes	1,008	1,353	1,353
Miscellaneous service	1,346	100	399
Laundries	506	505	523
Fisheries	20	-----	-----
Agriculture	1,895	1,300	1,300
Small Newspapers	16	-----	-----
Small Transit Systems	15	10	10
Processing in Area of Production	90	90	90
Small Telephone Exchanges	3	3	3
Taxicabs	122	16	16
Small Logging	87	87	87
Cotton Ginning	34	34	34
Construction	581	581	2,994
All other Industries	1,701	960	25,230
Domestics	2,504	-----	-----
Outside Salesmen	1,757	-----	-----
TOTAL	17,667	7,929	37,522

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT OF 1938, AS AMENDED[1]

(29 U.S.C. 201, et seq.)

(Revised text[1] showing in bold face type new or amended language provided by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, as enacted May 5, 1961 (P.L. 87–30, 75 Stat. 65), and showing in italics new or amended language provided by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, as enacted September 23, 1966 (P.L. 89–601, 80 Stat. 830)).

AN ACT

To provide for the establishment of fair labor standards in employments in and affecting interstate commerce, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938."

Finding and Declaration of Policy

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds that the existence, in industries engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers (1) causes commerce and the channels and instrumentalities of commerce to be used to spread and perpetuate such labor conditions among the workers of the several States; (2) burdens commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; (3) constitutes an unfair method of competition in commerce; (4) leads to labor disputes burdening and obstructing commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; and (5) interferes with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce.

(b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act, through the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations, to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate the conditions above referred to in such industries without substantially curtailing employments or earning power.[2]

Definitions

SEC. 3. As used in this Act—

(a) "Person" means an individual, partnership, association, corporation, business trust, legal representative, or any organized group of persons.

(b) "Commerce" means trade, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States or between any State and any place outside thereof.[3]

(c) "State" means any State of the United States or the District of Columbia or any Territory or possession of the United States.

(d) "Employer" includes any person acting directly or indirectly in the interest of an employer in relation to an employee but shall not include the United States or any State or political subdivision of a State (*except with respect to employees of a State or a political subdivision thereof, employed (1) in a hospital, institution, or school referred to in the last sentence of subsection (r) of this section, or (2) in the operation of a railway or carrier referred to in such sentence*), or any labor organization (other than when acting as an employer), or anyone acting in the capacity of officer or agent of such labor organization.

(e) "Employee" includes any individual employed by an employer, *except that such term shall not, for the purposes of section 3(u) include—*

(1) any individual employed by an employer engaged in agriculture if such individual is the parent, spouse, child, or other member of the employer's immediate family, or

[1] 52 Stat. 1060, as amended by the Act of August 9, 1939 (53 Stat. 1266); by section 404 of Reorganization Plan No. II of 1939 (53 Stat. 1436); by sections 3(c)–3(f) of the Act of June 26, 1940 (54 Stat. 615); by the Act of October 29, 1941 (55 Stat. 756); by Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1946 (60 Stat. 1095); by the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947 (61 Stat. 84); by the Act of July 20, 1949 (63 Stat. 446); by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1949 (63 Stat. 910); by Reorganization Plan No. 6 of 1950 (64 Stat. 1263); by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1955 (69 Stat. 711); by the American Samoa Labor Standards Amendments of 1956 (70 Stat. 1118); by the Act of August 30, 1957 (71 Stat. 514); by the Act of August 25, 1958 (72 Stat. 844); by section 22 of the Act of August 28, 1958 (72 Stat. 948); by the Act of July 12, 1960 (74 Stat. 417); by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 (75 Stat. 65); by the Equal Pay Act of 1963 (77 Stat. 56); and by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 (80 Stat. 830). The original text of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 as set forth in 52 Stat. 1060 has been revised in this publication to reflect the changes effected by the amendments listed in this footnote, which may be found in official text at the cited pages of the Statutes at Large. Added or amended language as enacted by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 is shown in bold face type. Added or amended language as enacted by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 is shown in italics. The footnotes in this revision show where prior changes have been made and refer to the specific amendments relied upon so that a comparison may be made with the official text.

This revised text has been prepared in the Office of the Solicitor, U.S. Department of Labor.

[2] As amended by section 2 of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1949.

[3] As amended by section 3(a) of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1949.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—WHPC Publication 1167
Printed November 1966

238-372—66——1

MINIMUM WAGE AND MAXIMUM HOURS STANDARDS UNDER THE
FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT: January 1967

Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by State, as of February 1, 1967 a/

(in thousands)

State and Region	Total number of nonsupervisory employees	Employees covered by the FLSA			Number of non-supervisory employees not covered by FLSA	Number of non-supervisory employees covered by State laws only b/	Number of non-supervisory employees not covered by FLSA or State laws
		Total Number covered	Number Covered prior to 1966 amendments	Number covered by the 1966 amendments			
United States	50,429 c/	41,428 d/	32,307	9,121 d/	11,437 c/	3,068 c/	8,369 c/
Domestic Workers	2,441	-	-	-	2,441	-	2,441
Alabama	656	577	447	130	127	-	127
Arkansas	372	306	216	90	84	-	84
Louisiana	732	597	455	142	172	-	172
Mississippi	395	333	229	104	89	-	89
Texas	2,341	1,953	1,456	497	519	-	519
Tennessee	934	788	630	158	192	-	192
Virginia	931	827	615	212	182	-	182
Florida	1,205	1,020	698	322	264	-	264
Georgia	975	852	666	186	189	-	189
North Carolina	1,199	992	814	178	256	84	172
South Carolina	561	490	395	95	107	-	107

Status of nonsupervisory employees under the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act and under State minimum wage laws and orders, by State, as of February 1, 1967 a/ (Concluded)

(in thousands)

---

a/ Estimates are based on employment data for 1966. All employees are included except executive, administrative and professional employees and academic administrative personnel and teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments include those who will be covered in 1967 and 1969.

b/ Estimates of employees covered by State minimum wage laws only are for those States having minimum wage laws or orders enacted or revised from 1961 through February 1967.

c/ Excludes all government employees.

d/ Includes the estimated 2,436,000 government employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments.

Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions

Extracted and distributed by the Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

file - Min. wage

Min Wage

MAR 01 1967

House of Representatives, U. S.
Committee on Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE February 27, 1967

The House Committee on Agriculture today adopted the following resolution:

MINIMUM WAGE IN AGRICULTURE

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS: By an act of the Congress in 1966, a minimum wage is being applied to agricultural workers in 1967 for the first time in history; and

Are these Comparable

WHEREAS: Prices received by farmers for what they produce now are actually 8 percent below what they were in 1947, while the wages of manufacturing labor during these last 20 years have increased by 123 percent, and the dividends paid by corporations by 232 percent; and

But what does this really mean for farm income in Constant dollars?

WHEREAS: Agriculture now is caught in a cost-price squeeze, farm prices have declined for five consecutive months, so that the parity ratio now stands at only 75 and the costs of tractors and other machinery, chemicals, and other inputs required by farmers to produce their crop have advanced by 47 percent, and the average wages paid by farmers already are up by 108 percent compared with 20 years ago; and

WHEREAS: Farmers employing the workers now being blanketed under the minimum wage, unlike employers in industry, are unable to set the price on what they produce to cover the increased wage costs, but must continue to take whatever the markets offer; and

WHEREAS: Many farmers will be forced to close down their operations completely, or severely reduce the number of employees, because of the increased costs, and this threatens to bring on another migration of large numbers of farm workers into the slums of the cities; and

So what else is new

And now the crocodiles

WHEREAS: The suffering in the creation of unemployment and the uprooting of people in Rural America will greatly outweigh any advantages which may be gained by workers through application of a Federal minimum wage for agriculture until such time as farm income is improved to the extent that this income will cover increases of wages; NOW, THEREFORE

BE IT RESOLVED: That the Committee on Agriculture, in the interest of farm workers and employers alike, and of consumers, recommends the enactment of legislation amending the Fair Labor Standards Act, providing that the minimum wage as applied by present law shall apply in no year following a year in which the unadjusted parity ratio stands at a level below 100.

- o -

Estimated number of nonsupervisory employees subject to the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, by sex and color, as of February 1, 1968 a/

(in thousands)

Sex and Color	Total number of nonsupervisory employees	COVERAGE STATUS: Total number of nonsupervisory employees covered by FLSA		Nonsupervisory employees covered by FLSA prior to 1966 amendments		Nonsupervisory employees covered by the 1966 amendments		Number of nonsupervisory employees not covered by FLSA
		Number	Percent of total nonsupervisory employees	Number	Percent of total nonsupervisory employees	Number	Percent of total nonsupervisory employees	
Total	51,866	40,097	77	33,052	64	7,045	14	11,769
White	45,297	35,763	79	29,772	66	5,991	13	9,534
Nonwhite	6,569	4,334	66	3,280	50	1,054	16	2,235
Negro	6,130	4,020	66	3,050	50	970	16	2,110
Male	32,924	26,525	81	22,928	70	3,597	11	6,399
White	29,220	23,492	80	20,428	70	3,064	10	5,728
Nonwhite	3,704	3,033	82	2,500	67	533	14	671
Negro	3,431	2,827	82	2,346	68	481	14	604
Female	18,942	13,572	72	10,124	53	3,448	18	5,370
White	16,077	12,271	76	9,344	58	2,927	18	3,806
Nonwhite	2,865	1,301	45	780	27	521	18	1,564
Negro	2,699	1,193	44	704	26	489	18	1,506

a/ Estimates are based on employment data for 1967. All employees are included except executive, administrative and professional employees and academic administrative personnel and teachers in elementary and secondary schools. Employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments include those who will be covered in 1969. All government employees are excluded from this table including the 2,681,000 government employees added to coverage by the 1966 amendments.

Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions

Distributed by the Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Min. Wage

Gary F. Vie

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

Background Paper -- Coverage and Effects of
Federal Minimum Wage Legislation

Present FLSA Coverage

Present coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act extends to approximately two-fifths of the civilian labor force in the United States. Considering only the kinds of employees who work for wages and salaries and who hold jobs below the supervisory level, the 29.6 million covered employees account for about three-fifths of all such employees.

About half of the employees covered by the FLSA are employed in manufacturing industries. Nearly 3.5 million are found in transportation, communication and utilities, 2.6 million in retail trade, 2.4 million in contract construction, 2.1 million in wholesale trade, 1.9 million in finance, insurance and real estate, 1.4 million in services (excluding domestic), and .6 million in mining.

The magnitude of some of these figures should not imply that industry coverage is complete or nearly complete. This condition only prevails in mining, manufacturing and the transportation group. Only four-fifths of the nonsupervisory employees are covered in contract construction, three-fourths of those in finance, and seven-tenths of those in wholesale trade. Present coverage in retail trade is limited to a third of the workers, and in services to just over a fifth.

Of the 17.7 million nonsupervisory employees not covered by the FLSA, retail trade and services combined account for almost three out of every five. Another 2.5 million in the noncovered group are employed as domestics and 1.9 million in agriculture. Wages for these employees are low relative to wages in industries in which the majority or all are protected by Federal labor standards. Even state laws, which generally provide protection somewhat below the Federal standards, exclude from coverage seven out of every ten employees not covered by the FLSA.

Proposed Extension of Coverage

The present level of coverage reflects the 1961 amendments to the Act which extended protection to an additional 3.6 million workers, most of whom were in retail trade and to a lesser extent in the construction industry. The Act has not been amended since that time, but Congress is now considering a bill (H.R. 13712) which would extend coverage to 7.2 million more workers.

Enactment of this bill, which has been reported out by the Committee on Education and Labor, would add 1.5 million retail employees to coverage under the FLSA and approximately the same number of employees of hospitals

and nursing homes. The bill also proposes to extend coverage for the first time to nearly one-half million agricultural workers. Coverage would also be extended to significant numbers of employees in restaurants, hotels, and laundries.

H.R. 13712 would raise the minimum wage for workers now under the act from $1.25 to $1.40 an hour on February 1, 1967 and to $1.60 one year later. For new coverage (except employees of the Federal government), a $1.00 minimum rate would be established to become effective on February 1, 1967. On each anniversary date, the rate would increase by 15 cents an hour until the $1.60 level is reached by February 1, 1971. One exception in the escalation pattern is the provision for agricultural workers. The legal minimum wage for these workers would reach $1.30 an hour by February 1, 1969, but no further escalation is provided for by the bill. The committee report which accompanied H.R. 13712 included this explanation for stopping at the $1.30 minimum wage for hired farm workers. "By limiting the wage increase to $1.30 an hour, the committee is affirming its intention to follow closely the effect of minimum wages in agriculture. It is not, however, subordinating its belief in a minimum wage as a wage below which no employee should be paid. Likewise, it is in no way implying that the wage floor for agricultural employees should lag permanently behind that of other protected employees."

Effects of Minimum Wage Legislation

Considerable insight can be gained for evaluating the possible effects of the legislation being considered by the Congress and other proposals for minimum wage changes by examining the record of the effects of the 1961 amendments to the FLSA. The economy was in the early stages of recovery following the 1960-61 recession. Since that time, its expansion has been continuous, healthy, and vigorous.

The 1961-65 period was marked by a substantial increase in manufacturing activities where minimum wage coverage is nearly complete. Of particular significance was the remarkable gain in the unskilled laborer group, whose wages are sharply influenced by changes in the minimum wage. Interestingly, most of the employment increase came after the introduction of the $1.25 minimum wage. Concomitantly, the overall unemployment rate declined dramatically, and wholesale prices, as well as consumer prices, remained relatively stable.

Studies conducted by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions for the purpose of evaluating the effects of the $1.25 minimum wage in low wage areas showed, overall, no adverse employment effects. Yet, prior to the increase in the minimum wage, two-fifths of the covered workers in southern nonmetropolitan areas, almost a fifth in small metropolitan areas of the South, and a sixth in nonmetropolitan areas of the North Central region earned less than $1.25 an hour. This does not mean that there were no employment declines in individual establishments and in some communities. On balance, however, such adverse effects were minimal. For example, in 25 of 34 communities studied separately - areas selected because the minimum wage would affect the earnings of large numbers of workers - employment increased during the five-year period which bridged the rise of the

minimum wage. In 15 of them, the increase was at least 15 percent which exceeded the national gain of 11 percent during the period studied. In 7 of the 8 areas showing decreases, employment dropped by no more than 6 percent. The remaining area was a southern mining town where employment declined by 16 percent.

Another study was made in retail trade in which about 2.5 million workers for the first time became subject to a minimum wage of $1.00 an hour in September 1961 and to $1.25 four years later. Before the minimum wage became effective for these employees, about three-quarters of a million - 3 out of 10 - were paid less than $1.25 an hour. By June 1965, employment in this group had risen by almost a third of a million. Even in the South, where almost half of the covered retail employees earned less than $1.25 an hour in 1961, employment was eight percent higher in June 1965 than four years ago.

The evidence is strong that the 1961 minimum wage legislation generally improved the standard of living of those whose wages were directly affected. Few signs of adverse effects were apparent from detailed economic studies designed to measure such effects in high impact areas. Benefits, undoubtedly, also accrued to those workers who were already earning the new minimum or just above that level. The additional purchasing power of the working poor contributed in some measure to the economic growth on a national basis and to a greater extent on a community basis.

Proposals for Assistance to Workers of Low Productivity

The Federal government has been keenly aware of the employment problem involving workers whose education, attitude, skills, and experience are so lacking that their productivity may not merit the market price for their labor. A variety of programs already exist to remedy, at least partially, the situation. The Manpower Development and Training Act and the Economic Opportunity Act are two of the major mediums through which the government provides assistance.

Recognition of the problem is continuing. The most recent approach, to our knowledge, is embraced in a legislative proposal - H.R. 11815 - to create jobs through direct payroll assistance payments to employers. The Secretary of Labor would be authorized to enter into administrative agreements with states or state agencies for (1) contracting with employers to hire referred "eligible" individuals; (2) selecting, counseling and referring individuals for employment; and (3) reimbursing employers for the excess of wages and other costs of employing workers over and above the "fair value of goods and services" estimated to have been produced by those workers. Eligibles, generally, would be selected from among the unemployed or from those who had net family income of less than $1,200 during the previous year. The proposal offers a number of safeguards to protect other employees in the establishment, as well as those who participate in the program, and to insure that public funds are properly used.

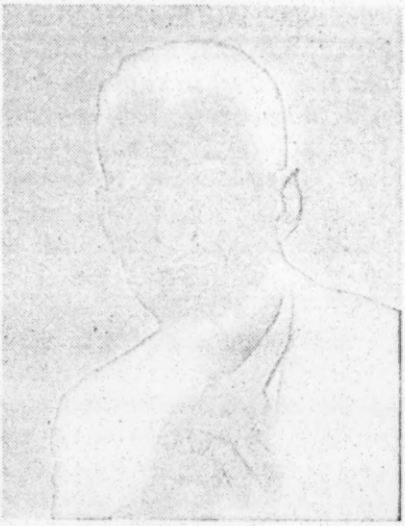
May 6, 1966

Note: Since this document was prepared, the House of Representatives has passed new legislation amending the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Light on Wage Law Enforcement

By Sam Archibald
Staff Administrator
House Special Subcommittee on Gov't Information

A little over a year ago two members of Congress got together on a project which may have a more lasting effect on organized labor than much of the labor legislation which has been signed into law since then. Their activity has been called the Metcalf to Mitchell to Moss Project. Mitchell—in this case former Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell—found himself in the middle.



It all started when Lee Metcalf—then a Representative from Montana and now Montana's junior Senator—asked former Secretary Mitchell for a state-by-state breakdown of employers who had violated the Fair Labor Standards Act. Mitchell had told Congress some $22 million in back wages and underpayments was recovered because of his administration of the Act. Congressman Metcalf wanted to know the names of employers, by state, found in violation of the act. But Mitchell balked at Metcalf's request; he said many of the law violations were "inadvertent" so the names of the violators were kept secret.

Mitchell's refusal to give Metcalf government information brought Moss into the fight, for John E. Moss—a Democrat in the House of Representatives from Sacramento, California—has been fighting against excessive government secrecy ever since he came to Washington. How two determined members of Congress—with the help of one election, two dedicated staff assistants, and a number of interested union officials—tore away the cloak of secrecy which a powerful government agency had thrown around its operations is a fascinating story.

The Metcalf to Mitchell to

Min Wage

Moss Project got under way when John Moss assigned a couple of lawyers from the staff of his Special Subcommittee on Government Information to see what legal basis Mr. Mitchell might have for hiding the names of law-violating employers from Lee Metcalf. And Moss also asked the Secretary to explain his legal authority for secrecy.

The first result was that Congressman Moss—and Congressman Metcalf—got a state-by-state breakdown which revealed only the number of employees who were paid less than the minimum wage or who were not paid overtime. And Congressman Moss got something else: he got a citation of legal authority which surprised him and shocked the general public when the story appeared in the daily newspapers.

Trade Secret Law

When former Secretary Mitchell was forced to cite his legal authority for secrecy, he fell back on Section 1905 of Title 18 of the United States Code of laws. This is a law which makes it a crime for any federal employee to disclose information about private businesses identifying trade secrets, methods of operation, styles of work or similar confidential business information. Moss declared:

"I am surprised at your contention, Mr. Secretary, that the illegal payment of below-minimum wages or the violation of laws prohibiting 'sweatshop' conditions is a 'trade secret' which cannot be disclosed under 18 U.S.C. 1905."

The whole thing might have rested right there if it weren't for some of the staff assistants John Moss has and for the interest of some union officials. Possibly it was a coincidence, but the staff member of the Special Subcommittee on Government Information who was assigned to look into the Labor Department's secrecy used to be a labor union official, himself. He is Jack Howard, former labor editor of a major metropolitan newspaper and a former vice president of the American Newspaper Guild. Howard was used to fighting wage and hour battles, and with John Moss to back him up he wasn't about to let Labor Secretary Mitchell get away with using a "trade secrets" law to hide the

names of violators of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Howard learned from his Labor Department contacts that Secretary Mitchell felt a couple of Congressmen were waging a lonely battle against his cloak of secrecy protecting wage and hour law violators. The two Congressmen, however, were able to call on some special backing which quickly proved that Moss and Metcalf were nowhere near alone in their fight with Mitchell.

Study Group

Lee Metcalf was the chairman of the Democratic Study Group and John Moss was one of the organizers of the group. The studiously named organization is made up of some 150 members of the House—the number varies depending upon the issue facing the group—who were tired of a Republican-Southern Democrat coalition running the Congress. After the disastrous defeat when the Landrum-Griffin bill swept through the House, the liberal members learned that they better organize. They got together in a loose group to study the issues before the House and see if they couldn't agree on positions on the more important issues; after they reached agreements they tried to hold Democratic Study Group members in line when voting time came.

The latest chapter in the DSG success story has not been written; only after the votes cast during the 87th Congress are totaled will it be possible to tell definitely where the organized liberals won and the conservative Republican-Southern Democrat coalition lost. But it is clear that there were a couple of major victories. One was the successful fight to unseat the coalition in control of the powerful House Rules Committee—this was a DSG-led battle which is a story in itself—and another was the fight against Mitchell's attempt to hide the facts about labor law violators.

The DSG official who carried the load for his organization in the Labor Department battle is William G. Phillips, staff director of the Democratic Study Group. Phillips worked for a Pennsylvania member of Congress before he went to work for the DSG as its top staff official when it was organized. He was able to bring the weight of the DSG members to bear on the Labor Department's secrecy; Mitchell soon found out that the demand to disclose the facts about labor law violators was voiced by many more than two lonely Congressmen.

The former Labor Secretary also found out that it was not only Congressmen who were interested in his administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Many of the past activities of the Moss Committee had made national stories, but the daily newspapers were not too deeply interested in stories about secrecy

shrouding wage and hour law violators. Some of the labor press developed an interest, however, and their inquisitive reporters added their questions to those already being asked the Labor Department by Moss Committee investigators.

In fact, one of the first persons to ask for detailed information on the Labor Department's enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act was Sam Ezelle, executive secretary of the Kentucky Federation of Labor and publisher of *Kentucky Labor News*. When the facts were refused him, he ran a page one editorial which was brought to Lee Metcalf's attention by Congressman Carl Perkins of Kentucky, thus kicking off the initial Congressional inquiry into the matter.

Another leading supporter of the drive for more Labor Department information was Gordon H. Cole, editor of the newspaper published by the International Association of Machinists. He not only worked with the Moss Committe, but with the backing of the Committee he forced the Labor Department to turn over a list of all employers taken to court for Fair Labor Standards Act violations during 1959-1960.

When Gordon Cole printed the list in *The Machinist,* there was some indication of why Secretary Mitchell had been reluctant to disclose the facts about his administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Although the Labor Department had been claiming that its agents had discovered millions of dollars of back wages due employees, the lists of payments printed in *The Machinist* showed that some $217,000 was collected during a year from employers who had violated one section of the Fair Labor Standards Act and about $235,000 was collected from employers who had violated another section.

Big Money

These amounts totaled nowhere near the $22 million dollars in back wages which the Department proudly stated, in its Fiscal Year 1959 report, had been found to be due workers. And it was nowhere near the much smaller amount of $13 million which the Department claimed in the same report that it had collected for workers.

One problem which Labor De-

partment lawyers face is that under certain provisions of the Wage-Hour Law they have to prove "willfulness" to make a case stick. They have to uncover falsified time cards or phony receipts for wages paid. And they have to get the employees to testify against their bosses. When they get all this material together, along with an employee's agreement to testify, they can go to court.

There are other avenues under the Wage-Hour Law. The employee, himself, can sue the boss who has failed to pay a minimum wage or to pay legal overtime. Or he can ask the Labor Department to try to collect for him. In cases where there is court action —whether by the Labor Department or by an employee — the public can find out which employers are chiseling on the Wage-Hour Law. But these cases involve only a small part of the millions of dollars which the Labor Department admitted were due employees under the law requiring a minimum wage and a 40-hour work week for covered occupations.

The questionable effectiveness of the Labor Department's operations were dramatically demonstrated when its Fiscal Year 1960 Report was issued. The Department reported that the amount of back wages due employees covered by the Wage-Hour Law was a record $28 million dollars, but slightly less than half of the back wages had been collected by the Department or by the employees themselves. And even this claim of some $14 million dollars collected out of $28 million dollars owed was not documented by identification of the law violators.

Over the past 10 years, the Labor Department reported, underpayments have totaled almost $170 million dollars; employers have agreed to pay up only $90 million dollars when they were taken to court or when the Department applied pressure. Even this amount must be taken on faith, the Department has contended, for the only names of law violators made available are those taken to court. The amounts which court records show employers paying are much smaller than the amounts the Labor Department claims to have collected in back pay.

One reason Labor Department officials claimed for the huge discrepancy between wage payments due and back wages collected is a shortage of manpower. Another reason is the weakness of enforcement provisions of the Wage-Hour Law itself. This was one of the reasons officially given to the Moss Committee by the Labor Department after Moss ridiculed the idea that "sweatshop conditions" could be a trade secret as Secretary Mitchell apparently had tried to claim. Moss pointed out to Mitchell:

"It appears that your position, briefly stated, is that a law with

weak enforcement provisions requires you to cloak your investigations and findings in secrecy in the hope that employers will comply voluntarily in return for a lock being placed on the files."

Congress Intent

The value of the enforcement-by-secrecy system which Mitchell was following was questioned by Moss who pointed out that "the law is a clear statement of the intent of Congress and investigations and findings by your Department of violations of the law are public documents and should be made available to the public." The Congressman added that during his Committee's past investigations of the availability of government information "it has learned of many areas in government where full and prompt disclosure has served not only to educate the public as to provisions of the law but has also served to inform the public of the fact that the laws are being fairly and properly enforced."

The Labor Department was willing to drop the whole secrecy fight but Moss and Metcalf weren't. They were busy after the last round of correspondence with Mitchell—Metcalf was running his successful campaign for Senator and Moss was campaigning for re-election while serving as head of the Democratic Speakers Bureau for the Presidential campaign—but as soon as political work slacked off they were back in the fight against secrecy.

Moss picked up the Labor Department's contention that enforcement provisions of the Wage-Hour Law were not strong enough—that law violators should be protected by secrecy because only thus would they cooperate with Department investigators. He noted that the new Administration was supporting legislation in Congress to strengthen the law, and he went before the House Education and Labor Committee to support the law change. Moss told the Committee:

"By its refusal to make available to the Congress and the public the facts about consent settlements between employers who have been caught cheating and the aggrieved employees, the Department makes possible selective enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Whether favor-

able compromises are negotiated for certain firms while full restitution is required for others, cannot be learned when a cloak of secrecy is drawn about the entire operation. One businessman cannot tell whether he is getting harsher treatment than his competitors; workers cannot tell whether they are receiving equal protection of the law, and the public cannot tell whether the law is being administered fairly.

"In defense of its position, the Department of Labor advised me last year that the present law is so weak that it must be enforced voluntarily, in secret. The Department claimed to be so powerless to act against employers exploiting their workers that secret deals, in which violators of the laws are promised anonymity, are the only way to carry out the declaration of Congress."

New Provision

Whether or not the Department's arguments were fallacious was no longer important, Moss concluded, for the legislation backed by the new administrators of the Labor Department would appear to remove any "justification for a specious claim that the public laws enacted by Congress must be enforced in secrecy." The proposed law would make wage-hour investigations much more effective, giving the Department the power necessary to force compliance with provisions protecting employees against illegal exploitation. This position served as an effective springboard for negotiations with the new Labor Department officials as soon as the enforcement provision they had requested was signed into law.

The new atmosphere in the Labor Department was apparent when W. Willard Wirtz, Under Secretary of Labor in the Kennedy Administration, was assigned to handle the negotiations on wage-hour secrecy. Instead of long range letters, many face-to-face discussions were held. Within a few weeks after Congress had passed the new law strengthening enforcement provisions of the Wage-Hour Law, the Labor Department had worked out improvements which Congressman Moss called "a substantial recognition of the people's right to know how the laws establishing fair wages and decent working conditions are being administered." The two major improvements in the Department's practices were:

"In the case of employers found to be willful violators of the law but who cannot, for one reason or another, be prosecuted, the Department will provide all affected workers with complete, factual statements of the violation including the amount of back wages determined to be due them. This will provide workers information they might need for individual suits to recover back wages and should result in a greater flow of public information

since workers furnished statements by the Department will be free to publicize them.

• In the case of employers taken to court, the Department will issue detailed press releases including names of firms and amounts of wages due. Additional press releases will be issued on subsequent court action.

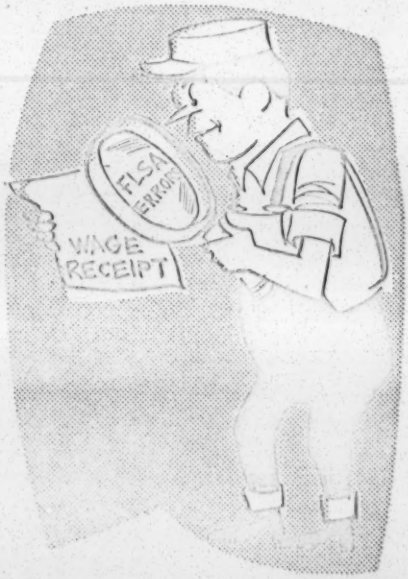
The second improvement by the Department was called "especially significant" in view of the liberalization of the Fair Labor Standards Act. As Under Secretary Wirtz reported to Moss, the Department expects to make extensive use of newly-authorized court proceedings to collect back wage payments for workers. Such legal actions will automatically become the subject of press releases under the Department's new policy.

The new system was not a complete victory for those who had been fighting against excessive governmental secrecy. Under the new system, in about 40 percent of the violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act discovered by the Department complete information about the violations will be provided either to the public or directly to the workers involved. This will be a significant improvement, however, over practices under which only a small percentage of such cases ever came to the attention either of the public or of the affected workers.

In those cases of "inadvertent or unintentional violations" where no substantial new amount of information will be made public, Under Secretary Wirtz told Congressman Moss that full written information will be supplied to affected employees. But Moss pointed out that the form for notifying employees was the typical piece of government red tape. It was merely a receipt signed by employees when they received payment of back wages.

They practically need a law degree to decipher the small type of the government form which told them the boss had been caught in a law violation and they could—if they wanted to—collect double damages. So the Labor Department agreed to revise the government form to provide sufficient information to employees.

Two Congressmen, helped by



an election, by their staff assistants, and by a number of union officials, thus were able to tear away a substantial part of the secrecy which has surrounded the Labor Department's enforcement of the Wage-Hour Law. Even partial success was not enough, however, for Congressman Moss emphasized to the new administrators of the Department his concern about the "imposition of official secrecy to hide the facts concerning thousands of law violations involving many millions of dollars of unpaid wages." He added:

"As your administration accumulates experience in enforcement of the revised Fair Labor Standards Act, you might wish to give thought to the possibility of providing additional information to the public about employers found to have violated the law. Informing both employers and employees of their rights and obligations under the law will develop the best means of achieving full compliance with the law."

We've had an outbreak of adjournment fever, a disease which is epidemic at this time of year. I am hopeful that it will not be prevalent next January and we can take up the matter [of Senate filibuster rule] then.

—*Senator Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.)*

Everybody on earth has more carbon 14 than before—10 percent more since tests were started. The half life of carbon 14 is 6,000 years, so it will be hanging around for that long irradiating humans. If the human race survives, then carbon 14 will cause two million defectives over a period of thousands of years. If tests go on, the number rises.

—*Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winning scientist*

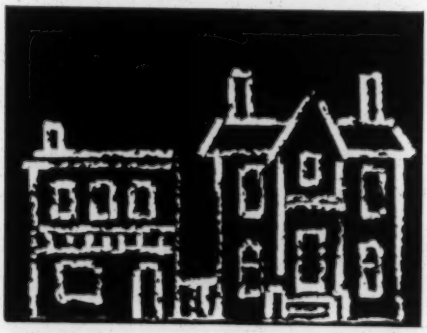
Federal Labor Laws and Programs

Bulletin 262
March 1964

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
Arthur W. Motley, Director

HOW

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT



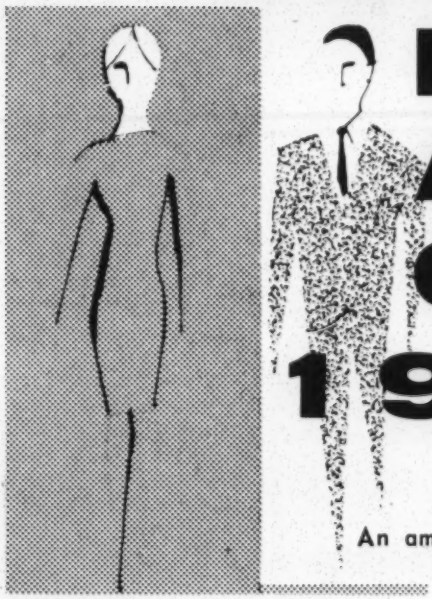
OPERATES IN

"OUR TOWN"

WHPC Publication 1106

Reprint May 1965

INFORMATION ON THE EQUAL PAY ACT OF 1963



An amendment to the

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, Administrator

Washington, D. C. 20210

WHPC Publication 1104
Printed May 1965

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Handy Reference Guide

TO THE

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. WILLARD WIRTZ, Secretary

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, Administrator

WHPC Publication 1122
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SRC Prof. Labor Legis

LABOR LAWS and their ADMINISTRATION

IAGLO Proceedings 1965

Bulletin 280

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BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS

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October 1966
Wash., D.C. 20210

HANDY REFERENCE GUIDE
To The
FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
as amended in 1966

WAGE AND HOUR and PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, *Secretary*
WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, *Administrator*

The Failure Of Workmen's Compensation Laws

by Lawrence Smedley

Workmen's compensation is based on the theory that, because accidents are inherent in production, their costs should be borne by the society which benefits from the production. It is also assumed that a system providing prompt cash and medical benefits would cost society less by reducing to a minimum the loss of the injured worker's productive services and the burden of supporting him and his family.

The Extent of Coverage

Although some individual state systems compile comprehensive statistics, there are no reliable statistics on the workmen's compensation system as a whole. The best estimates place total coverage of civilian wage and salary workers at about 80 percent, a percentage that has changed only slightly over the last 10 or 15 years.

Workmen's compensation laws may be classified as compulsory or elective. A compulsory law requires that a covered employer and employe must comply with the law. An elective law permits the employer the option of whether to accept coverage of the law. If the employer rejects coverage, he loses the common law defenses—assumption of risk, negligence of fellow workers and contributory negligence—when the worker files a suit. About one-half the state workmen's compensation laws are compulsory, while the remainder are elective.

Twenty-seven state laws exempt employers having less than a specified number of employes, ranging from 3 to 15. Many compensation laws not only limit coverage to certain persons and employment, but also as to injuries covered. Twenty states cover only those occupational diseases specifically listed in the law.

LAWRENCE SMEDLEY is Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Social Security.

ECONOMIC TRENDS & *Outlook*

Wyoming makes no statutory provision for coverage of occupational diseases; the Mississippi law covers only radiation disease; and the Alabama law lists only pneumonoconiosis.

Employes of charitable or religious institutions are frequently excluded, as are many state and local government employes. Most workmen's compensation laws exclude casual workers, domestics and agricultural workers. The exclusion of the latter persists in the face of its classification as one of the nation's most dangerous occupations.

Disability Benefits

A typical workmen's compensation law provides compensation for three kinds of disability—temporary total disability, permanent total disability and permanent partial disability. The first involves disability which is temporary and leaves no permanent physical impairment; the second is an injury which may restrict the earning power of a worker; and the third is a disability which permanently terminates an employe's useful working life.

The large majority of industrial accidents, approximately 90 percent, involve temporary total disability. About 90 percent of these cases recover within a month and 75 percent in three weeks. The typical workmen's compensation law requires a one-week waiting period and allows no retroactive benefits for that week until the disability lasts beyond 28 days.

In addition, the benefit formula, though often stating a worker is entitled to two-thirds of his wages at time of injury, will also specify a maximum amount which ensures that a large majority of injured workers will receive much less. For example, take the case of

Post Office Motor Vehicle Employes.

State Protective labor legislation

Modest Gains Cited In State Labor Laws

AFL-CIO News 10-4-69

Atlantic City—An Executive Council report to the AFL-CIO convention showed that a wide variety of labor laws were enacted in state legislatures over the past two years.

On balance, the report indicated modest progress but not as much as in some previous periods. The bulk of labor's programs was ignored by legislatures that became more conservative.

The council cited improvements in minimum wage standards in 10 states, but most of the states' minimums were still below the level of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act.

Maryland, Nevada, Delaware, Hawaii and Maine provided step increases that will bring large numbers of workers up to a $1.60 an hour level in 1970 or 1971. Vermont legislation set that level immediately.

North Carolina increased its rate from $1 to $1.25 and Arkansas provided for an increase from $1 to $1.20. South Dakota joined the list of states with a minimum wage law. Its level is $1. New York expanded its law's coverage and set a $1.40 minimum for farm workers, going to $1.50 in 1971.

Nebraska and South Dakota granted public employes the right to collective bargaining. Nevada granted such rights to local government employes. North Dakota granted public school employes the right to bargain.

Several states with public employes' bargaining laws already on the books extended their coverage.

In the private employment sector, Massachusetts extended its labor relations act to cover employes in charitable homes. New York passed legislation to impose new penalties on public workers who strike, as well as hospital and nursing home employes in the private sector.

Occupational health and safety laws were improved in a number of states. There also were enactments to protect workers against radiation in nuclear industries and other dangers in hazardous jobs.

Louisiana became the 38th state to enact a law requiring the payment of prevailing private wages on public works. Kentucky, Montana, Nevada and Maryland provided for the payment of prevailing fringe benefits on public construction.

The council reported that 33 states have passed some sort of call for a constitutional convention to rescind the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. It takes 34 states to secure such a convention, which is strongly opposed by labor.

However, the report pointed out that there is doubt as to the legality and permanency of many of the state petitions calling for the convention.

The council noted that resolutions to rescind previous calls for the convention passed in one house or the other of five states between 1967 and 1969: Maryland, Texas, North Carolina, Illinois and Washington.

So far only three states—New Mexico, Oklahoma and Utah—have adopted protections against harsh garnishment of workers' wages, the council said.

Oklahoma and Utah added provisions to existing laws so as to limit the cases in which employers can fire workers whose pay is garnished. Montana now completely protects employes from such firings.

Protective Labor legislation - Fed.

DANGER:

MEN AT WORK

1969 Occupational Safety and Health Conference

of the

Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

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STATE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS:

A Comparison of Major Provisions With Recommended Standards

AUG 21 1972

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Vol. 12, No. 50 December 11, 1972

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

WEEKEND WRAPUP

IS SOMETHING MOVING?—The long wait for something to stir in Congress on pension reinsurance may be coming to an end. The word seems to have reached Washington that something is drastically wrong with a lot of pensions. The UAW has been screaming about this for years—but not enough people were listening. Now the storm is gathering. Congress is getting the message. The search is on for a formula that will encompass the many different kinds of pensions. The strongest pressures are coming from the UAW and Steelworkers—but other unions are pitching in, too. A pension reform bill was actually voted out of the Senate Labor Committee this year, which is the first sign that things are picking up. Even some of the more conservative Republicans in Congress are now willing to concede that something ought to be done. What can you do? Well, the best thing is to write letters to Congress, to your local papers. The more people hear about the actual facts of plant shutdowns, corporate mergers—and what this means to the people who work there—the more they will respond to the need for legislation.

UAW HITS SANITATION—The UAW has joined a group of unions and public interest groups in asking that there be no weakening in the present standard for use of drinking water quality for workers showers and washup facilities. Mel Glasser's statement on this page is but an excerpt of a longer statement filed with the U.S. Department of Labor. More on that next week. Meanwhile, liberal columnist Clayton Fritchey has picked up this controversy and written a nationally-syndicated column on the Nixon Administration's strange two-facededness on clean water.

WHAT KIND OF BREEZE is blowing through Washington during these first days of the second Nixon Administration? It certainly isn't like the Kennedy years, that's for sure. The cabinet appointments are generally low-grade nonenities, all of which reinforces a Lou Harris poll that finds more and more people becoming more and more cynical about the political process. To a battery of questions which test a person's feeling that the system is not working—tax laws are written to help the rich, not the average man; rich get richer, poor get poorer; what I think doesn't count much; people running the country don't care what happens to people like me; people with power out to take advantage of me; and feel left out of things around me"

(Continued on page 4)

$5 an hour is UAW average

For the first time in history, auto workers' average straight-time hourly wages have risen to over $5 an hour, UAW President Leonard Woodcock has announced.

That's the average for about 700,000 workers in the auto industry as a whole. For General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors workers, the average straight-time rate now is over $5.05 an hour.

"Henry Ford's once-historic $5 a day wage now has become UAW's better-than-$5 an hour average straight-time rate," Woodcock commented.

The increased average is the result of two UAW-won pay boosts under the union's current auto industry contracts.

These are a three cents an hour cost-of-living pay increase which goes into effect next week and the recent annual improvement factor (productivity) wage boost amounting to an average of about 15 cents an hour.

Woodcock noted that the over-$5 hourly rate represents an average covering workers in all auto industry job classifications. For assemblers, the average straight-time rate comes to about $4.83 an hour.

The UAW president emphasized that the wage increases resulting in the new average of over $5 an hour are non-inflationary. One represents a partial "catch-up" with increased living costs and the other a percentage of increased productivity, he explained.

"To lower a standard to a point where a worker would be required to bathe in water which may not be sufficiently free of pathogenic bacteria creates a serious threat to both the worker and the public. Not only is there the ever-present threat of dermatitis, but such bacteria may enter the mouth or nasal tract and cause dysentry and typhoid in epidemic proportion."

—from UAW statement by UAW Social Security Director Melvin Glasser to Occupational Safety and Health Administration, requesting no change in present national sanitation standard, December 1, 1972

State Protection Laws — Workmen's Comp

You're better off on welfare

Workmen's comp far too small

In the nickles and dimes game of state legislatures, the cost of paying for a worker's injury on the job comes cheap—so cheap, in fact, that a conservative federal commission was even alarmed. The table here tells how workmen's compensation levels hover near the poverty level. And why Congress must act to set up stronger federal standards—during 1973, no later.

Disability Pay: Often Below Poverty Line

The National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws compiled detailed information on the amounts that the state programs pay to injured workers and on the estimated costs to improve the programs. The first column of figures, showing the maximum weekly benefits for a family of four in effect on Jan. 1, 1972, indicates that in 31 states the benefits were below the 1971 national poverty level income (which the Census Bureau said was $79.56 a week) while in eight other states the benefits were equal to the poverty level or barely above it. The middle column shows the amount by which the maximum weekly benefits exceeded or fell below the poverty-level income. The third column shows the estimated percentage increase in the costs for states and employers if they provide the benefits that the commission said are essential and should be adopted by 1975.

	Maximum weekly benefit for family of four	Relationship to poverty income level	Estimated% increase in costs for 'essential' improvements
Alabama	$ 55.00	−$24.56	48.6
Alaska	$127.00	+$47.44	44.5
Arizona	$152.30	+$72.74	2.4
Arkansas	$ 49.00	−$30.56	21.3
California	$ 87.50	+$ 7.94	19.2
Colorado	$ 64.75	−$14.81	34.6
Connecticut	$105.00	+$25.44	4.5
Delaware	$ 75.00	−$ 4.56	37.1
Florida	$ 56.00	−$23.56	32.0
Georgia	$ 50.00	−$29.56	49.9
Hawaii	$112.50	+$32.94	9.1
Idaho	$ 87.32	+$ 7.76	15.2
Illinois	$ 99.50	+$19.94	17.3
Indiana	$ 69.00	−$10.56	35.3
Iowa	$ 64.00	−$15.56	36.0
Kansas	$ 56.00	−$23.56	48.6
Kentucky	$ 60.00	−$19.56	42.3
Louisiana	$ 49.00	−$30.56	60.1
Maine	$ 78.00	−$ 1.56	7.7
Maryland	$ 55.00	−$24.56	20.7
Massachusetts	$ 95.00	+$15.44	11.3
Michigan	$101.00	+$21.44	25.1
Minnesota	$ 80.00	+$ 0.44	22.7
Mississippi	$ 40.00	−$39.56	51.2
Missouri	$ 70.00	−$ 9.56	42.6
Montana	$ 75.00	−$ 4.56	62.4
Nebraska	$ 62.00	−$17.56	19.9
Nevada	$103.85	+$24.29	10.0
New Hampshire	$ 92.00	+$12.44	10.3
New Jersey	$101.00	+$21.44	20.6
New Mexico	$ 57.00	−$22.56	42.0
New York	$ 95.00	+$15.44	18.6
North Carolina	$ 56.00	−$23.56	36.8
North Dakota	$ 74.00	−$ 5.56	39.1
Ohio	$ 84.00	+$ 4.44	25.7
Oklahoma	$ 60.00	−$19.56	53.1
Oregon	$ 85.00	+$ 5.44	19.2
Pennsylvania	$ 60.00	−$19.56	37.8
Rhode Island	$ 86.96	+$ 7.40	11.8
South Carolina	$ 50.00	−$29.56	35.2
South Dakota	$ 56.00	−$23.56	38.1
Tennessee	$ 55.00	−$24.56	31.8
Texas	$ 49.00	−$30.56	48.9
Utah	$ 69.00	−$10.56	40.3
Vermont	$ 72.00	−$ 7.56	20.0
Virginia	$ 62.00	−$17.56	32.4
Washington	$133.19	+$33.63	6.5
West Virginia	$ 77.55	−$ 2.01	27.9
Wisconsin	$ 90.00	+$10.44	14.8
Wyoming	$ 73.61	−$ 5.95	61.9

"The worst thing that can happen to a family is for a man to be killed or injured on the job. "They are better off economically if he quits and goes on welfare, gets fired and draws unemployment compensation or gets killed in a bar."

—Don Baker, chief counsel, House Labor and Education Committee, U.S. Congress, commenting on proposed federal standards for workmen's compensation, quoted in The National Journal, Nov. 4, 1972

FREE SPEECH RIGHTS
Under the Labor Management Relations Act

BY WALTER L. DAYKIN
ANTHONY V. SINICROPI
MICHAEL W. WHITEHILL

CENTER FOR LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

IOWA CITY, IOWA

Romney Via

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JAN 18 1967

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JAN 12 1967

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Memorandum on: The Impact of the Agricultural Minimum Wage in Mississippi

When I was in Mississippi during Christmas vacation, I talked to Amzie Moore, the leader of the Civil Rights Movement in four counties in the Delta. Mr. Moore was extremely concerned about the impact of the agricultural minimum wage. He expects that when the law becomes effective February 1, 12,000 families will be evicted from plantations in his four counties (Bolivar, Washington, Sunflower, and Coahoma). He has been trying to gain financial support for projects to house these people, but feels that he has been unsuccessful, thus far, in arousing any interest at all in Washington.

I was unable to investigate the problem myself. But I was extremely impressed with Mr. Moore; he is an intelligent, articulate and sophisticated man, and his arguments seem quite plausible. Most of the Negro farm workers in the Delta have already been displaced by technological change. Whereas cotton once required a large labor force during the summer months to chop weeds and pick the crop, chemical fertilizers have eliminated the need for chopping and mechanical pickers have replaced hand picking. The displaced workers have nonetheless been allowed to remain in the shacks which dot the Delta plantations and to live on welfare and surplus commodities. It is generally believed that the minimum wage will be used as an excuse to evict these people. The incentive to do so is rendered particularly strong by the fact that Negroes now constitute a majority of registered voters in a number of Delta counties, and all major state and county offices will be up for election this fall. Additional incentives may be that (1) the minimum wage applies only to farms with seven or more employees so that it can be avoided if the number of workers is reduced below that level, and (2) a number of plantations are shifting to cattle, and the scattered shacks in which the displaced workers now live may be more of a hindrance in cattle ranching than they have been in cotton. (Mr. Moore did not mention these last factors.) People in the Delta report -- and I talked to several different people about this -- that skilled workers (tractor drivers and the like) have already been put on "straight-time" (i.e., salary) in an attempt to evade the minimum wage by lengthening hours of work without a corresponding increase in pay. Some people felt that all workers not on salary would be evicted.

While I could not check all of this out in detail, I did talk with Hodding Carter, III, Editor of the Delta Democrat Times in Greenville, who is personally acquainted with a number of Delta planters. He felt that about half of the planters would use the minimum wage as an excuse to evict their Negro tenants. Although he thought that the other half would probably be deterred by the plantation tradition of paternalism, he also said that he would not be surprised if 100,000 workers and their families were displaced in the state in the coming year.

If a displacement of this magnitude does occur, the repercussions may be disastrous. Mr. Moore, who is certainly one of the most resourceful leaders in the state, reports that he is completely unequipped to handle the problem he anticipates in his own counties. He would like to solve the immediate problem by putting the displaced people to work building their own houses and to work out a longer run program of industrial development and training. I think he has the capacity to carry through such a project. There are a number of people in the area who have experience in construction and are close enough to the plantation background to translate this experience into terms the people can understand. However, Mr. Moore reported that he had been unable to obtain funds either for land or for building materials. If he cannot do so before the displacement occurs, the people will be camping on the highways.

The alternative is migration to the Northern ghettos. Most migration from Mississippi, so far as I can tell, is to Chicago, Detroit and the Ohio cities -- areas that are already having trouble absorbing the Southern Negro migrants. However, while my knowledge of these people is impressionistic (I worked in a richer section of the state in 1964), I doubt that they will migrate voluntarily. Most migrants now come, so far as I can tell, from a group of people who have already moved from the farms to the smaller towns and cities. The people on the plantations have extremely limited horizons and do not think in terms of Northern cities. Most of them have never been more than a few miles from their homes and lack even that contact with the larger world which television provides. In fact, given the adjustment difficulties of recent Southern migrants to Northern cities, who are infinitely more attuned to modern industrial life than these people straight-off the plantations, it is difficult to imagine how the displaced workers can adjust at all.

However, while voluntary migration is, I think, unlikely, a forced migration is not. I spoke to a number of white state and federal officials in the summer of 1964, and most of them felt that out-migration of the Negroes was the only long-run solution to the state's problems. The growth of Negro registration has now added a sense of urgency to these problems. The shift from commodities to food stamps as a vehicle for the distribution of federal surplus foods provides a means of starving the evicted tenants out of the state. Most of them require surplus food for survival, but cannot afford to participate in the food stamp program because minimum cash payments are required. While the attitudes of white Mississippi have changed greatly since 1964, the change may well represent a shift from violence to more subtle tactics of this kind.

I realize that the picture I have painted is difficult to accept, and that belief is not aided by the hysteria and paranoia of so many of those who have participated in the civil rights programs in Mississippi. However, most of the extremists in the Civil Rights Movement have left the state. The leaders whom I met over Christmas vacation were pragmatic and realistic. The background about the minimum wage which I have reported emerged from discussions about programs designed to meet the problems posed by the legislation. This, in itself, represented a change from the summer of 1964 when people were often so overwhelmed by the problems that they could not contemplate program at all. Thus, I think that the concerns of Mr. Moore

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warrant an investigation, and that if these concerns prove justified, careful consideration should be given to the programs which he has suggested.

I would be happy to supply more detail myself. Further information can be obtained from:

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Minimum Wage —

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STANLEY HAMILTON
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Field Representative

March 28, 1967

TO: Concerned Organizations and Individuals
FROM: Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary
SUBJECT: A Preliminary Report on the Impact of the Federal Minimum Wage for Farm Workers in Southern States

Supporters of the modest $1.00 minimum wage law for farm workers which went into effect in February of this year believed that it would at least significantly improve the lot of thousands of farm workers in the South. Compared to last year's prevailing wage of $3.00 to $4.00 per ten-hour day for Mississippi's cotton choppers, $1.00 an hour would lessen considerably the poverty of people like 59-year-old Locket Mayze, a Delta Negro: "The best week I had last year was $15, and that was a mighty unusual week" (New York Times, February 13, 1967). At the present time, 526,800 (71.4%) of the hired workers in the South make less than $1.00 an hour.

There are several restrictions which limit the number of farm workers who may receive even this below-poverty wage of $1.00 an hour. The most important is that the farm worker must be employed by a grower who has hired at least 500 man-days of labor during any 3-month period. He may hire 50 men for 10 days, or 7 men employed full time during a three-month period (totaling approximately 500 man-days) or any combination which results in 500 man-days. The jobs obviously affected would be in citrus, tomatoes, peaches, nurseries, cotton and tobacco.

In the South, compliance with the law is being evaded because of the provision for extending the minimum to certain sharecroppers and tenant farmers. According to Clarence Lundquist, administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, U. S. Department of Labor: "Coverage is intended in the case of certain so-called sharecroppers or tenants whose work activities are closely guided by the landowner or his agent. Those individuals called sharecroppers and tenants whose work is closely directed and who have no actual discretion in the operations are in fact employees by another name. True independent-contractor sharecroppers or tenant farmers who actually control their farm operations are not employees....An employee is one who as a matter of economic reality follows the usual path of an employee. Each case must be decided on the basis of all facts and circumstances, and as an aid in the assessment, one considers such factors as the following: (1) the extent to which the services rendered are an integral part of the principal's business; (2) the permanency of the relationship; (3) the opportunities for profit or loss; (4) the initiative, judgment, or foresight exercised by the one who performs the services; (5) the amount of the investment; and (6) the degree of control which the principal has in the situation."

The North Carolina tobacco industry, with the approval of the Governor, is calling its sharecroppers "independent contractors" - thereby excluding them from coverage under the federal minimum. At a meeting in early February tobacco growers and Department of Labor officials met to consider the case studies of nine sharecroppers; seven of the nine were determined to be independent contractors. Sharecroppers themselves, or spokesmen on their behalf, were apparently not present at this crucial meeting which may well have set the precedent for later decisions. North Carolina alone, according to the 1959 census, had 26,000 sharecroppers. The number of 'croppers in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee totaled 103,528. If these are excluded from coverage partially as a result of the North Carolina decision, the possible benefits of a minimum wage have been disastrously curtailed.

It is also clear that some employers believe that by converting hourly pay to a salary, they can effectively evade the hourly minimum. A former Mississippi civil rights worker returned to the state in January and reported his observations on the situation: "People in the [Mississippi] Delta report -- and I talked to several different people about this - that skilled workers (tractor drivers and the like) have already been put on 'straight-time' (i.e., salary) in an attempt to evade the minimum wage by lengthening hours of work without a corresponding increase in pay. Some people felt that all workers not on salary would be evicted."

The Act itself does not permit this. An employee who is entitled to the $1.00 an hour minimum wage must receive not less than $1.00 for every hour worked in each work week. This is true whether he is paid on a daily, weekly, monthly, or other basis. But enforcement is the problem.

It is the opinion of many knowledgeable Southern observers that the impact of the federal minimum wage will result in an unprecedented number of evictions of sharecroppers and hired workers alike. One authority believes that 100,000 workers and their families may be displaced in Mississippi this year. A civil rights leader in four counties in the Delta, concerned about the impact of the federal minimum, expected that 12,000 families would be evicted from plantations in the four counties in which he is active: Bolivar, Washington, Sunflower and Coahoma.

To press for the enforcement of the new law, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, has sent a bulletin to state and local union bodies, calling for them to make it known that they will assist not only their own union members but also any unorganized workers in the area in handling wage-hour complaints.

Since there are no convenient nearby union offices to fill this need in many rural areas of the South, we are passing along the suggestions below, and hope that other organizations will adapt these to local needs and take action where necessary. If you want to request assistance from a union organization, you may write directly to the AFL-CIO, 815 16 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, for the address of the one nearest you.

Here are Mr. Meany's suggestions:

1. Establish a standing committee on wage-hour enforcement, to receive and help to process complaints.

2. Issue a news release announcing the creation of the committee, and stressing your readiness to assist all workers, expecially the unorganized. [Or use whatever means of communication is best suited to your area for letting workers know that assistance is available.]

3. When complainants come in, get in touch with the nearest wage-hour field office [of the U. S. Department of Labor]. Set up an appointment for the complainant in the most convenient subsidiary field station. Obviously it is not possible for a worker at the minimum wage level to travel a long distance to lodge a complaint.

4. Press the wage-hour office for prompt action. To workers who are being gypped under the wage-hour law, speed is vital.

5. Compile a record of the outcome of cases that come to your attention. The official Department of Labor statistics indicate that because of negotiated "compromises," even workers who have been upheld have collected only about a third of what was owed them. Compromise is all right in its place, but the law is the law, and it provides little enough at 100%.

NACFL would appreciate receiving reports on your local conditions, along with reports of any difficulties encountered in obtaining enforcement, so that our staff can back up your complaints with the appropriate officials in Washington.

Min Wage

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EDUCATION
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A FACT SHEET ON MINIMUM WAGE

April 1967

"That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation or community.." - Constitution of Virginia

149,000 Virginia workers are not protected by Federal minimum wage excluding domestic, farm or fishery workers.

750,000 workers are covered by Federal minimum wage laws. Transportation, contract construction, mining and manufacturing workers are nearly fully convered.

Who is the one out of every five Virginian workers that is not protected by a minimum wage?

Who?

A hotel chambermaid after twenty years still earning but 78¢ an hour.

Food handlers in a city cafeteria kitchen earning 42¢ an hour. There are no tips in a cafeteria kitchen.

A business operating under Federal law pays $1.00 an hour; its competitor pays 75¢.

One out of every five Virginia workers is not covered by minimum wage.

40,000 Virginian workers are paid under $1.15 an hour. And this figure omits domestic, farm and fishery workers.

Who?

26,000 retail workers are paid less than $1.15 an hour.

13,000 service workers are paid less than $1.15 an hour.

Most of the unprotected workers are women. Our Commonwealth should protect its hard working women from being shortchanged.

Poverty is unsegregated; most poor Virginians are white.

Virginians are willing to work. The great majority of our poor are employed. They are paid submarginal wages for which many work long and hard hours. These submarginal wages result in social and economic problems which the rest of us Virginians have to deal with and pay for.

Submarginal wages mean higher taxes.

Why?

Poor families, overwhelmed by their problems, provide a major share of welfare cases, patients in mental hospitals, and prison inmates. Nearly half of all high school dropouts are from families with incomes below $3,000.

Commonwealth taxpayers have to subsidize submarginal wages by paying for the economic and social problems which they create.

".. it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other." - Constitution of Virginia

Virginia's sales tax is hardest on the poor. Only the poor got no compensating relief when the sales tax was passed.

A minimum wage law provides positive relief. Not only would the deserving poor be helped; tax receipts would also increase.

Minimum wage laws do not destroy jobs. Federal law added coverage to 100,000 Virginians in February. Govenor Godwin has noted recently that employment is at an all time high.

Our neighbors -- West Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina and the District of Columbia -- all have minimum wage laws.

Increased purchasing power from minimum wages is good for business. A state minimum wage is estimated to increase purchasing power from $10 to $50 million yearly.

Federal law provides $1.00 an hour in 1967, $1.15 an hour in 1968 and $1.30 an hour in 1969.

Minimum wage objectives:

$1.00 an hour equals $40.00 a week; $2,000 a year.

$1.15 an hour equals $46.00 a week: $2,300 a year.

Probable exemptions:

Domestic workers, farm and fishery workers, workers over 65 and under 16, handicapped and apprentice workers.

Facts from: Virginia Department of Labor and Industry
U. S. Department of Labor
U. S. Bureau of Census
Virginia Commission on the Status of Women

Not printed at Government expense.